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**Global Policies for Development: Creative Cities as UNESCO Intermediaries and
Orchestration-initiators**

Belo Horizonte, 2020

Julijana Nicha Andrade

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Intermediaries and Orchestration-initiators**

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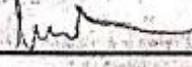
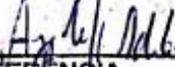
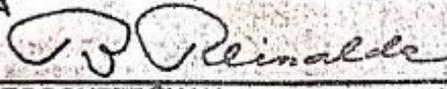
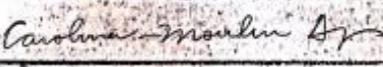
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Defense minutes

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<p align="center">ATA 07ª/2020 DA DEFESA DE TESE DA ALUNA JULIJANA NICHIA ANDRADE</p>		
<p>Realizou-se, no dia 03 de abril de 2020, às 09:30 horas, por Videoconferência, a 07ª/2020 defesa de tese, intitulada "Global Policies for Development: Creative Cities as UNESCO Intermediaries and Orchestration-initiators", apresentada por JULIJANA NICHIA ANDRADE, número de registro 2017653963 - VIDEOCONFERÊNCIA, graduada no curso de INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, como requisito parcial para a obtenção do grau de Doutora em CIÊNCIA POLÍTICA, à seguinte Comissão Examinadora: Prof. Dawisson Elvécio Belém Lopes - Orientador (DCP/UFMG) - VIDEOCONFERÊNCIA, Prof. Carlos Aurélio Pimenta de Faria (PUC Minas) - VIDEOCONFERÊNCIA, Prof. Aziz Tuffi Saliba (DIR/UFMG) - VIDEOCONFERÊNCIA, Prof. Bob Reinalda (Radboud University Nijmegen) - VIDEOCONFERÊNCIA, Profa. Carolina Moulin Aguiar (FACE/UFMG) - VIDEOCONFERÊNCIA.</p>		
<p>A Comissão considerou a tese:</p>		
<p><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Aprovada <input type="checkbox"/> Reprovada</p>		
<p>Finalizados os trabalhos, lavrei a presente ata que, lida e aprovada, vai assinada pelos membros da Comissão.</p>		
<p>Belo Horizonte, 03 de abril de 2020.</p>		
<p>Prof. Dawisson Elvécio Belém Lopes  Orientador (DCP/UFMG) – VIDEOCONFERÊNCIA</p>		
<p>Prof. Carlos Aurélio Pimenta de Faria  (PUC Minas) – VIDEOCONFERÊNCIA</p>		
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Dedication note

To Mayra whose life gave life to this work.

To our parents, who without this work wouldn't be possible.

To Francisco, for his patience, understanding and love.

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Abstract

The thesis studies the change in the policy-making processes on multi-level governance, where International Organizations are becoming key policy actors alongside the nation-state. International organizations (IOs), such as the United Nations (UN), are formulating and implementing global public policies at the nation-state level through local municipalities. Using soft governance models the UN orchestrates the behaviour of the nation-state via the city as its intermediary. The city, in return, gains ideational and material assistance, which agency is reinforced as a result of that.

As a normative institution the UN has historically shaped the global policies for development and governance via the 2015 Millennium Development Goals and the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals. Currently, due to the rapid urbanization and the urgent need for sustainable solutions, the global trend of development has increasingly focused on urban and rural development. The rise of the new knowledge-based economy which relies on culture, creativity and innovation has presented to be a solution for urban problems. The diffusion of this model occurs on transnational spaces via transnational actors who are learning and teaching about best practices which shape specific places as well as regional, national, and global geographies. For that reason, an increasing number of cities, regardless of the city-size and national organization, are adopting this model of development at a fast pace. The most prominent network of creative cities is the UNESCO Creative Cities Network (UCCN) through which the UN is implementing the Sustainable Development Goals. Membership is acquired on voluntary bases by local municipalities, in which case, the city which is already an intermediary act as an initiation of orchestration.

For those reasons, the research seeks to answer: How are cities, as intermediary actors, implementing the 2030 Sustainable Development agenda via UNESCO Creative Cities Network on a national level? In other words, how cities, once becoming part of the UCCN influence - and even steer - the behaviour of the central state? The question is addressed by studying the level of policy transfer on a municipal level in the three different institutional contexts: Curitiba, Brazil; Dublin, Ireland and Idanha-a-Nova, Portugal.

Through membership at the UCCN, cities challenge the current beliefs that municipalities cannot act internationally due to sovereignty restrictions and the expectation that lower-level governments are not supposed to act inter- or transnationally by bypassing the national government. However, the research shows that, cities do engage in cultural paradiplomacy

and do transfer global public policies on local levels leading to global convergence of national cultural public policies with the current trends on innovation.

Key Words: Orchestration, UNESCO Creative Cities Network, multi-level governance, inter-organizational relations

Resumo

A pesquisa estuda a mudança dos processos de formulação de políticas públicas em governança multinível, em que as organizações internacionais estão se tornando atores-chave, ao lado do Estado. Organizações Internacionais (OIs), como a Organização das Nações Unidas (ONU), estão formulando e implementando políticas públicas globais em nível nacional, através das cidades. Usando modelos de governança “soft”, a ONU orchestra o comportamento do estado-nação através da cidade como seu intermediário. A cidade, em troca, ganha assistência ideacional e material, cuja agência é reforçada como resultado disso.

A ONU, como instituição normativa, historicamente moldou as políticas de desenvolvimento e governança através dos Objetivos de Desenvolvimento do Milênio de 2015 e dos Objetivos de Desenvolvimento Sustentável de 2030. Atualmente, devido à rápida urbanização e à necessidade urgente soluções sustentáveis, a tendência global de desenvolvimento tem se concentrado cada vez mais no desenvolvimento urbano e rural. A ascensão da nova economia baseada no conhecimento, que se baseia na cultura, criatividade e inovação, tem se mostrado como solução para os problemas urbanos. A difusão deste modelo ocorre em espaços transnacionais através de atores transnacionais que estão aprendendo e ensinando sobre as melhores práticas que moldam lugares específicos, bem como geografias regionais, nacionais e globais. Portanto, número crescente de cidades em ritmo acelerado, independentemente do tamanho, está adotando esse modelo de desenvolvimento. A rede mais proeminente de cidades criativas é a Rede de Cidades Criativas da UNESCO (UCCN), na qual a ONU está implementando as Metas de Desenvolvimento Sustentável. A adesão é adquirida voluntariamente pelas autarquias locais, caso em que a cidade, que já é um intermediário, inicia o processo de orquestração.

Por essas razões, a pesquisa procura responder: Como as cidades, os atores intermediários, implementam a agenda de Desenvolvimento Sustentável de 2030 através da Rede de Cidades Criativas da UNESCO em nível nacional? Em outras palavras, como as cidades, uma vez se tornando parte da UCCN influenciam - e até mesmo orientam - o comportamento do nível nacional? A questão é abordada pelo estudo do nível de transferência de políticas em nível

municipal nos três diferentes contextos institucionais: Curitiba, Brasil; Dublin, Irlanda e Idanha-a-Nova, Portugal.

Por meio da associação à UCCN, as cidades desafiam as crenças atuais de que os municípios não podem agir internacionalmente devido à soberania e a expectativa de que os governos de nível inferior não devam agir transnacionalmente ignorando o governo nacional. No entanto, a pesquisa mostra que as cidades se envolvem em paradiplomacia cultural e transferem políticas públicas globais em nível local, guiando a convergência global das políticas culturais nacionais às tendências atuais de inovação.

Palavras-chave: Orquestração, Rede de Cidades Criativas da UNESCO, governança multinível, relações interorganizacionais

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Abbreviations

ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CCI	Cultural and Creative Industries
DAHG	The Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht
EU	European Union
ICTs	Information and communication technologies
IOs	International Organizations
IORs	Inter-organizational relations
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPPUC	Institute for Research and Urban Planning of Curitiba (Instituto de Pesquisa e Planejamento Urbano de Curitiba)
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OSCE	The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
SCCD	Secretary of Citizenship and Cultural Diversity
SDA	Sustainable Development Agenda
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
UCCN	UNESCO Creative Cities Network
UCLG	United Cities and Local Governments
UK	United Kingdom
NGOs	Non-governmental organizations
UN	United Nations
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USA	United States of America
MERCOSUR	Southern Common Market
WB	World Bank

Chapter I- Introduction

The objective of the research is to discuss the changing nature of authority in the policy cycle, where alongside the nation-state International Organizations (IOs) and sub-national entities play a key role in the problem definition, decision-making, agenda-setting, transfer and implementation of policies. The increasing importance of cities and city-regions internationally stretches the municipal policy cycle from the local to regional, national and international levels.

The public policy literature has taken a nation-state approach to the policy process, assuming that the nation-state is the only actor that can formulate and implement public policies (REINICKE 1998; BALTODANO, 1997; LERNER; LASSWELL, 1951). The new governance model of development goes beyond the nation-state and adopts a non-hierarchical way of policymaking where the city, through IOs, plays a key role (BULKELEY; SCHROEDER, 2011). The rapid transfer of global public policies and their implementation on the municipal level has produced different forms of authority which have challenged the role of the traditional sovereign state model (STONE, 2008; FARIA, 2018). There are also new governance mechanisms, such as orchestration, that allow for shaping and steering of state behaviour through intermediary actors (ABBOTT et al., 2015).

The decision to unanimously adopt the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) at the United Nations General Assembly and implement them at all levels and spheres of government is an example of that. The SDGs consist of 17 Goals and 163 Targets that are a continuation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). They are interdisciplinary and universally applicable, regardless of the country's level of development. Besides their universality, the UN recognizes the national challenges of each country for achieving the Goals and their priorities. The SDGs are voluntary and non-legally binding, but all UN member states are expected to implement them via the development of national frameworks for sustainability. The Sustainable Development Goals take whole of government approach covering all aspects of sustainability – environmental, cultural and human. They represent a new paradigm for development policies that stress the importance of the environment and urbanization and highlight the means of attaining sustainable societies (Goal 17). They are unique because they emphasize policies on culture, creativity, and innovation as a means for changing the idea of urbanization and industrialization from the traditional high-waste approach to an inclusive, environmentally friendly and user-centered approach.

The UN specialized agency for culture, UNESCO, has historically been an active IO in the area of culture that with its normative approaches, standardized practices, experts and capacity-building programs has shaped the framework for cultural policies. Currently, to promote and assist in the implementation of the SDGs, UNESCO has created the UNESCO Creative Cities Network (UCCN) aimed to serve as a platform where cities would share best practices in creative and urban policies. The objective of the UCCN is to assist in the implementation of the Sustainable Development Agenda via policymaking and promotion of standardized policies through the sharing of best practices for urban development (UNESCO, 2019). A city, regardless of its size, applies for one category: crafts and folk art, design, film, gastronomy, literature, media arts, and music by presenting an implementation plan. After its acceptance, it receives ideational assistance to implement the plan and participates in smaller sub-networks. Currently, 180 cities from 72 countries are UCCN members (Ibid). Creative Cities are cities or towns which economy and urban development actively rely on culture, creativity, and innovation. The rise of the creative cities is due to the substantive withdrawal of the nation-state on fiscal, administrative and political aspects due to decentralization. Moreover, the 2008 financial crisis opened new opportunities for cities and city-regions to become more active actors in multi-level governance (LE GALÈS; HARDING, 1998). The creative city model and the new urban development paradigm consider cultural policies in entrepreneurial turn (VIEIRA DE JESUS, 2017), such examples are local incentives for socio-cultural entrepreneurship, start-up companies in the area of culture and the arts, the involvement of local and indigenous communities, usage of sustainable materials, etc. The creative cities create networks among themselves and share best or good practices¹, norms and ideas among each other, diffusing the global policies.

The concepts and techniques of orchestration and inter-organizational relations are used as an analytical framework in order to unpack the complicated governance arraignments among the three actors and answer the following main research question: How are cities acting as intermediaries in implementing the SDGs on a local level without compromising the national policymaking process and sovereignty? When UNESCO orchestrates, do cities bypass, manage or complement the nation-state? What are the city's inter-organizational relations with the nation-state and UNESCO on multilevel governance? The research makes use of process-

¹ Best practices refer to the best policy examples and good practices refer to the less competitive policy examples, however both are aimed to be diffused and implemented in different settings. In some literature, the two terms are used interchangeably.

tracing, informative interviews, document analysis and multiple case studies selected on the most diverse values to gather and analyze the data. The three case studies are Curitiba (Brazil), Dublin (Ireland) and Idanha-a-Nova (Portugal).

The findings show that the adoption and implementation of the SDGs challenge the traditional policy cycle which was confined in the borders of the nation-state. The problem definition, decision-making agenda-setting, and monitoring and evaluation are at the UN level, whereas the transfer and implementation are at the sub-national level. UNESCO plays the role of an orchestrator that via its intermediaries, which are the UCCN Cities, influences the behaviour of the nation-state as the target. In other words, the inter-organizational relations among UNESCO, the city and the UN member-state has become more complex than before.

The transfer of the SDGs accommodates the transfer of ideas, norms and policies which is known as global public policies (BAUMAN; MILLER, 2012, DEACON; STUBBS, 2013; SOROOS, 1986). Furthermore, the new policy cycle that is seen via the implementation of the SDGs, from international to the municipal level, institutionally bypasses the nation-state. However, due to the whole-of-government approach and the country's international commitment to the Goals, nation-states welcome and accept the orchestration because they get to meet UN's expectations without the cost of resource or sovereignty loss. Moreover, the member-state lacks the necessary expertise and capacities to implement the SDGs at local levels that municipalities have at their disposal. Consequently, the member-state and the municipality's goals converge, and they work collaboratively to achieve the Goals.

The research is organized in the following manner. Chapter II provides background information on the UN System and its normative stand, the emergence and negotiations of the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals at the UN and the role of UNESCO and the UNESCO Creative Cities Network in their transfer. Moreover, it presents the paradigmatic shift towards urban development based on the cultural and creative industries.

Chapter III presents the literature review. It goes through the literature on the role of International Organizations in governance and their increasing participation in the policy cycle, as well as the role with sub-national units and the nation-state in this relatively new phenomenon. It identifies the gaps in previous works of literature and opens the space for the research. It provides the working definitions and it explores the relationship between the three actors in the policy cycle. Chapter III presents the orchestration theory and its hypothesis,

which is later complemented with the literature on inter-organizational relations. Chapter III concludes that the increasing interactions on all institutional levels do not undermine the role of territoriality, but it brings back its importance through the stronger international role of cities. Cities operate within the national structure and politics, thus they do not overshadow the national sovereignty. The nation-state delegates power to the city through its institutional arrangements. However, alongside the state, international organizations are becoming important actors in the policy cycle through soft governance means.

Chapter IV presents the theory and hypothesis derived from the gaps identified in the literature review. It applies the orchestration framework to the UNESCO-City-Member-State relationship and studies their inter-organizational relations on all levels. Chapter V presents the analytical design and research methods. The analytical design makes use of inter-organizational relations, orchestration theory and Dolowitz and Marsh's Policy Transfer Framework to identify what was transferred, where was it transferred from, what shape did it take when applied on local level and who were the actors involved. The research methods are document analysis, historical case analysis, process tracing and interviews.

Chapter VI presents the empirical analysis drawing from the previous chapters and the analytical design, which is applied to the three case studies Curitiba, Dublin, and Idana-a-Nova. Short background information regarding the political model and the level of decentralization is presented before analysing the inter-organizational relations among the city, the nation-state and UNESCO.

Chapter VII discusses the findings and compares the three cases. The last chapter, Chapter VIII, draws the conclusions and opens the floor for further research. It gives implications about global governance, the role of UNESCO and UCCN shaping and conducting the global policies on culture.

Chapter II – Background Information on the United Nations’ normative governance

To avoid the horrors of the First World War from happening in the future, individual nation-state representatives established the League of Nations in 1920. It was the first intergovernmental organization whose main mission was to maintain world peace. Other issues the League of Nations would cover were labor conditions, human and drug trafficking, global health, etc. The Second World War brought an end to the League and after the war horrors, the League of Nations was replaced by the United Nations (UN). The UN inherited some agencies and organizations founded by the League, and created a whole system of institutions (KOZYMKA, 2014; DUEDAHL, 2016).

The UN is an intergovernmental organization established in 1945 to promote and secure international cooperation, as well as to create and maintain international order. Currently, 193 sovereign countries are its member states. The UN has five main organs. The main deliberative organ is the General Assembly which also serves as a forum for intergovernmental discussions and negotiations where each member-state has one vote²; the decision-making body on resolutions related to peace and security is reserved for the Security Council; the Economic and Social Council promotes international social and economic cooperation and development; the International Court of Justice is the primary judicial organ; and the UN Secretariat is the body that provides studies, information, and facilities for the UN. Moreover, the UN Secretariat is the organ that does the day-to-day work and employs permanent expert officials that consult international project directors, policy experts, administrators, technicians, translators, interpreters, etc. Most importantly, the Secretariat sets the agenda and implements the decisions of the deliberative bodies (UN, 2019; KAMAU; CHASEK; O’CONNOR, 2018).

Besides the main organs, the United Nations encompasses a whole system, known as the UN System, which is made up of specialized agencies, several programs and related organizations (UN SYSTEM, 2016). Each institution has a different mandate, with different legislative and governing bodies. The specialized agencies are linked to the UN. They are set up to “help achieve: higher standards of living, full employment, conditions of economic and

² Votes taken on designated important issues—such as recommendations on peace and security, election of Security Council members, and budgetary questions—require a two-thirds majority, but other questions are decided by a simple majority. Wherever possible, the General Assembly tries to achieve consensus on issues rather than taking a formal vote, thus strengthening support for its decisions.

social progress and development; find solutions to international economic, social health, and related problems; international cultural and educational cooperation; and universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion (Article 55, UN, 1945).” (UN SYSTEM, 2016). Number of programs also include funds that were created for a specific purpose such as development assistance, food aid, assistance for refugees, the environment, etc. They are managed by distinct inter-governmental bodies and get their financial resources from other sources than the UN budget.

Kozymka (2014) argues that throughout the years, the UN established itself as the most active and most powerful IO that promotes and secures human rights, peace, security, delivering humanitarian aid, promotes sustainable development and implements international law. Moreover, the UN’s objectives moved in parallel with the global necessities (KOZYMKA, 2014). Craig and Porter (2006) argue that along with the emergence of the development agenda, there is a parallel shift of ideas about development policies that changed over time. The following paragraphs present the shift of UN policy ideas and the role of culture in the decades between the 1950s and 2010s, as well as the parallel shift of global policies about development.

The United Nations provides a set of values and norms for the international system (DUEDAHL, 2016; SINGH, 2010). In the UN Charter, it is referred to as “we, the people” reaffirming the values of human rights, equal rights and the promotion of social progress among others (UN, 1945). Chapter I of the UN Charter states the purpose and principles that guide the charter proclaiming, “common standards of achievement from all peoples and all nations” (UN, 1945).

In the 1950s and 1960s, the UN broadened the agenda on peace by becoming a pioneer in development thinking, before universities and other institutions. It is the first international organization which besides setting the normative frame, acted as assistant to the implementation of the development programs (EMMERIJ et al., 2001, p.26–42). After UN’s publications, numerous institutions supported or criticized their approach to development and other international institutions (such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and the International Monetary Fund) started acting on this subject right after the UN (Ibid).

The UN's more formalized development proposals were in the 1970s with a series of international activities and initiatives - creating the UN Environment Program, The Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policy in 1982, setting up the Brundtland Commission³ in the 1980s, holding the Earth Summit (UN Conference on Environment and Development) in 1992 where member-states adopted the sustainable development action plan called Agenda 21 and the UN created the Commission on Sustainable Development that would monitor its implementation—and the UN supported these proposals with more detailed programs and activities like creating the International Panel on Climate Change (UN, 2008). Traditional topics as peace, preventive diplomacy and human security, marked the shift of the agenda towards social policies, such as environmentalism, poverty eradication, social development, cultural diversity, etc., illustrating how increasingly new issues have entered the development agenda, with the UN elaborating their ideas and mechanisms of implementation (JOLLY, 2014; FARIA, 2018).

De Beukelaer (2012) notices that in the 1970s and the 1980s, culture and traditional cultural expressions were seen as an obstacle to development and modernization and ideas about modernization, urbanization and industrialization were encouraged. However, the discursive narrative of the UN proved the opposite. The Brundtland report (1987) emphasized the importance of *sustainable* development with a wide scope of meaning and enforced it on the UN level and at the level of multilateral development banks. The UN defines sustainable development as the “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED, 1987). It refers to the conscious and responsible usage of resources and it takes an integrated view of human development, addressing specifically the shift in thinking about urban and rural development, trying to enroot the problems caused by industrialization. The approach to sustainable development was very broad arguing that its implementation requires promotion and implementation of values encouraging ‘ecological’ consumption standards (WCED, 1987).

³ Brundtland Commission emphasizes the link between economic development and the environment, and identified poverty eradication as a necessary and fundamental requirement for environmentally sustainable development. The goals of economic and social development must be defined in terms of sustainability in all countries: developed or developing, market oriented or centrally planned. It also determined that a series of rapid transitions and policy changes would be required, including keeping population levels in harmony with the ecosystem, reducing mass poverty, increasing equity within and between nations, increasing efficiency in the use of energy and other resources, reorienting technology, and merging environment and economics in decision making.

Besides the progressive ideas expressed in the Brundtland Report, in practice, traditional culture was undermined, and the poverty gap wasn't diminishing (DE BEUKELAER, 2012; KAMAU; CHASEK; O'CONNOR, 2018).

In the beginning, the development agenda was marked by the promotion of industrialization and dualism between developed and developing countries (particularly the West-versus-the rest approach). In the post-war period, the ideas about development moved towards an increased reliance on structural adjustment lending associated with conditionality and reform at both macro and micro levels of policy, embodied in the Washington Consensus (WILLIAMSON, 1990). At this stage, the size of the nation-state was to be diminished. The Washington Consensus mechanisms of implementing the development ideas marked the historic paths of countries which followed this road to development (CRAIG; PORTER, 2006). Development was measured based on results and outcomes through cross-countries comparison of their GDPs.

Policies and practices suppressing or ignoring the traditional and indigenous cultures and habits by the UN institutions caused deepening of the poverty gap, which urged for the rethinking of the status of culture (AWORTWI; MUSAHARA, 2016; FEHLING et al., 2013; KAMAU; CHASEK; O'CONNOR, 2018). For instance, UNESCO's attempt to build the educational system in the Congo without extensive consideration of the local habits at the beginning of the initiative widened the gap between richer and poorer children (DIKAY, 2016). In 1995, the World Commission on Culture and Development (WCCD) and UNESCO expanded the previous discursive platform, promoting a new discussion about culture and development, and culturally sustainable development. The WCCD report "Our Creative Diversity" (1995) was the first one to link cultural policies and sustainable development, connecting it to a range of economic, social and political issues. In this report, culture was defined broadly as "ways of living together" and was valued in "giving meaning to our existence" (WCCD, 1995, p. 14). Culture, thus, was treated: (a) instrumentally, promoting economic progress by adding a cultural lens to policies and (b) as an end in itself- giving meaning to human existence (see DE BEUKELAER, 2012).

In the 2000s, culture played a key role in the paradigmatic shift in development ideas and policies based on financial aid (exogenous development) - to the development thinking based on endogenous development and sustainability, driven by empowering local actors (DE BEUKELAER, 2012). Endogenous development assumes fostering cultural and creative

industries that boost the creative economy and thus improve the social, political and economic wellbeing and the cultural production (AWORTWI; MUSAHARA, 2016; UN, 2008; UN, 2010; UNESCO, 2010a).

The endogenous development policies were in line with the Post-Washington Consensus. While the Washington Consensus tented to internationalize managerial approach to policy and set ideas of global economic norms, the post-Washington Consensus development ideas support a new set of socio-political norms (HIGGOTT, 2005). Moreover, in the past 10 years, new dimensions of development emerged, such as environmentalism and culture, and there is a coming back of the interventionist state which regulates the neoliberal agendas and stimulates endogenous growth (RANIS, 2004; HÄIKIÖ, 2014; KAMAU; CHASEK; O'CONNOR, 2018).

The current ideas about the development continue propagating the same ideas of the Washington Consensus which are fostering competitive international markets, forming global public and private partnerships and transnational executive networks, trade liberalization, exports and low or eliminated tariffs, however, what matters more now is the process of their implementation, not only the results (HÄIKIÖ, 2014). For that reason, the role of local actors becomes more important in the implementation of the development policies. UN institutions and development banks (the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund) do not act as aid givers but as partners that channel development (CRAIG; PORTER, 2006; KAMAU; CHASEK; O'CONNOR, 2018).

The UN system uses the term good governance to refer to endogenous development. Structural adjustments are implemented to embed the development mechanisms in the local institutions. The assumption is that after small assistance from abroad through capacity-building programs, nation-states and local governments should be able to operate independently (CRAIG; PORTER, 2006). According to the UN, good governance implies to the universalization of governance based on efficiency and effectiveness (HIGGOTT, 2005). Moreover, it includes strong institutions and institutional checks such as independent media which guarantees the transparent implementation of the development policies. The UN identifies eight characteristics of good governance:

“It is participatory, consensus-oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive and follows the rule of law. It assures that corruption is minimized, the views of minorities are taken into account and that

the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard in decision-making. It is also responsive to the present and future needs of society.” (UNESCAP, 2009, p.1).

Decentralization is a key mechanism of fostering good governance (UN, 2015; UNESCAP, 2009; CARIUS et al., 2018). Among the guiding principles of development is the slogan “think global, act locally” where the municipal administrations are strongly encouraged to implement policies independently (RANIS, 2004).

Image 1: United Nation’s Millennium Development Goals



Source: MDGs Monitor, 2019⁴

The result of this shift was the introduction of the UN 7 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in 2001 that were set to be achieved by 2015 (Image 1). They were celebrated as the first global attempt to eradicate poverty and hunger in an organized manner (FEHLING et al., 2013; KAMAU; CHASEK; O’CONNOR, 2018). After perceiving their ambition and the lacunas necessary to be overcome to achieve those goals (FEHLING et al., 2013; UNESCO, 2015; SACH, 2012; LE BLANC, 2015), in 2015 the UN came up with the Sustainable Development Goals to be achieved by 2030 (Image 2).

The new 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda covers a much broader set of issues than the Millennium Agenda, aimed to be universally applicable to all countries in their attempt to transition to sustainable development (LE BLANC, 2015). More importantly, the Sustainable Development Goals try to integrate the previously divided sectors of strategies, policies, and implementation (Ibid). This new development paradigm of sustainability acknowledges the culture and local practices as alternatives to the environmentally destructive effects of industrialization. Emphasis is put on innovation and creativity as key elements of each culture

⁴ Available at: <https://www.mdgmonitor.org/millennium-development-goals/>. Accessed 13/05/2019.

(LE BLANC, 2015; DE BEUKELAER, 2012) (detailed discussion on the current paradigm of development in the next section). Besides the fact that the programs related to the 2030 SDA are still undergoing, they are widely criticized by the UN's broad and vague approach to defining sustainability (WHITE, 2010).

Image 2: United Nations Sustainable Development Goals



Source: UN, 2015

The emergence of the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals

The introduction of the SDGs came at a time when the UN's position in multilateral relations was being questioned because the UN member-states failed to meet the MDGs, they were failing to reach consensual decisions on key issues and to perform as needed on peace and security. The agreement on the SDGs straightened the internal divisions, and also showed hope for effective UN multilateral relations (KAMAU; CHASEK; O'CONNOR, 2018). Moreover, there was a window of opportunity for the UN following the 2008 global financial crisis and the open wounds of the negative effects of globalization⁵.

The SDGs were also a 'second chance' for UN member-states to prove their commitment to the international order. The old approaches to development resulted in wreaking peoples' health (evident levels of high pollution in many Asian megacities), destroying the natural resources (massive amount of waste in the oceans), etc. Due to the drastic need for a solution, the concept of sustainable development became widely accepted and understood as an

⁵ Began in 2008 with the collapse of Lehman Brothers, a sprawling global bank whose failure almost brought down the world's financial system.

economic and social development that does not compromise the human and environmental well-being⁶.

The Agenda 21, the Millennium Development Goals, the UN Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm, Sweden, in 1972 and the UN Conference on Sustainable Development in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in 2012 (also known as Rio+20) were events that led to the idea to develop a new set of goals. As part of the negotiation process, at Rio+20, the then Director of Economic, Social and Environmental Affairs of Colombia Foreign Ministry, Paula Caballero Gomez, suggested the idea of Sustainable Development Goals that would replace the Millennium Goals. As a result, the resolution reached by the member-states at Rio+20, known as “The Future We Want” stated that governments agreed to develop a set of goals to be approved by the General Assembly. These goals were supposed to help provide a “concrete approach that delivers means for measuring—in accordance with the contexts and priorities of each country—both advances as well as bottlenecks in efforts to balance sustained socio-economic growth with the sustainable use of natural resources and the conservation of ecosystem services.” (MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, 2011, p.2). Kamau, Chasek, and O’Connor (2018) took part in the negotiation process after Rio+20 describe that what followed was long and exhaustive years of negotiation.

At the UN, the negotiation process was led by the Open Working Group (OWG), established by the UN General Assembly in 2013. The OWG’s objective was to prepare a proposal on the SDGs and was staffed by the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs’ (DESA) Division for Sustainable Development (DSD)⁷. The OWG independently decided on its methods of work and the full involvement of multiple stakeholders. The negotiation process ended in August 2015 with the adoption of the resolution 70/1 of the United Nations (UN) General Assembly entitled “Transforming our World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development” where the 17 SDGs and 163 targets were outlined, followed by a section of implementation, follow-ups, and reviews. After the SDGs were reached, other

⁶ Although there are a lot of texts written about sustainable development, there is no commonly agreed definition for the concept. Generally, it implies that it is possible to achieve sound environmental planning without sacrificing economic and social improvement. Some definitions emphasize on the protection and conservation of living and nonliving resources. Other definitions emphasize development, targeting changes in technology as away to reconcile growth and environmental protection. Others claim that sustainability is contradictory and that its achievement is almost unattainable.

⁷ Based at UN Headquarters in New York, UN DESA is responsible for the sustainable development pillar of the UN Secretariat. UN DESA also collaborates closely with its partners at regional and country levels in helping countries formulate and implement national development strategies (NOVOSAD; WEKER, 2014).

meetings were called to establish the post-Millennium Agenda and the plan for implementation. They are not legally binding however UN member states are expected to implement them voluntarily as a whole-of-government approach in their national development frameworks which are monitored by the UN (UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 2015).

Traditionally, the UN⁸ multilateral negotiation process starts with a proposal from one or more governments. They discuss the issue, negotiate the written language of the draft agreement which can be resolutions (operative paragraphs or agreements on future actions), declarations (statements regarding high level political reform), programs of action (voluntary actions, such as the Agenda 21), or complex and legally binding treaties (requires changes of member-state domestic laws, such as the Framework Convention on Climate Change). After the draft is presented, it is discussed with the rest of the member-states. Member-states vote on the particular issue, most of the time unanimously. Within the UN, countries separate themselves in coalitions. There are the G-77 (composed of 134 developing countries); the Eastern European Group; the Independent Alliance of Latin America and the Caribbean; Least Developed Countries; Developed Countries, etc., where traditionally they operate as a voting bloc. The usual voting patterns for sustainable development were representative of the tensions between the North and South coalitions (KAMAU; CHASEK; O'CONNOR, 2018).

To break this tradition, the OWG came up with different decision-making procedures due to the uniqueness of the situation, and as a result, caused a change in the UN System. The OWG was limited to thirty seats filled by seventy member states, so the OWG introduced troikas where one member-state will share the seat with two more from a different coalition. They needed to carefully choose the language and through “stocktaking” seminar. The discussion was led by international consultants and experts that showed to the delegates the importance of sustainability (not all understood the concept is important), as well as the importance to negotiate and work with UN member-states that are outside of their coalition blocs. These strategies allowed the OWG to shape the SDGs as universal and apolitical, going beyond the political and ideological differences of each member-state. This in itself was unique because the tradition of the United Nations is to do just the opposite: politicize

⁸The UN General Assembly considers a large number of issues, and for that reason it organizes them among its six main committees: Disarmament and International Security Committee; Economic and Financial Committee; Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee; Special Political and Decolonization Committee; Administrative and Budgetary Committee; Legal Committee (UNITED NATIONS, 2019).

technical issues. Opposed to the traditional multilateral negotiations that were extensions of bilateral politics conducted through North-South, or West-East lines, the OWG addressed a new set of challenges that went across the traditional ways of negotiation (KAMAU; CHASEK; O'CONNOR, 2018). Moreover, for the negotiation process to involve multiple actors and be transparent, the Open Working Group needed to be very skilled in its negotiation. It is not in the UN tradition to open the sessions to NGOs, so special provisions needed to be made. Kamau, Chasek and O'Connor (2018) explain that member-states were reluctant to the participation of NGOs for different reasons: weaker states were afraid of undermining their sovereignty, others argue that the UN's focus is on intergovernmental relations, thus there is no space for other actors, others argue that NGOs do not have constituency legitimacy or that NGOs are not legitimate actors in global policymaking. They needed to assure member-states that NGOs would only have observers' status and to assure NGOs that besides their status, the OWG would find a way to make their voice heard.

Another group that wanted eagerly to be part of the negotiation process was the business community. Issues such as green economy, trade, and intellectual property rights were of their immediate interest because the promotion of renewable energy and clean technologies are large business opportunities. As these new approaches demanded a change of lifestyles by their consumers, they were also concerned with sustainable consumption. Kamau, Chasek and O'Connor (2018) explain that the UN General Assembly gave observer status to the International Chamber of Commerce in 2016, which is the first event at which a business organization could participate and could have a voice.

The outcome was the agreement on the 17 SDGs and their targets. The SDGs are made up of 17 interdisciplinary goals and 169 targets which are part of a wider agenda for development, including health, environment, culture, industrialization in urban and rural setups, etc. The 2030 SDGs are expected to bring "balance the three dimensions of sustainable development: the economic, social and environmental" (UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 2015).

The Sustainable Development Agenda links creativity, innovation, and protection of cultural heritage to the promotion of sustainable cities and human settlements, as well as inclusive infrastructure that inspires innovation. It considers creativity and innovation to be crucial elements of culture and assumes that innovation, creativity and knowledge sharing cannot be fostered without an enabling environment (infrastructure, peaceful societies, etc.).

The recognition that industrialization and infrastructure development are crucial to poverty eradication also meant giving new definitions to the two concepts, definitions that refer to clean-energy-driven industrialization development making use of information and communication technologies (KAMAU; CHASEK; O'CONNOR, 2018).

It is stated that:

“This is an Agenda of unprecedented scope and significance. It is accepted by all countries and is applicable to all, taking into account different national realities capacities and levels of development and respecting national policies and priorities. These are universal goals and targets which involve the entire world, developed and developing countries alike. They are integrated and indivisible and balance the three dimensions of sustainable development.” (UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 2015, p. 3).

The current paradigm of development gives special importance to culture, creativity, and innovation as means for attaining sustainable development has been particularly addressed in the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda through Goals 8, 9, 11, 12 and 16.

Goal 8 states that countries should “promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all”. Target 8.3 states that countries should:

“Promote development-oriented policies that support productive activities, decent job creation, entrepreneurship, creativity and innovation, and encourage the formalization and growth of micro-, small- and medium-sized enterprises, including through access to financial services” (UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 2015, p. 19-20).

Goal 9 states:

“Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation”; 9.1 “Develop quality, reliable, sustainable and resilient infrastructure, including regional and trans-border infrastructure, to support economic development and human well-being, with a focus on affordable and equitable access for all”; 9.5 “Enhance scientific research, upgrade the technological capabilities of industrial sectors in all countries, in particular developing countries, including, by 2030, encouraging innovation and substantially increasing the number of research and development workers per 1 million people and public and private research and development spending” and finally, 9.c “Significantly increase access to information and communications technology and strive to provide universal and affordable access to the Internet in least developed countries by 2020” (UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 2015, p. 19-20).

Goal 9 represents the change of thinking about the relationship between sustainable development, industrialization, infrastructure and innovation, adding research and development, efficient use of resources and environmentally friendly industrial processes.

Goals 11 and 12 stress the importance of human impact on the natural environment and its effect on social and economic development. Specifically, the Goals are about the organization of people's lives, their behavior and their choices of consumption and production.

Goal 11 states "Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable", 11.4 "Strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage", complementing the other SDGs on social inclusion, job creation, and urban resilience and environmental protection. (UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 2015, p. 19-20). This is the first time that culture and creativity have been recognized as powerful enablers for sustainable development. In other words, this Goal argues that if managed well, urbanization can create employment, stimulate innovation and economic growth and diminish the poverty gap. Goal 11 also draws on the importance of multiple actors and stakeholders, such as local authorities, national governments, businesses, universities, and civil society, across a range of urban sectors to mobilize their resources. Special attention is also given to human settlements that refer to urban, peripheral and rural areas that would support the positive economic, social and environmental links.

Goal 12 States "Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns"; 12.a "Support developing countries to strengthen their scientific and technological capacity to move towards more sustainable patterns of consumption and production" 12.b "Develop and implement tools to monitor sustainable development impacts for sustainable tourism that creates jobs and promotes local culture and products". (UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 2015, p.19-20). Production and consumption habits are among the root problems towards sustainability and for that reason Goal 12 numbers those targets (KAMAU; CHASEK; O'CONNOR, 2018).

The two final goals outline the enabling environment for achieving the Goals and were new in the UN development agenda. Goal 16 is most relevant to the topic on urban development. In it is stated: "Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels" (UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 2015, p.20-26).

The implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals is through institutional cooperation which guidelines are highlighted in the 17th Goal entitled "Strengthen the Means

of Implementation and Revitalize the Global Partnership for Sustainable Development”. Enhanced regional and international cooperation in science, technology, innovation and knowledge sharing is encouraged through UN-facilitated coordination mechanisms. Moreover, target 17.7 stresses for the promotion, transfer, and diffusion of technologies. The ground-breaking concept of Goal 17 (and all goals in general) is its universality, which means that (1) developed countries also need development and (2) that developed countries are no longer “aid-givers” to developing countries through bilateral or multilateral assistance (KAMAU; CHASEK; O’CONNOR, 2018).

The implementation process is divided into four subcategories: capacity building, trade, policy, and institutional coherence and multi-stakeholder partnership. Capacity building refers to the UN-supporting development of national plans in developing countries for effective implementation of the 2030 SDA. Through trade, developing countries in particular, would be able to increase their export rate on an international level. Policy and institutional coherence would enhance global macroeconomic stability. Last, but not least, multi-stakeholder partnerships refer to the mobilization and sharing of knowledge, expertise, technology, and financial resources to support the implementation of the SDA, together with the effective public, public-private and civil society partnerships (UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 2015; CARIUS et al., 2018). These achievements would be made by fostering a global partnership that refers to the national dedication of implementing the goals via their own social and economic development strategies, international cooperation programs and commitment to world trade, monetary and financial systems. This recipe would consequently straighten the global economic governance. Due to that, there are numerous international organizations, member states, and NGOs that are part of complex global public policy networks.

The need for policy coherence of national governances with the global economic governance is also highlighted. The insurance of its attainment is done via the engagement of local parliaments who are held accountable for the effective implementation of the Goals (UN, 2015, p.29).

The financing of the implementation was outlined by the Intergovernmental Committee of Experts on Sustainable Development Financing, established at Rio+20, and the 2015 Third International Conference on Financing and Development. At the 2015 Third International Conference on Financing and Development held in Addis Ababa, the delegates

adopted the targets of Goal 17 which were organized in thematic lines: trade, finance, technology, capacity-building, policy and institutional coherence, multi-stakeholder partnerships and data monitoring and accountability. Precisely, Addis Ababa Action Agenda (2015) complementing Goal 17 establishes a holistic framework of implementing the Sustainable Development Goals based on strengthening domestic and international finance (UN, 2015). Moreover, it promotes domestic public resources, domestic and international private business and finance, international development cooperation, international trade as an engine for development, debt and debt sustainability, closing the technology gap, addressing systemic issues and science, technology, innovation and capacity-building, and data, monitoring and follow-up. There is a reaffirmation of the importance of freedom, human rights, national sovereignty, good governance, the rule of law, peace and security, combating corruption at all levels, and strengthening institutions on all levels. Key actions are financial resources, capacity-building and technological transfers to developing countries based on more favorable terms including also the importance of a variety of actors such as micro-enterprises, cooperatives, multinationals, civil society organizations and philanthropic organizations (UN, 2015, p.29; CARIUS et al., 2018).

The delivery system of the SDGs was based on the example of the Post-2015 Development Agenda, later renamed the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, that aimed at mobilizing political will, financial resources, technology, and institutional and technical capacity, as well as create follow-up and review mechanism. The negotiations for the Post-2015 Development Agenda run in parallel with the ones for the SDGs and their financing and development (the Addis Ababa Agenda). The negotiation for the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (SDA) was separate from the one for the SDGs, including different teams and working methods. With Resolution 68/309, the UN merged the SDGs and the SDA. The political declaration of the Agenda and the synthesis report proposed by the Secretary-General was inspired by Brazil's suggestion of introducing 5 elements that convey the priority of the agenda: people, planet, prosperity, peace, and partnership, also known as the 5 Ps (KAMAU; CHASEK; O'CONNOR, 2018).

Figure 1: The 5 Ps of the SDGs



Source: Sustainable Development ⁹

The SDGs, the SDA, and the Addis Ababa Action Plan all stressed the importance of reports for monitoring and evaluation of the Goals' implementation on international, regional and national levels. The most cited reason was the fact that most UN member-states were not comfortable with the universality of the Agenda, they did not want to be judged by more developed countries, as they were under the Millennium Development Agenda and they felt that the UN is intimidating country's sovereignty by holding them accountable for implementing the Goals on national level. To avoid conflict, the OWG decided that all reports will be voluntary, government-led and under the UN's High-Level Political Forum on Sustainable Development (established at the Rio+20). The OWG (SDA, 2015) equally considers the importance of reports and reviews not only from governmental bodies but also from indigenous individuals or organizations, civil society, the private sector, and other actors. Even though these reports are not official, they can cause pressure to national governments to implement the Goals faster.

The effectiveness of the implementation of the SDA is measured against SDGs Indicators developed by the UN Statistical Commission. The Sustainable Development Goals Indicator is a great initiative aimed at measuring development; however, the latest update of the indicators is from 2017 and the results continue to be vague (IAEG-SDGs, 2017; CARIUS et

⁹ Available on: <https://twitter.com/sustdev/status/647436962324942849>. Accessed 12/06/2019

al., 2018). One of the reasons for this occurrence is the gap between more and less developed countries in the availability of reliable data. The SDGs Indicator estimates that by 2020, developing countries would be able to provide timely, high-quality and reliable data organized by income, gender, age, race, ethnicity, migratory status, disability, geographic location and other characteristics relevant in national contexts. Particular attention is put on the activities of the private sector and their capacities for creativity and innovation as key to solving the global issues the world is facing (Ibid).

On a national level, member states are responsible for the implementation of the Agenda by building or transferring from other countries national development strategies, as well as for monitoring and reviewing the development of their policies and programs. The UN member-state needs to efficiently coordinate the inter-institutional relations, establish ways to transfer those Goals and measure their implementation and success along the way (WAHLEN, 2018; BIERMANN; KOOPS, 2017). The UN, particularly the UNDP, assists the national processes by regularly publishing guidelines for the implementation of the Goals and offering experts advise (Ibid). For instances, one of the recommendations in the guidelines is the creation of National Councils for Sustainable Development that will be closely linked to the cabinet of the President or the Prime Minister and linked to decentralized offices in strategic geographic places of each country (Ibid). At the regional level, cooperation between regional and sub-regional levels is encouraged via the sharing of best practices and peer learning on target policies. At the global level, the High-Level Political Forum assists with sharing experiences, challenges, and lessons learned, as well as provide leadership and recommendations for the follow-up reports. The High-Level Political Forum is the main organ responsible for the coherence and coordination of the global public policies on sustainable development and the assessment of the same (UN, 2015; CARIUS et al., 2018).

In 2016, less than one year from the adoption of the 2030 Agenda, 22 member-states voluntarily submitted their first National Report, all from different development backgrounds (four least-developed countries, one small island developing state, four lower-middle-income countries, five middle-income countries, and eight high-income countries). This meant that there is a determination to put in place the institutional mechanisms and coordinate the implementation of the Agenda on national levels (KAMAU; CHASEK; O'CONNOR, 2018).

The interdisciplinary nature of the SDGs and the cooperation approach outlined in Goal 17, have sparked inter-organizational cooperation among UNESCO and other UN agencies such as the UNDP and UNICEF among others (CARIUS et al., 2018). For instance, in 2016 the UN organized the United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development where it adopted the New Urban Agenda that incorporated the achievements of the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals. UNESCO played an active role in the creation of this agenda by committing itself to achieve the objectives of the New Urban Agenda. This agenda stresses the importance of local authorities in the implementation of innovative urban policies and the SDGs via UNESCO programs, such as the UNESCO Creative Cities Network.

UNESCO has also established inter-organizational relations with other international organizations such as the European Union, OSCE, OECD, etc. Such an example is the Agenda 21, which is “a comprehensive plan of action to be taken globally, nationally and locally by organizations of the United Nations System, Governments, and Major Groups in every area in which human impacts on the environment” (UNCED, 1992). The Agenda 21 for culture was initiated by the international organization United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) in 2004. The Agenda 21 for culture sets the bases for cities and local governments to foster cultural development and understand culture as the fourth pillar of development (alongside the social, economic and environmental sustainability) (UCLG, 2019). In 2010 more than 400 cities, local governments and organizations were linked to the Agenda 21 for culture. It has influenced local strategies and policies for culture in numerous cities through the Fund for Local Cultural Governance (opened in 2010) which assists their implementation. The European Union has actively taken part in the drafting of the Sustainable Development Agenda and the Agenda 21 and has reached a consensus on development policies, action plans, and evaluation and monitoring reports that are in line with those documents (EUROPEAN COMMISSION, 1998). The inter-organizational cooperation among UN agencies and other international, national and local institutions reflects the coordinated attempt to implement the goals on national and local levels.

Members of NGOs, civil societies, academic institutions, the business sector, also have integrated the Goals into their missions, relying on UN funds or independently. Among some of the NGOs were the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, the Foundation Center, Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors, the Hilton Foundation, the Ford Foundation, MasterCard Foundation.

The involvement of the business sector was largest. In 2016 at the annual World Economic Forum in Davos, large companies such as Unilever, Alibaba, Mars, JP Morgan Chase, Citibank, UBS, MasterCard, and Aviva Investors, and others launched the Commission on Business and Sustainable Development that bridges leading businesses, finance, civil society, labour organizations to merge their aims towards mapping the economic benefits of the adoption of the SDGs as well as their contribution towards their achievement. Their first publication “Better Business, Better World” (2017) highlights the sixty biggest market opportunities across four main areas (food and agriculture, cities, energy and materials, and health and well-being) gained by working towards the achievement of the SDGs.

Academic institutions and research centers are also important players because they are key actors in providing timely and reliable data and they inspire continuous research for further improvement. Such an example is the independent initiative *Future Earth*, a research initiative on global environmental change and global sustainability, which in 2015 launched a ten-year plan en route for advancing science and technology towards sustainability. Moreover, it published a guide for natural and social scientists on how to work interdisciplinary towards the achievement of the SDGs (FUTURE EARTH, 2015). The role of universities is also important. They train students to embed the sustainable development principles in their ethics and to operate with them across disciplines. Besides, universities can shrink the poverty gap by initiating collaborations with other universities and research centers and share knowledge, information, and technologies. Academics and scientists become active members at the UN and experts on the SDGs by participating in the annual Forum on Science, Technology, and Innovation for the SDGs and constantly questioning their developments.

The Sustainable Development Agenda gives specific attention to cities and local governments as spaces that need to be changed because they are at the forefront of providing services to their citizens. This makes them fundamental players in the implementation of the SDGs. Beyond the specific addressing to cities in Goal 11 which particularly discusses about sustainable cities, many of the Goals and Targets need to be implemented via local governments as the main protagonists (see Chapter VI for examples). The receptiveness of other actors other than the member-states meant that the negotiation process in the UN has evolved and that nation-states cannot achieve the Goals by only practicing intergovernmental relations.

Kamau, Chasek and O'Connor (2018) argue that what made the SDGs special, firstly, is that they are universal. Besides acknowledging the local cultural and institutional differences, the Sustainable Development Goals recognize the shared national and global challenges. They present a paradigmatic change of thinking, different from the global development assumptions of the past that have focused on industrialization and did not acknowledge the massive negative environmental impact its waste has caused. Most importantly, the SDGs are equally relevant for developing and developed countries and they assume the country's tendency to align itself with global governance. Secondly, unlike the MDGs which were created by a group of UN experts, the SDGs are a result of a long, transparent and inclusive intergovernmental negotiation process, involving also the business community, civil society, and NGOs. Thirdly, the scope of the SDGs is much wider than that of the MDGs. Besides the aim to eradicate poverty and hunger, they promote inclusive economic growth, protection of the environment, social inclusion, peaceful and just societies, and effective and accountable institutions at all levels. Fourthly, the SDGs are interconnected, where addressing one Goal results in partial achievement of another Goal (KAMAU; CHASEK; O'CONNOR, 2018).

Nonetheless, the 17th Goal and its implementation guidelines remain open for heterogeneous possibilities for policy translation of the 2030 Agenda by the promoters and the adopters (LE BLANC, 2015; CARIUS et al., 2018). For instance, fostering innovation might be done through enhancing indigenous or rural creativity through the arts, or on the other hand, it can mean the privatization of schools to incentivize creativity and increase competition. Moreover, the targets are aspirational because each government sets its national targets guided by the global setting (SACH, 2012). The core values are explicitly stated and they provide good guidance for specific policies and programs. Because they are statements of principals and not practices, the implementation of these principals depends on the local context. Competence among principals may arise, and for that reason, the international and local UNESCO Committees' role is to provide appropriate balance among the competing values.

The normative approach of the Sustainable Development Agenda sets the framework for public policies and their transfer of practices as references for other countries (CARIUS et al., 2018). Based on a broad study of UN policies, Thakur and Weiss (2009) argue that UN policy exists based on the language of norms. Thus, the UN enforces global governance of norms connected to institutions. The language is technical, grounded in good faith and

solutions for problem-solving are presented as common-sense, but in reality, the policies are embedded in power relations and normative agendas (Ibid).

The SDA is an example of the UN offering solutions to urging global matters. The Agenda is unique because it encompasses a whole-of-government approach on a national level and encourages multilateral cooperation (also referred to as effective multilateralism in UN reports) on a global level (BIERMANN; KOOPS, 2017; CARIUS et al., 2018). On a global level, the SDGs are presented as necessary, providing the most suitable solutions for global and national problems. Because they are universal and impartial in their approach, the UN almost guarantees their effectiveness. The norms of the SDGs and the policy proposals of the Agenda 21 for culture, the UN-Habitat, and the New Urban Agenda overlap – all aiming to promote sustainable development (ABBOTT; MARCHANT, 2010; ECHEBARRIA et al., 2004; UN, 2017). Because the objectives of these programs overlap, they dialogue among each other, and thus cities adopt all or some agendas.

Regardless of the criticism, the UN pursues its agenda and it is changing the course of global governance (EVANS; NEWNHAM, 1998; BARNETT; FINNEMORE, 2004; KOZYMKA, 2014). The legitimacy of what Evans and Newnham (1998) refer to as “UN policy” lies in policy not only as a governing principle but also as the action (or inaction) from a certain program to achieve the desired goals in light of a particular problem. Moreover, the role of consultants, donors and/or grant givers, makes the UN institutions become central actors in their specific field presented as “impersonal and neutral, non-exercising power, but serving others” (BARNETT; FINNEMORE, 2004, p.21).

The next section traces the historic importance of UNESCO in the diffusion of the different ideas about development and the role of culture for attaining inclusive growth and sustainability.

The importance of UNESCO in diffusing development policies

Duedahl (2016) argues that when the UN shifted from functionalism to developmentalism, it put on the forefront the UN-specialized agency for education, science and culture – UNESCO – as the ‘leader’ of the ‘era of development’. While other international organizations such as the World Bank and the World Trade Organization have played an

active role in the development of global cultural governance, UNESCO has been the leader of cultural policies for the past fifty years (KOZYMKA, 2014; EMMERIJ et al., 2001).

Established in 1945 with the aim to maintain international peace and order through intellectual solidarity and human approach to morality, UNESCO was based on the thinking that wars can be controlled and even eradicated if new peace arrangements based on cooperation are made (SEITENFUS; VENTURA, 2005). UNESCO's initial aim was to reduce the existing asymmetries among nation-states and increase cooperation among its members through the promotion of the rule of law, protection and promotion of human rights and the fundamental freedoms listed in the United Nation Charter (UN, 1945).

UNESCO's internal structure consists of three main bodies: The General Conference, the Executive Board, and the Secretariat. UNESCO's decision-making power lies in the General Conference that happens every two years and consists of all UNESCO member states, associate members, non-member observers, intergovernmental organizations and non-governmental organizations. Each country has one vote independently of its budgetary contribution¹⁰. At this time, policies, programmes and budgets are set. Moreover, members of the Executive Board are voted and every four years a new Director General is appointed.

The Executive Board does the overall management of the organization. It consists of fifty-eight members elected at the General Conference that meet twice a year. It prepares the work for the General Conference and oversees the decisions taken at the Conference. Moreover, the Board executes the policies, programmes and other tasks set by the General Conference or from other UN institutions or intergovernmental organizations. The Secretariat is the executive body consisting of the Director-General and appointed staffs which are around 700 working in 65 field offices around the world. The Director-General draws up the Programme and Budget, and the Secretariat is responsible for their implementation in the 5 respective sectors: Education, Natural Science, Human & Social Science, Culture and Information and Communication Technologies. The working languages at the General Conference are Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish.

¹⁰ What is unique for UNESCO is its decision-making structure, where independently of the percentage of budgetary contribution, each state is treated equally. Member states that pay larger budgetary contribution are not privileged with decision-making power. Even though the United States contributed 22% of the total annual budget, its position in the institution was the same with the one contributing 0,0001%. For detailed account on UNESCO's autonomy and institutional means of constraining large-contributing member states to steer UNESCO policies, see Fernandes and Lopes, 2015.

As of November 2015, there are 195¹¹ UNESCO member states and 10 associate members¹². The associate members are non-independent states¹³. Duchacek (1990) argues that the non-military and non-diplomatic areas expansion of foreign policy that occurred after the First World War speeded up after the Second World War when the world became rapidly more interconnected. The foreign affairs agendas of many nation-states started addressing policies on education, peace, and culture and for those reasons many countries became UNESCO member states. Furthermore, the economic, social, cultural, and environmental issues affected global security and many nation-states starting acting in those fields because it meant that they were leading a prestigious diplomacy (DUCHACEK, 1990).

UNESCO is the only UN agency with a large outreach to its member states and the key to that have been the UNESCO National Commissions. Their task is to select and implement UN policies and to send information to the UNESCO headquarters in Paris about the local viewpoints and necessities. Duedahl (2016) argues that the importance of the National Commissions needs to be stressed due to their pioneering collaboration with governmental and non-governmental organizations (civil society, schools, universities, clubs and other national institutions) which shows that the UNESCO initiatives had different impact to each local structure. Through the Commissions, UNESCO has offered expert knowledge and opened funds that have helped the work of local NGOs, mostly in the area of education and mass communication that ensures the free flow of information and knowledge (DUEDAHL, 2016). UNESCO is still the only UN institution with a network of National Commissions. In most cases these Commissions are part of the national education or cultural ministries and are not, independent part only of UNESCO.

UNESCO's intergovernmental nature caused difficulties in the implementation of its initiatives at diplomatic and bureaucratic levels, particularly because it strictly followed its policy of "non-interference in internal affairs". When drafting a policy or implementing a

¹¹ During the decolonization process, UNESCO went from being a mainly Western organization to being a truly global institution. From 1958 to 1964 a total of 27 newly independent African states joined the organization, and as a result the focus on development and capacity-building in the newly independent countries became even stronger (DUEDAHL, 2016).

¹² Anguilla, Aruba, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Curaçao, Faroes, Macao, Montserrat, Sint Maarten, Tokelau.

¹³ Three UNESCO member states are not UN member states: Cook Islands, Niue, and Palestine (Palestine is a non-member observer State of the United Nations General Assembly since 29 November 2012), while one UN member state (Liechtenstein) is not a UNESCO member. Kosovo was approved for membership by UNESCO's executive board in 2015. As of 2017 the United States and Israel withdrew from UNESCO.

program, UNESCO officers needed to be extremely careful and take into account the interests of every member-state. For that reason, Duedahl argues that “[T]his diplomatic precaution created a pressing need to universalize the grounds of its activities, separating it from any kind of national or cultural favoritism with the aim of gaining legitimacy among its member states. However, this did not keep certain states from receiving more technical assistance than others, when these states could guarantee the implementation of the missions within their national territories.” (2016, p. 183).

UNESCO’s most important legacy is in its extensive field work through the UN Expanded Program of Technical Assistance established in 1949 aimed to provide technical assistance for economic development to underdeveloped countries. Through this program, UNESCO sent mission experts and equipment that would assist in the modernization of the developing countries. Besides its limited budget, UNESCO managed to diffuse the ideas widely through its experts. Cutroni (2016) explains that UNESCO’s role in Latin America specifically was providing technical assistance, occasionally financing some education-related projects, but most importantly, she argues that its mission was to efficiently implement the set of programs on national and worldwide scale.

Not all UNESCO member-states enjoyed the benefit of the program equally. 26 member states benefited 50% of the experts sent on mission, while 54 states received 75% of them¹⁴. Not all member states could get technical assistance because the request needed to be drafted by the country as a guarantee of the principle ‘help to self-help’ (CURTONI, 2016). For local governments to fill in the request they needed capacitated local institutions, which less developed countries didn’t have. The countries that benefited more from the technical assistance gained prestige and higher recognition of their educational institutions and latter provided technical assistance to other less developed countries. Cutroni (2016) argues that Brazil, Chile and Mexico took advantage of that program at the time and as a consequence of that, currently they are still regional powers in Latin America.

UNESCO’s main action areas were and still are education, culture, and science. UNESCO’s key constitutional focus of achieving its goals is through standardization (IRIYE, 2002; GODIN, 2001; DUEDAHL, 2016). Standardization refers to the introduction of

¹⁴ Considering UNESCO’s member states between 1947 and 1984, the ten countries that received the greatest number of experts were India with 390, Iran with 208, Brazil with 192, Afghanistan with 187, Pakistan with 185, Egypt with 184, Thailand with 182, Indonesia with 167, Nigeria with 162 and Chile and Mexico each with 161 (CUTRONI, 2016).

standards in order to universalize and simplify access to knowledge and information (YUSUF, 2006). Iriye (2002) and Godin (2001) show that UNESCO has been efficient in achieving its objectives through standard-setting approaches.

In the early days, the new vision on development was diffused mainly through education. The key objective, as mentioned above, was free flow of information and knowledge. UNESCO's main diffuser of ideas and knowledge was "the Courier", a popular monthly read, as well as, pamphlets, book publications and films. The transfer of shared knowledge was mainly over binding declarations and normative statements. The Convention against Discrimination in Education adopted in 1960 aimed to combat any kind of religious, cultural or racial discrimination in the education field and ensuring free choice and access to education based on non-discrimination principals. The implementation process meant direct transactions of ideas. An example is the curriculum-based education system based on Anglo-Australian model (CUTRONI, 2016). The first such initiative was the International Literary Exchanges Centre which harmonized bibliographical statistics, standardized bibliographical standards and centralized knowledge (DUEDAHL, 2016). UNESCO has implemented various Conventions on the Recognition of Studies, Diplomas and Degrees in Higher Education in various regions in the world as normative attempt to right to education and universalization of educational practices (Ibid; UNESCO Conventions, 2019). Other, more direct actions of UNESCO experts in education were done through technical assistance. The case of the Congo is among the best example of UNESCO's influence on the ground where UNESCO experts built the entire national education system based on Western-style education (DIKAY, 2016).

The cultural focus historically has been mainly on heritage (YUSUF, 2006; DUEDAHL, 2016). Since the early initiatives, UNESCO aimed at creating a new vision of humanity by promoting the idea of common tangible and intangible heritage. The common heritage of mankind is now a principle of international law that protects cultural and natural sites from exploitation by individual nation states or corporations and entrusts these sites to the future generations (YUSUF, 2006). The promotion of this idea took several shapes: via promotion by written statements and pamphlets, via visits of UNESCO experts, talks in conferences and international meetings, or through technical assistance. The diffusion and transfer of the idea of common heritage was done via adoptions of UNESCO Conventions in the national legislative systems or via direct involvement of UNESCO experts in local institutions. The Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage adopted by UNESCO in 1972, is the foundation on all heritage-related activities, among which the World

Heritage List of Natural and Cultural Sites (1092 in total) that are preserved or protected from ruination. UNESCO publishes the “World Heritage Review”, The World Heritage Paper series and other resource manuals to raise awareness and inform on the issue (YUSUF, 2006; DUEDAHL, 2016). Abi-Saab (2007) and Eisemann (2007) show that UNESCO’s standard-setting approach caused increased collaboration among nation states and other non-governmental actors.

Besides heritage, most recently UNESCO has been actively motivating nation states to implement sound national cultural policies and broaden their scope. For those purposes in 2005 UNESCO adopted the Convention on Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions. This Convention is of key importance because it reaffirms the sovereign rights of states to formulate and implement cultural policies based on the promotion of their cultural diversity and cultural expressions at each stage of the cultural value chain: creation, production, distribution, dissemination, participation and enjoyment (KOZYMKA, 2014). The 2005 Convention was a result of international free trade provisions that put cultural goods and services under the coverage of trade rules and threatened the abovementioned rights of the nation state (UNESCO, 2018). The 2005 Convention is a binding document that all member states need to follow. In sum it guarantees three dimensions: that the symbolic value of cultural goods and services should not be treated as economic goods; that sovereign states are responsible for promoting and protecting the diversity of cultural expressions, the free flow of ideas and cultural works; and that international cultural cooperation is needed for those goals to be achieved (UNESCO, 2005; WOUTERS; VIDAL, 2007). In addition, Okediji (2006) presents the important normative influence of this Convention on the shaping of the international copyright system and its standardization on international level and the active leadership of UNESCO by creating and managing the Universal Copyright Convention.

A third branch of UNESCO’s focus is science, particularly natural, social and human sciences. In terms to natural sciences, UNESCO is committed to scientifically understanding the natural cycle and the natural riches (mines, water, forestry, etc.) and use technology and innovation to further develop natural science policies and reform the current science system which exploits the natural resources. In terms to social and human sciences, UNESCO has developed programs for intercultural dialogue aiming at social transformation of culturally diverse societies living in peace. Espiell (2005) shows how UNESCO strengthens moral solidarity in the field of genetics and bioethics in a standardized way. As of 1996 UNESCO has been committed to standardize the measurement on science and technology. It has drafted

a standard methodology on science and technology statistics (UNESCO, 1996; GODIN, 2001). More recently, UNESCO has focused on the information and communication technologies as well as the usage of new media and new communication strategies in order to constantly keep up with the technological developments (GODIN, 2001)

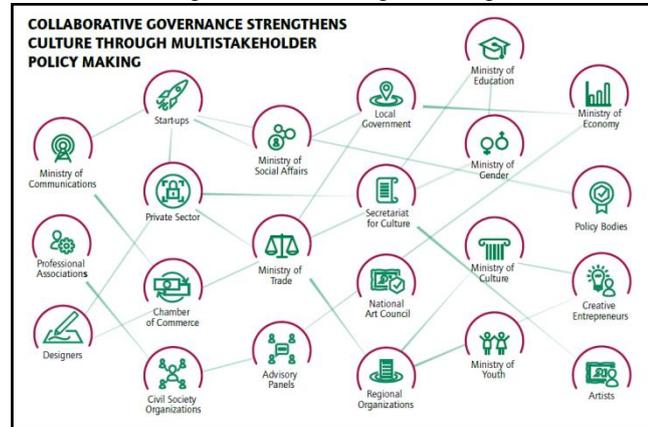
The complex interaction of education, culture and science for the promotion of peace, security and international understanding reflected the deep inequalities present in the world. On the one side, developed countries gave priority to intellectual activities, and on the other side, developing countries gave priority to reduction of poverty, illness and illiteracy (DUEDAHL, 2016).

The most recent shift to the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda gave UNESCO new responsibilities. In the latest self-definition, UNESCO continues to define itself as standard-setting expert, aiming at establishing frameworks for advocacy and practical instruments for the implementation of the sustainable development agenda (GODIN, 2001; OKEDIJI, 2006; DUEDAHL, 2016; UNESCO, 2017). The new development approach has taken the role of culture more seriously by assigning three dimensions: worldwide advocacy for culture and development; engaging the international community to set of clear policies and legal frameworks as well as supporting local governments in implementing it; and assist local actors to safeguard heritage, foster the cultural and creative industries and cultural diversity (UNESCO, 2019). The understanding of culture has gone beyond tangible and intangible heritage, towards the inclusion of cultural diversity, innovation, creativity, information and communication technologies and digitalization. Thus, UNESCO recognizes culture in its multidisciplinary importance for the development agenda as well as its industrial potential for economic growth.

UNESCO plays an active role in the implementation of the SDGs by providing effective coordination, coherence, and cooperation within the United Nations system on topics of science, technology, and innovation-related matters based on capacity-building initiatives and collaborative governance on multiple levels (see Figure 2). Collaborative governance through multi-stakeholder policy process is essential for the implementation of the Agenda (UNESCO, 2017). For those reasons, UNESCO cooperates closely with the High-Political body, the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the Secretariat, the United Nations Environment Programme, the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, the

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the International Telecommunication Union, the World Intellectual Property Organization and the World Bank.

Figure 2: Example of collaborative governance strategies through multi-stakeholder policy process



Source: UNESCO, 2017

In conclusion, UNESCO's institutional prestige, recognition and status as an expert in the fields of education, science and culture, has given UNESCO the authority to take decisions and act independently (EMMERIJ et al., 2001; KOZYMKA, 2014). UNESCO has a very strict policy of non-interference in internal affairs, which is a result of a diplomatic precaution and also adds to the image of impartiality that the institution has built up over the years (CUTRONI, 2016).

UNESCO's role in the current development paradigm - the shift to knowledge based economy and the rise of the cultural and creative industries

The 20th century has marked a turn in the global economy towards investment in the 'intangible' services such as research and development, information and communication technology, skills improvements of the private and public sector and growth of the number of experts working in high technology products (OECD, 1996). From the 1970s onwards, particularly in advanced capitalist societies (mostly in the G7 countries¹⁵), there is a rapid shift in the workforce from farming or manufacturing services to services of handling goods and information (CASTELLS; AOYAMA, 1994). These are called knowledge-based economies. They are increasingly recognizing the economic importance of information, technology, and innovation. Landry (2012) argues that creativity is treated as the new currency and method of exploring and managing resources in a knowledge-based economy.

¹⁵ The G7 countries are: Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States.

Classical political economy has assumed that the production of physical output is what makes the real economy, whereas services were seen as unproductive and wasteful (ALLEN; DU GAY, 1994). Currently, there is a growing convergence between manufacturing and services. The significance of design and service principles in delivering quality products to meet specific customers expectations, combined with flexible production means, are what make the new service economy (HIRSCHHORN, 1988). In other words, “while services sector industries are becoming industrialised and using information and communication technologies (ICTs) to enhance productivity, manufacturing industries are increasingly adopting the ‘relational’ elements of product sale and delivery that have historically typified the services sector” (ALLEN; DU GAY, 1994, p. 22).

The industrial focus on creativity has distinguished a new social group that Florida (2002) calls the creative class. The creative class is part of the cultural and creative industries, of institutes that conduct research and development and is engaged in urban-related issues¹⁶. They are the people who work in the knowledge economy – scientists, engineers, artists, designers, writers, professors, poets, musicians’ law and health practitioners, etc. (FLORIDA, 2002). A creative class, however, cannot survive if the structure in which it operates does not nurture its creativity.

Castells has observed that the new economy is cultural, its dynamics are dependent upon “the culture of innovation, the culture of risk, the culture of expectations, and ultimately, on the culture of hope in the future” (2001, p.112). Characterized by the “new” forms of services which are informational, global and networked (CASTELLS, 2000), the cultural and creative industries are the moving force of the knowledge-based economy. Additionally, Pratt (2001) observes that knowledge in the “new” economy is embedded in people, locations, networks and institutions and cultural activity is becoming more tied to places, particularly cities. Galloway and Dunlop (2007) argue that the increased global importance of the cultural and creative industries is due to increased leisure time, technology and other context specific developments in advanced countries. They also stress the importance of the shift of art in society from an elitist to democratic and inclusive good (GALLOWAY; DUNLOP, 2007).

¹⁶ The mainstream literature focuses on the creative class and enterprises as key elements for creativity, but it doesn't explain the coordination between them as well as the reproduction of socio-economic inequalities and gentrification processes that arise (PECK, 2009; SCOTT, 2001).

It is assumed that a region's competitiveness in the global market lies in its creativity and innovation and the more innovative the environment is, the more its citizens would feel professionally accomplished. The result of that relation would be economic growth (REIS, 2011, p. 31). The resources reflect the potential and the cultural uniqueness of a place that is central (not marginal as thus far) in the urban planning, economic prosperity and social development (PECK, 2009; SCOTT, 2001).

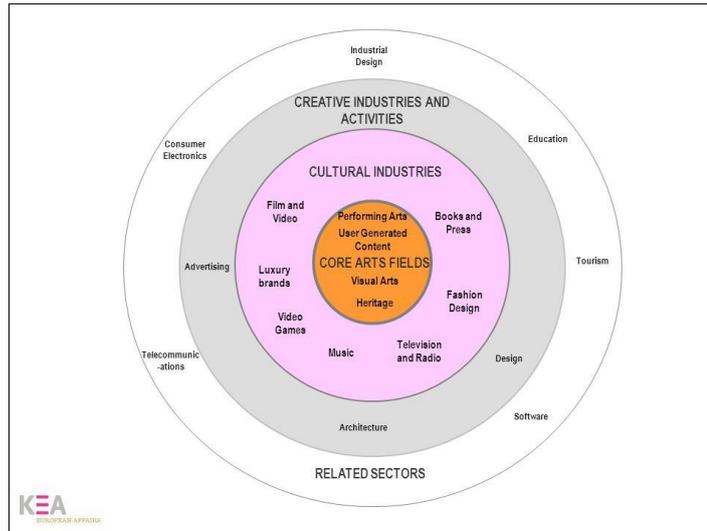
Caves defines both, cultural¹⁷ and creative industries¹⁸ as “supply of goods and services that we broadly associate with cultural, artistic, or simply entertainment value” (2000, p.1). Thorsby (2001) defines creative industries as cultural products and services that involve creativity in their production, have a certain level of intellectual property and transmit symbolic significance. Hartley (2005) proposes a fusion between technology and culture, particularly information and communication where he argues, there should be a convergence between the individual talent with mass creative industries in the context of new media and the new knowledge economy in order to create new interactive citizens and customers. Thus, the key element of culture necessary for the fostering of the industries is *innovation*.

Pratt (2015) argues that creativity and innovation are relational activities and because of their relationship, collaborative engagements among the sectors occur (e.g. musical shows and new technologies; collaborations between script writers and film producers, etc.). That also makes the creative economy somewhat different from the traditional industries. Moreover, its structure is different – there are few large organizations and thousands of small ones (micro enterprises, self-employed, single person businesses) that form the economy on global level (PRATT; JEFFCUTT, 2009).

Figure 3: Sectorial division among the core arts, the cultural industries, the creative industries and the related sectors.

¹⁷ The term cultural industry has appeared first in the literature by Adorno and Horkheimer (1977), as critique to the industrialization of culture in terms of standardization and mass production of cultural goods in advanced capitalist societies. What followed was number of definitions which refer to the cultural or creative industries contribution to the national economies and to the value-adding possibilities of artistic creativity, well distributed to markets and their consumers (FELW, 2002).

¹⁸ In the literature cultural and creative industries are used interchangeably. There is a different approach to the creative industries based on the country-specific contexts. For instance, the term cultural industries is most used in Europe, whereas creative industries in the United States. In practice, they are taken to mean the same (HARTLEY, 2005). Hesmondhalgh (2007) distinguishes between the two terms theoretically and argues that the term creative industries reflect the rooting of neoliberalism in national economies. However, different countries have adopted one term or the other and most often there is a thin line in the differentiation between cultural or creative industries.



Source: www.keanet.eu¹⁹

Creative industries are all industries subject to intellectual property rights. They are concerned with the production and dissemination of cultural goods in modern economies and societies (HESMONDHALGH, 2007). Different definitions include wider or shorter list of industries, but generally, are the following: advertising, architecture, arts and antique markets, crafts, design, games, interactive media, fashion, film, literature, music, television and radio, performing arts, publishing and software (FLEW, 2002). KEA European Affairs research centre distinguishes among the two in the following way (Figure 3). It separates the core industries (performing arts, user generated content, visual arts, and heritage) from the cultural industries (music, TV and radio, fashion and design, books and press, film and video, luxury brands and video games) and the creative industries (advertising, architecture, and design) and the related branches such as education, tourism, telecommunications, etc.

It is important to note that the idea of creative industries is ‘western’. The term was first used by the British government in 1997 when mapping the cultural industries and drafting policy recommendations for their further development. Since then the term has been applied in Australia, Canada and later it was diffused via the international organizations. The term creative industry was internationalized in 2004 after the XI Ministerial Conference of UNCTAD when it was formally introduced in the international economic agenda for development (DE BEUKELAER, 2012). Since then UNCTAD is occasionally publishing reports on the Creative Economy program through which is studying the leading role of

¹⁹Available at: <http://slideplayer.com/slide/6913301/23/images/4/CREATIVE+INDUSTRIES+AND+ACTIVITIES+User+Generated+Content.jpg>. Accessed on 28/05/2019.

cultural and creative industries in the global economy and their role in trade and development (UNCTAD, 2019).

The cultural and creative industries that rely on creativity and innovation, rather than the traditional sources such as land, labour and capital are summarised in the term creative economy (HAWKINS, 2001; CASTELLS, 1996; FLEW, 2002). It is a “new” economic branch which accommodates the “expanding influence of economic thinking in society” (HAWKINS, 2001). Creative economy assumes societies with artistic and intellectual freedom and with access to knowledge and capital. Creativity and economy are ancient practices, but the intensity of cultivation of the relationship between them, Hawkins (2001) argues, is new and is reflected in the urban life, such as emergence of new types of jobs, increased leisure time and activities, etc.

Creative economy has been used in multiple ways which definitions are not mutually exclusive. Its polyvalent nature lays in the interdisciplinary approaches, from economy, geography, culture to policy and governance (GIBSON; KONG, 2005). Characteristics of the creative economy are: aggregated value to intangible activities (industrial rights, author’s rights); fusion of cultural policies, technology and economy with or without commercial ends (creativity-driven economy); integrated value networks of all economic sectors; and putting digital technologies at the heart of creation, production, circulation and consumption (REIS, 2011).

A key characteristic of the creative economy is its focus on *urban development*. Even though there is not enough robust data for global comparison, there is an evident policy focus on the urban-creativity nexus, demonstrated via clusters and creative hubs which became significant players in the national or regional economies (POWER; NIELSEN, 2010). For example, in 2002 the creative sector was the third largest one in the London economy (GLA ECONOMICS, 2004; GLA ECONOMICS, 2007).

The UN’s sustainable development agenda is also highly concerned with urban development. Particularly, UNESCO started the initiative Culture for Sustainable Urban Development which published the Global Report on Culture for Sustainable Cities (2015). The report highlights the link between UNESCO’s Conventions on Culture and the implementation of the 2030. Among the topics addressed are fostering creativity and innovation and safeguarding the world’s cultural and natural heritage. Moreover, the report presents recommendations of cultural policies for sustainable development and promotes

culture-based approach to urban planning through the New Urban Agenda²⁰. Finally, the initiative promotes and organizes events on the subject such as the International Conference on Culture for Sustainable Cities (2015) and the Third United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Development²¹ (2016).

The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in 2008 published the Creative Economy Report which was the first study to present UN's policy perspective on this topic. The UNCTAD (UN, 2010) report stressed the impact of creative economy on trade and development. In 2008, when the entire global trade went down to 12%, the value of the creative goods more than doubled (they reached \$592 billion from 2002). The creative economy generated economic growth at a progressively increasing rate on global level. The UNCTAD Creative Economy Report of 2013 argues that the creative economy generated "US\$2.2 trillion worldwide in 2000 and it is growing at an annual rate of 5 per cent" (UN, 2013, p. 20). Additionally, developing nation-states have rapidly implemented policies on creative industries as a way to level-up with the developed countries (PRATT, 2008). Another publication of the report followed in 2017 that aimed to understand the role of creative economy in developed and developing countries. The reports stress the importance of creative economy not only as a driver of the local economy through increasing employment rates and diminishing poverty, but also as a driver of social, environmental and cultural development (UN, 2013).

Through implementing policies regarding the creative industries and fostering the creative economy, the role of culture in society contributes to combating poverty, enables social cohesion and promotes cultural diversity. Through the participation in cultural activities, for instance neighbourhood cultural projects that aim to smoothen social tensions or improve people's welfare, people engage with their communities and accept the cultural diversity²² (BIANCHINI, 1988; BIANCHINI; PARKINSON, 1993; BIANCHINI; SANTACATTERINA, 1997). Consequently, Landry argues that policies as such lead to more sustainable urban governance (2000; 2005).

²⁰ <http://habitat3.org/the-new-urban-agenda/>

²¹ It is interesting to notice that during the event, there was a parallel event called Resistance to "UN-Habitat III" independently organized by professors, social movements and intellectuals that opposed the UN model of urban development. This event shows that the set of norms and practices UN diffuses are not universally accepted. Their opposition at the event was not welcomed, but blocked by strong presence of the police.

²² for the effectiveness of such projects, see MATARASSO, 1997; DCMS, 1999.

UNESCO's role is to promote the current paradigm of sustainable development via the abovementioned reports and experts, thus the organization continues to act as technical assistant. On its website, UNESCO has a special tab for a list of worldwide experts on Diversity of Cultural Expressions, which also covers the topics of cultural and creative industries, creative cities and the creative economy (UNESCO, 2019c). These experts have limited mandate, they are independent actors that offer capacity-building assistance to national or private entities that want to hire them or are currently on UNESCO-specific mission.

The rise of the creative city

Porter (1998) has described the rise of creative cities and creative city-regions as the development of clusters. He defines clusters as “geographic concentrations of interconnected companies and institutions in a particular field” (PORTER, 1998, p. 78). The clusters are usually located within or around cities that have modern and well-equipped office spaces and access to networks of individuals and companies with complementary skills (mostly business and legal skills) aimed at producing new knowledge, processes and products. Moreover, clusters are characterized with stimulating entrepreneurial approach for urban solutions, embracing cultural diversity, creativity and democratic values (LANDRY, 2000). A cluster can consist of universities and research institutions which provide technical knowledge, an enterprise which produces a product, a manufacturing company which delivers the product, suppliers that provide the specific infrastructure, etc. An example could be the Silicon Valley in San Francisco, USA or groups of spaces within a city marked by festivals, tourism, and strategies incentivizing creativity and innovation²³ (PRATT, 2004; LANDRY, 2000). Clusters are a result of the creative and cultural industries and their contribution to symbolic values tied to places, constructing new narratives about those spaces (O'CONNOR; GU, 2013).

The networks of clusters within a city or internationally have a global reach of local cultural practices and experiences. The Internet has considerably facilitated this real-time transaction. Where as in traditional terms, the national cultural authorities needed specific funding to direct a cultural content towards particular national goals, now these authorities have almost no control over the content diffused by many actors and clusters simultaneously,

²³ Saskia Sassen (1991) refers to them as *global cities*; Castells and Hall (1994) refer to them as *technopoles*.

and if public cultural authorities want to survive, they need to encourage the networked clusters (PORTER 1998; O'CONNOR; GU, 2013).

Creative city is a model of urban development policy that is sensitive to the local socio-cultural structures through which it promotes local or national economic development. The term was firstly used by David Yencken (1988) who argues that cities need to be efficient and fair and creativity needs to be the key element which fosters emotionally satisfying places and experiences for its citizens.

Reis (2011) argues that a creative city is coherent with the social paradigm of urban development which gives attention to the socio-cultural particularities and to economic development. Charles Landry narrowed the connotation of creative city by stressing the importance of culture for social, economic and urban development, and focusing on the contextual characteristics of each city or region (LANDRY; BIANCHINI, 1995). Landry (2009) further argues that the need for a creative city lies in the necessity to rethink urban organization and its resources in times where drastic paradigms occur. For him a creative city is a place which stimulates and incorporates a culture of creativity in a way which the local stakeholders are the protagonists (LANDRY, 2009). Throsby (2001) talks about the importance of the intangible values of the economy characterized by culture and creativity, and its role in the building of community's identity, cohesion and co-habitation through the cultural practices, in parallel with diminishing the unemployment rates and increasing productivity.

Besides embracing the creative economy, creative cities needs to offer a specific lifestyle, as Florida's (2004) creative class who has passionate quest for experience²⁴. A creative life full of high-quality and multidimensional experiences similar to street-level culture, full of cafes, galleries, and street musicians. For him, a key element of the creative city is the mobility of the creative class which once established, can work remotely. Florida's creative class thesis dialogues directly with new regionalism thesis which covers the new trends of spatially intense articulation of urban policy and its engagement with culture, creativity and social diversity (McCANN, 2007).

Creative cities are the ones which economy actively relies on culture and are key territorial players in the global economy because they concentrate interrelated economic

²⁴ Due to that, some authors refer to the creative economy as experience economy.

activities, thus have become relatively autonomous actors in urban development (MORGAN, 2014). The creative city model is part of the rethinking of the new paradigm of urban development that considers cultural policies in the entrepreneurial turn. The creative city takes advantage of its unique cultural and territorial identity to promote itself internationally (VIEIRA DE JESUS, 2017).

What makes a city territorially creative is the agglomeration of cultural infrastructure such as museums, cinemas, archaeological sites; its natural attractions (the Great Canyon in the USA, the Amazon forest in Brazil, etc); its intangible heritage (customs, cuisine, instruments, etc); public and private investment in research and development (universities, research centres, start-ups, enterprises, etc); and the creative class. Cities thus function as centres of learning and innovation and are constituted of dense transactions of many independent activities which result in the exchange of encounters and experiences which circulate and create information and thus multiply the creativity process. Thus cities foster entrepreneurship and innovative energy (SCOTT, 2001).

Pratt (2005) argues that a city needs to be linked to the existing cultural environment and it cannot be built out of scratch. Culture becomes a dimension of territorial development; thus the creative city needs to be an open, public space that acknowledges the social, environmental and cultural dimensions. By advancing territorial development, urban policies of the creative city model take a human approach to development. Creative cities aim at establishing economic, social and territorial cohesion, recognizing the development of the territory as a new paradigm that combats inequalities and promotes social justice and equal opportunities.

Reis (2011) presents a more coherent measurement of what a creative city looks like when compared to a mere marketing city strategy (Table 1). A creative city occurs when: creativity is diffused rather than concentrated or isolated in sectors; when leadership is divided among all social actors concerned; when connections are networked rather than in nodes; when the geographic and mental maps are overlapping rather than non-connecting; and when the public space belongs to all (REIS, 2011, p.60).

Table 1: Creative City versus City Marketing

	City marketing	Creative City
Culture as	Spectacle	Diversity/singularity
Creativity	Copied from abroad	Produced (endogenous)
Role of cultural symbolism	Attraction of tourists and investors	Cultural expression which attracts tourists and investors as a result

Objective of the Creative City	Financial and urban growth	Interdisciplinary and transversal (economic, social, environmental, cultural growth)
Role of urbanism	Mimetic	Starting point of uniqueness
Beneficiaries	Investors and political elites	Wide range of social actors (including investors and political elites)
Role of society	Not present	Appropriation of the city
City as	A product, project	Continuous process
Moto	Exclusion	Inclusion

Source: REIS, 2011, p.60. Personal translation

From a policy perspective, the creative city concept was firstly implemented in Melbourne by the Ministry of Planning and Environment, the Australia Council and the Ministry for the Arts in 1988. Its focus was to explore the idea of integrated planning for urban development. As a result, in 1989 the Creative Australia National Workshop was organized and was taken as a best practice, inspiring British policymakers to do something similar. What followed in Brittan were series of published articles such as “Glasgow: The Creative City and its Cultural Economy” among others.

There have been few attempts of measuring the creative city. Landry and Florida have created the Creative City Index and Creativity Index, respectively for those purposes.

Landry’s Creative City Index consists of internal, external and online evaluation of a city based on various variables among which: political and public framework; diversity, vitality and expression; openness, confidence, tolerance and accessibility; entrepreneurship, discovery and innovation; strategic leadership, agility and vision; talent development and the learning landscape; communication, connectivity and networking; place-making; habitation and welfare; professionalism and efficacy (LANDRY; HYAMS, 2012). The index has been used to compare and rank global cities’ creativity. Landry has been contracted as advisor for many global cities to improve their global ranking.

Florida’s Creativity Index captures the economic potential of metropolitan regions and embodies a mix of features that would allow a city to be successful in the creative economy. He identifies talent, technology and tolerance (Table 2) as key variables for measuring a city’s creativity. Similar to Landry, Florida has also been consulting global cities and national policy-makers on how to make their city or country more culturally appealing and globally attractive to the creative class. The index is a very good attempt of measuring the creative economy of a setting, however the data needed to measure the index is not easily available.

Table 2: The Creative Index

Talent	-Index of creative class (% of creative professionals) -Index of human capital (% of the population between 25 and 64 years old at university level) -Index of scientific talent
Technology	-Index of research and development (% of GDP) -Index of innovation (patents) -Index of high tech innovation (technological patents).
Tolerance	-Index of attitude -Index of value (traditional x modern values) -Index of self-expression (individual rights and right of expression)

Source: FLORIDA, 2004

The report from the Martin Prosperity Institute, “Creativity and Prosperity: the Global Creativity Index” (2015) created a ranking of country’s creativity based on Florida’s Creativity Index which looks as the following (Table 3):

Table 3: Top 20 global Creativity Index ranking in 2015.

TOTAL RANK	COUNTRY	TECHNOLOGY	TALENT	TOLERANCE	GLOBAL CREATIVITY INDEX
1	Sweden	5	2	7	0.923
2	United States	3	8	8	0.902
3	Finland	1	1	19	0.894
4	Denmark	7	4	14	0.878
5	Australia	15	7	5	0.870
6	New Zealand	19	5	4	0.866
7	Canada	11	17	1	0.862
7	Norway	12	6	11	0.862
9	Singapore	10	3	17	0.858
10	Netherlands	17	11	3	0.854
11	Belgium	16	12	13	0.813
12	Ireland	20	21	2	0.805
13	United Kingdom	18	19	10	0.789
14	Switzerland	6	22	20	0.785
15	France	14	23	16	0.764
15	Germany	9	26	18	0.764
17	Spain	24	28	6	0.744
18	Taiwan	—	32	21	0.737
19	Italy	26	18	23	0.707
20	Hong Kong	22	37	12	0.691

Source: Martin Prosperity Institute Website²⁵

In sum, the literature shows that a creative city is a combination of *creative class* (FLORIDA, 2002; 2004; 2017); *creative structure (territorialisation and clusters)* (HESMONDHALGH; PRATT, 2005; MORGAN, 2014; LANDRY, 2000) and national and international *connectedness* (VIEIRA DE JESUS, 2017). For that reason, the working definition of a creative city used in the research is from an institutional approach, defining creative city as *institutionalized sub-regional program which promotes urban development by*

²⁵ Available at: <http://martinprosperity.org/tag/creativity-index/>. Accessed on: 10/03/2019.

fostering the cultural and the creative industries, the creative class, the creative structure and cultural paradiplomacy.

Creativity is often seen as a successful strategy for local development. However, this development model is not free from criticism or potential negative factors. Some of these criticisms are associated with the exclusive focus on cultural initiatives as a factor of territorial development. Thus, cultural initiatives, which are considered essential to the creative development of cities, however well organized and efficient, cannot solve all of the problems affecting urbanization.

The common argument that the success of economic interests will be beneficial to the city often leads to the monopolization of cultural activities and local heritage in favour of marketing and advertising strategies. If the diffusion of the image of the city leads to attraction of investors and consequently leads to an increase in its economic development, when the plan is carried out without taking into account the interests of the local population, the impact on heritage and the environment may be counterproductive and problematic. There are numerous examples of UNESCO World Heritage Sites which are now endangered due to the overwhelming number of tourists²⁶. Another reaction to the overinvestment in the creative industries is the problem of gentrification. Gentrification refers to the change of urban landscape where previously low-income areas become attractive to the high-income population, resulting in the rise of prices (LEE, 2018). Hyper-gentrification occurs when international or big companies start to operate in a low-income or abandoned area and they completely change the urban landscape of that territory (Ibid). Such an example is the Silicon Valley in California where after opening the Google headquarters, housing prices and taxes skyrocketed (STEHLIN, 2015).

The final section of this chapter describes the operation of the UNESCO Creative Cities Network, the creative city model UNESCO promotes and its programs for the implementation of the SDGs on local levels.

²⁶Among the many examples is Dubrovnik's Old Town with views of Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque churches where due to high number of tourists, the site started to crumble. As a result Dubrovnik's mayor, Mato Franković, pushed for restrictions on cruise ship travel into the city's Old Town to up to 4,000 people at any given moment.

The UNESCO Creative Cities Network and the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals

The UNESCO Creative Cities Network (UCCN) is one of UNESCO's programs aimed to implement the SDA. The Network facilitates a direct relationship between UNESCO and a city wants to implement the SGA on local level. The UCCN is the only UN program that directly promotes the city as locus for sustainable and urban development and that is actively cooperating with other networks such as the United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG).

The UNESCO Creative Cities Network (UCCN) is an international network of creative cities (henceforth referred to as only the Network) created out of the need for global cooperation on cultural diversity and sustainable urban development (UNESCO, 2018). It was born out of UNESCO's Global Alliance for Cultural Diversity initiative created in 2002 which objective was to foster partnerships in cultural industries for development in developing countries. The initiative operated under the objective of the 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions. In 2004, the UK government proposed²⁷ the creation of the Networks of Creative Cities within the Global Alliance for Cultural Diversity, which latter was called the Creative Cities Network. In the explanatory note on the 170th Conference of the UNESCO Executive Board in 2004 is stated:

“Our cities are becoming laboratories of cultural diversity. Some cities are also actively promoting cultural industries, by providing incentives to small- and medium-size enterprises. The resultant growth in local economies and increase in public understanding of cultural diversity offer further incentives to cultural industries, as we have seen in the case of the United Kingdom” (UNESCO, 2004).

The Network operates on three functional levels: local, thematic and global (ROSI, 2014). On the local level, each city develops an annual plan of action through which it will implement the UCCN's mission and objectives. At this stage, on some occasions there is involvement of other cities, but mostly through knowledge-sharing. On global level, the activities among the UCCN members are organized by all cities, such as the Annual Meetings, which are more administrative in nature. Finally, on thematic level the cities engage in inter-city cooperation, particularly through the thematic sub-networks (Ibid).

Initially, the Network started with 1 member city in 2004 which was Edinburgh City of Literature, suggested by the UK. Additional 5 cities were selected in 2005 and in 2017 the

²⁷ As mentioned in the previous section, the UK has established cultural policies and specific programs for creative cities since the 1990s, thus its proposal for establishing this Network is taking a leading role in IR in cultural and creative industries.

Network approved the membership of 64 cities from 72 countries. Currently 180 cities are UCCN members²⁸ (Figure 4). The member-cities background is very diverse in terms of size and population, location, GDP levels and economic development (UN, 2017) (Image 3).

Figure 4: Number of incorporated cities per year at the UCCN



Source: MATOVIC et al., 2018, p.15

Image 3: UNESCO Creative Cities Network Members



Source: UNESCO Creative Cities Website²⁹

From the data in Figure 4, it is evident that the increasing interest in cities’ membership at the UCCN has significantly increased right after the introduction of the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda. This might have been a result of UNESCO’s active promotion of the

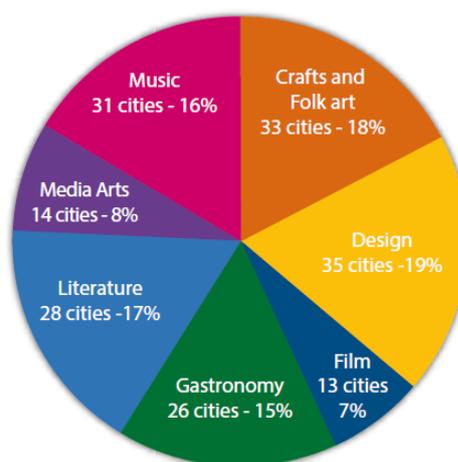
²⁸ China is the leading country with 13 cities, followed by the UK with 10, USA and Italy with 9 cities each.

²⁹ Available at: <https://en.unesco.org/creative-cities/creative-cities-map>. Accessed on 10/03/2019

Network as means of achieving the SDA on national and local levels through the National Commissions.

Membership at the Network endorses cities with the title of a creative city of a specific area: crafts and folk art, design, film, gastronomy, literature, media arts or music (UNESCO, 2018) (Image 3). The application process is open to all UN member-states and Associate Members³⁰. The selection is done via online candidacy form filled by a team of a city's municipality partnering with local enterprises, NGOs and other entities directly involved with culture, creativity and innovation. The team needs to justify the city's historic and contemporary link with the particular field by providing descriptive information of the city, based on economic, social and cultural indicators and a detailed description of the cultural attractions of the city in the specific field. Once selected to be part of the Network the cities receive ideational assistance from UNESCO experts, they share best practices and develop partnerships on national and international level to meet the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Moreover, each member gets to be part of the category specific UCCN sub-network. Membership at these sub-networks is also voluntary and not all cities are part of their respective sub-group.

Figure 5: Percentage of UCCN Cities within each category up until 2017.



Source: MATOVIC et al., 2018, p.14

Interestingly, UNESCO's selection process has changed over the years. At the beginning the application process was fairly flexible. Any city-candidate could submit a free-format application at any time and the UNESCO board would decide on its eligibility. In 2013,

³⁰See the complete list at: <https://en.unesco.org/countries>

UCCN changed the application format by introducing the Handbook for Applicants which outlines strict application guidelines for each category. At the same time, a formal Application Form was also introduced (UNESCO, 2019). The change is said to facilitate the process for the applicants (MATOVIC et al., 2018; UNESCO, 2018). In addition to the application form, since 2014, each city needs to submit five endorsement letters of other UCCN member cities, a statement by the local mayor, a formal letter of endorsement to the candidature by the National Commission for UNESCO of the country and formal support letters from the national professional associations in the field concerned. Since 2014, also the application call opens every two years.

The final decision is taken by the Director-General of UNESCO, after previous internal pre-screening, together with selected external experts of each specific field and/or urban development and the member cities representative of the seven creative fields³¹.

The UCCN's structure is composed of the Secretariat and the Steering Group. The Secretariat is hosted by UNESCO and has the leading role. It ensures the overall management of the Network on a global level. It proposes and leads strategic and programmatic initiatives, as well as research and development projects. The Secretariat provides support to member cities through guidance and capacity building material, mobilizes fundraisings and promotes the Network's visibility through communication and advocacy on an international level. The Secretariat is also responsible for the coordination of the designation process and convenes the Network's Annual Meeting.

The Steering Group was created in 2014 and acts as a link between UNESCO and the 7 sub-networks. It was created to ensure a division between UNESCO and its member-states. It is composed of city representatives of each sub-network that change every two years. The Steering Group collaborates with the Secretariat on questions related to programme implementation, membership, communication, evaluation or funding. Moreover, the Steering Group coordinates the activities of the annual meetings for each creative field; it monitors the evaluation process of member cities, the monitoring reports of cities, and their communication with the Secretariat (UNESCO, 2017).

³¹Complete application guidelines are available here: https://en.unesco.org/creative-cities/sites/creative-cities/files/2019-uccn-call_application-guide_en_1.pdf

The UCCN is guided by three documents: the Mission Statement, The Strategic Framework and the UCCN Objectives. UCCN's Mission statement is to "strengthen cooperation with and among cities that have recognized creativity as a strategic factor of sustainable development as regards economic, social, cultural and environmental aspects" (UNESCO, 2019a, p.1). The Strategic Framework "represents the collective vision of the whole UCCN Network, shared by both UNESCO and UCCN member cities, and carries a global message on ways in which culture and creativity can serve cities' development." (UNESCO, 2017, p.1). Currently, the UCCN established strategic framework that covers a four-year period 2017-2021. The strategic framework draws from UCCN annual meetings, the constant expansion of their pool of experts, study projects, scientific conferences, the UCCN Membership Monitoring Exercise, UCCN data and best practices. There has been a shift in focus of the Network throughout the years. It started with greater focus on the fine arts and the cultural industries such as literature, music and folk art, but it latter turned to more market-driven industries such as design and gastronomy (UNITED NATIONS, 2010a; MATOVIC et al., 2018). Finally, cities that join the Network commit to fulfil the following UCCN objectives:

- "strengthen international cooperation between cities that have recognized creativity as a strategic factor of their sustainable development;
- stimulate and enhance initiatives led by member cities to make creativity an essential component of urban development, notably through partnerships involving the public and private sectors and civil society.
- strengthen the creation, production, distribution and dissemination of cultural activities, goods and services;
- develop hubs of creativity and innovation and broaden opportunities for creators and professionals in the cultural sector;
- improve access to and participation in cultural life as well as the enjoyment of cultural goods and services, notably for marginalized or vulnerable groups and individuals;
- fully integrate culture and creativity into local development strategies and plans." (UNESCO, 2017).

To fulfil the objectives, the UNESCO Creative Cities Network also presents areas of action that guide the implementation of the objectives and creation of local policies. It states that the policy implementation needs to take place at the municipality level and the international level through:

- "sharing experiences and best practices;
- pilot projects, partnerships and initiatives associating the public and private sectors, and civil society;
- professional and artistic exchange programmes and networks;
- studies, research and evaluations on the experience of the Creative Cities;
- policies and measures for sustainable urban development;
- communication and awareness raising activities." (UNESCO, 2017).

The UCCN creative cities are encouraged to experiment with the implementation of innovative cultural policies, conduct research, collect data and create strategies to measure the impact of culture on sustainable development. The Network stimulates partnerships between private, public and civil society actors to strengthen the cultural industries and promote the diversity of cultural expressions. Development of guidelines, strategies, operational instruments and good practices for cultural policies that can be replicated in other cities are also encouraged. In return, cities gain international recognition and branding. As stated in UCCN's application guidelines: "Being part of the UCCN provides your city with a stronger voice at the international level, to take part in global discussions on creativity and sustainable cities, as well as to promote the recognition of your innovativeness" (UNESCO, 2019b, p. 1).

The Strategic Framework and Objectives of the UCCN are revisited on every annual meeting where each member can bring new suggestions. The annual meeting is an occasion to straighten the relationships among the cities, establish new partnerships, determine the future goals of the network and oversee the implementation of UCCN's objectives and the SDGs (UNESCO, 2018). Besides their constant reference, the cities agreed to officially integrate the Sustainable Development Goals and the New Urban Agenda as guidelines for the new Strategic Framework and Objectives at the XI Annual Meeting held in Enghien-les-Bains in 2018 (UNESCO, 2018).

The cities need to submit monitoring reports every four years. The evaluation procedure is in line with the idea that creativity is central to sustainable urban development (MATOVIC et al., 2018). In their evaluation reports, cities need to show that their local policies have been steered towards creativity and straightened international outreach (UNESCO, 2019). It is a self-evaluating report of the initiatives and goals the city has committed to accomplishing by being a member of the UCCN. The Monitoring Reports need to follow specific guidelines which are the following: contribution to the network's global management, major initiatives implemented at the local level to achieve the objectives of the UCCN, major initiatives implemented through inter-city cooperation to achieve the objectives of the UCCN, proposed action plan for the forthcoming mid-term period of four years (UNESCO, 2017, p. 9-10). The city's title is reconsidered if it fails to meet UCCN objectives, to prove its contribution to the UCCN or to submit the Monitoring Report after six months or one year from the due date. If the Creative City does not submit the mandatory documents on time, it is asked to do so via written recommendation. If, after receiving the written recommendation, the city still hasn't complied, it is excluded from the Network. Another way of exclusion of the Network is if a

member city receives an “unsatisfactory” evaluation in two consecutive reporting periods (UNESCO, 2017). The city can also leave the Network voluntarily at any time.

Through the monitoring process, UNESCO evaluates the progress of implementation of the 2030 Agenda through the city’s programmes and activities (UNESCO, 2018). With that, UNESCO also oversees the implementation of the New Urban Agenda. Thus far, there is evidence that many local authorities have changed their strategies to meet the abovementioned objectives, but most have focused on economic rather than also on cultural and social development (UNESCO, 2016).

The funding of the Network comes from the allocation of UNESCO’s special accounts, ensured by its members as well as the funding of external partners and voluntary contribution of cities. Member-cities are strongly advised to contribute to the UCCN budget. Beijing, Shenzhen (China), Fabriano (Italy) and Santa Fe (United States of America) are voluntary contributors with an amount larger than over 10.000 US Dollars. However, the financial contributions are not sufficient to maintain the work done by UNESCO and the UCCN, thus an annual, voluntary contribution fee of 2.000 US Dollars has been put in place for every creative city. Additionally, cities are encouraged to allocate part of their implementation plan budget in the Network, instead of spending it all on local actions (UNESCO, 2017). An additional voluntary fund towards North-South and South-South inter-city cooperation was developed in 2014 dedicated to operational projects of the cities.

Besides the Monitoring Reports, city-independent researches³² and publications, there aren’t many documents that summarize the development of the Network in regard to the implementation of the SDA or present timely data on the impact of the Network on the local development of the member-cities. The only initiative thus far was taken by the city of Ostersund during in the UCCN 10th Annual Meeting in 2016 which was an exhibition of good practices by creative fields. The exhibition was a result of practices submitted by 50 UNESCO Creative Cities from the seven creative fields which led to the sharing of 63 practices. As presented on Ostersund Creative City official website, there was not any

³² One example is the Deusto Cities Lab Katedra, part of the University of Dausto (MATOVIC et al., 2018). The sample was gathered from the Good Practices Exhibition during the 10th UCCN Annual Meeting Ostersund in 2016³². Drawing from those samples, the publication “Creative Cities: Mapping Creativity Driven Cities- 12 good practices from UNESCO Creative Cities Network”. Twelve good practices were identified in four different categories: cohesion, competitiveness³², governance and compactness as successful stories of social inclusion, urban transformation, economic development and cultural prosperity (Ibid). Basically, the best practices are of cities which have been transformed towards sustainable development through creativity.

committee that selected the good practices, but they were all exhibited as initiatives and actions that could strengthen inter-city connections by transferring those practices elsewhere³³.

The UNESCO Creative Cities Network does not present a coherent model of a creative city, but it draws the guidelines of one by obliging the city to fulfill the UCCN Objectives and Strategic Framework. Thus, all UCCN members need to have established sound cultural policies, taking into serious consideration the interdisciplinary approach of culture as a sustainable solution for social and economic inequalities. Specifically, implementing programs that incentivize entrepreneurship, creativity-related solutions for urban problems, etc.

In a first attempt to evaluate the Network, UNESCO has hired the world-famous academic on cultural and creative industries – Charles Landry. He conducted the project “Maximizing the potential of the UCCN” (2016) in which he and his team interviewed 103 out of the 116 UCCN member- cities and 19 “external people of influence” (LANDRY, 2016). In this report, Landry offers recommendations for improvement of the Network. Moreover, the scientific conference “Valuing and evaluating creativity for sustainable regional development” (2016) that occurred during the 10th UCCN Annual Meeting resulted in a book of selected papers that evaluate the Network and the Creative City model and give recommendations for further development.

Vieira de Jesus (2017) argues that cities compete to be part of the Network because they increase their fiscal autonomy by (a) receiving a budget for the implementation of the cultural and creative policies from the central government or the private sector), (b) they engage in international accords with other cities, (c) and they invest in city-branding which results in tourist attractions that drive the local economy (see also SASSEN, 1991; SASSEN; ROOST, 2001). Additionally, Fernanda Sanchez argues that cities (e) “adopt the market-model where they adapt to the international development trends, modelled by the local agents, in order *to enter the global market*, foster other smaller markets (tourism, entertainment) and become leaders i.e. models of development” (2001, p. 159, emphasis added). A research conducted by UNESCO provides evidence that many local authorities have changed their strategies and

³³ Access the full list of good practices presented at the UCCN 10th Annual Meeting in Ostersund on the following link: <http://creativegastronomy.com/uccn2016/uccn-10th-annual-meeting/good-practice-exhibition/crafts-and-folk-arts/>

cultural policies to meet the UCCN objectives (UNESCO, 2016). UCCN member-cities get membership access and pool resources with other organizations that UNESCO cooperates, and they meet up with the objectives of their regional organizations, such as the EU, Mercosur or ASEAN because all are determined to meet the 2030 SDGs.

The UNESCO Creative Cities Network has been significantly understudied. Most of the research on the Network has been conducted by UNESCO or UNESCO-related institutions, thus a third-party perspective is lacking. The importance of the Network lies in its (1) influence on local policymaking which has effects on multilevel governance; (2) on its inter-organizational relations among municipalities, nation-states, NGOs, regional organizations, other networks and other IOs; (3) and its role as an IO promoting normative values and policies.

Chapter III- Literature Review: The role of IOs, nation-states and sub-national units in the transfer and implementation of global public policies

The background information presented on the United Nations and the UNESCO Creative Cities Network's direct interference in local government policymaking challenge the traditional public policy literature. The traditional literature takes a nation-state approach to the policy process, assuming that the nation-state is the only actor that can formulate and implement public policies (REINICKE 1998; BALTOIANO, 1997; LERNER; LASSWELL, 1951). In the past few years, we have witnessed an increased interaction between IOs and sub-national governments (DEAS; GIORDANO, 2003). The relations between the different IOs, IOs and nation-states, and IOs and cities go beyond the nation-state centred approach and adopt a multilevel approach to the policy process where sub-national units, through IOs, play a key role (BULKELEY; SCHROEDER, 2011).

This chapter goes through the literature that covers the change of the policy cycle in multilevel governance. It discusses the devolution of IOs, nation-states and sub-national units and their increased role in all stages of the policy cycle, as well as the change of their inter-organizational relations as a result of that.

The first section covers the literature on International Organizations (IOs) and their use of orchestration as soft governance mechanism to internationalize and implement public policies on national and sub-national levels. The second section focuses on the increasing role of sub-national units, global cities and city-regions in the implementation phase of the policy cycle. The third section addresses the nation-states' role in international relations and the institutional changes they have undergone through in the changing policymaking processes. The fourth section draws the conclusions of the chapter and sets the floor for Chapter IV.

IOs' increasing agency in multilevel governance

The international order was transformed after the end of the Second World War, but it wasn't until the Cold War that international organizations (IOs) were taken more seriously in their role as agents with power (ARCHER, 2001). Earlier literature on international organizations (IOs) argued that their purpose was to promote the commonly agreed objectives of the member states, foster state cooperation and constrain or incentivise state behaviour in the international arena which is generally understood as anarchic and instable (ART; JERVIS, 1986; GILPIN, 1981; WALTZ, 1978). As a response to international challenges, the number

of IOs increased from 37 in 1909, to 154 in 1960 and to around 380 in the 1980s (KEGLEY, 2008). As IOs increased in number, their objectives began to overlap, and their interaction began to increase (Ibid). In addition, the growth of international NGOs, the rise of the global policy agenda and the participation of variety of actors resulted in their increasing cooperation (BIERMANN; KOOPS, 2017).

Throughout the years IOs have acquired authority and autonomy and they have proven that they are not mere representatives of nation-state interests. They can act counter their member states' interests if their mandate allows (ARCHER, 2001). Nye (2004) recognized the power IOs can have to create and legitimize norms that attend the interests of their member states. In the meantime, as independent actors, IOs can use soft power methods to influence the behavior of nation-state behavior while following their amendments. Hawkins et al. (2006) define this relation as agency slack. IOs are political actors that, yes, serve to represent the interests of their member states, but they can constrain the member states' behavior in their institutional interests (BARNETT; FINNEMORE, 2004). Therefore, IOs are not mere extensions of their member states, but actors in their own right that play a crucial role in global politics.

IOs facilitate collective action by providing the institutional arrangements for cooperation on international and global scale. Public-private partnerships, multi-stakeholder processes, global public policy networks, and global issue networks are regarded as important tools for global governance (REINICKE, 1998; REINICKE; DENG, 2000; HEMMATI, 2001). In this context, IOs play a range of partnership roles: enabler, facilitator, supporter, or active participant – and influence the shape, form, and function of the collaborative arrangements (BARNETT; DUVALL, 2004). As such, the function of IOs is not merely one of a mechanism, but an environment of values and principles that run that mechanism. IOs are able to determine the context and direction of global governance by using their material or normative advantages by governing or coordinating the actions of their members (GILPIN, 2002; BARNETT; DUVALL, 2004). Borrowing from Harrell-Bond's (2002) examples the World Bank shapes the development policies of the borrowing states and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees can shape the life chances of refugees and other displaced peoples.

IOs organize, structure and regulate the global life and set the attention on global structures, processes and institutions. Discussions on who gets to participate and where, and

whose voices count, translates into the constitution of social relations among nation-states. These relations can have a disciplining effect and lead to self-regulation of individual actions. As Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore (2004) argue, international organizations are able to use their expert, moral, delegated, and rational-legal authority as a resource to compel state and non-state actors to change their behavior. IO's are only facilitating the structure, but the discourse and the structure itself define the legitimate practices. In line with Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore thinking who argue that contemporary IR theory has a difficult time seeing IOs as independent actors, IOs are "containers of power" who display power in many forms. Each IO has developed expertise in a particular field. Their expertise therefore is their source of power and authority for global governance.

Nation-states delegate sovereignty and control to IOs, but they keep them in line through institutional checks and active monitoring in order not to become too independent. Other International Relations scholars have argued that IOs have actor-like qualities and resources (HURD, 2011; REINALDA, 2009) and a minimum degree of autonomous decision-making power that is distinct, but oftentimes dependent on its member-states (COSGROVE; TWITCHETT, 1970; BARNETT; FINNEMORE, 2004).

IOs may also be self-restraint because they are concerned with their credibility, authority, and in specific cases with their eligibility. This is also known as the 'politics of reputation' (MERCER, 1996). Thus, IOs are dependent and concerned with how they are perceived by others (e.g. CUTLER et al., 1999; PATTBERG, 2005).

Barnett and Finnemore (2004) argue that IOs have four main sources of legitimacy: (1) their Charters which are legal and rational authorities; (2) the delegated legitimacy derived from nation-states; (3) their moral legitimacy derived from their specific mandates and missions; (4) and their expert legitimacy derived from their specialized knowledge. Empirical evidence shows that they can be influential actors in implementing international policies because their actions are authoritative (BAUER, 2000; LOPES, 2012). Their authority lies in their negotiation skills and sensitivity to the variety of competing interests and ideas (KANGAS, DUXBURY; DE BEUKELAER, 2017).

IOs are effective and efficient governance actors, but they do not operate in a hierarchical and regulation institutional manner, as the nation-state does. For those reasons IOs use other governance means, mostly indirect and soft, to implement their policies, goals, and ideas (ABBOTT et al., 2015). Orchestration is such a governance mechanism. It is indirect because

it delegates authority to intermediaries to ultimately change the behavior of the target and it is soft because IOs cooperate with the intermediary as joint beneficiaries (Ibid).

The model builds upon the Principal/Agent model but introduces a constructivist twist to the traditional rational choice framework. Orchestration can be easily misinterpreted as delegation which is also indirect. However, it is distinct because delegation uses a harder mode of governance where the Principal dictates the relationship and exercises power over the intermediary (ABBOTT et al., 2015). Orchestration captures the more complex relations among actors and with that it complements the Principal/Agent method.

The orchestration framework treats IOs as institutions operating in broad institutional ecosystems that they shape and are being shaped. “On one side, they are embedded in and constrained by the Principal-Agent relationship with member states. On the other side, they are embedded in networks of Intermediary-Orchestrator relationships with civil society groups, private actors, and other intermediaries” (ABBOTT et al., 2015, p.376). The two relationships create upwards and downwards streams. The downwards intermediary-orchestrator relationship empowers IOs from their nation-state Principals by allowing the IOs to extend their reach, enhance their autonomy, capacity and legitimacy, modifying the Principal-Agent relationship (LAKE; MCCUBBINS, 2006; HAWKINS et al., 2006). The upward relationship empowers the intermediaries as well, through the material and ideational support they receive from the orchestrator. In other words, each participant shapes the authority of the other. Abbott et al., argue that orchestration is a political activity because “contestation of authority among multiple actors is central among the relationships” (2015, p.378).

Orchestration theory argues that IOs act through intermediaries engaged on voluntary bases because they lack the capacities or enforcement mechanisms to implement policies that intermediaries have access to. IOs also provide ideational and/or material assistance to their intermediaries to influence the behavior of the target in the pursuit of IOs goals (ABBOTT et al., 2015). In most implementation processes, IOs delegate actions to local actors (their intermediaries) and they act only as assistants or monitors. Most importantly, IOs choose to engage in orchestration to enforce or implement transnational rule-making, rule implementation and standard-setting behaviors (ABBOTT et al., 2015). Their function can be norm-setting and/or policy implementation (See Annex 1).

Orchestration theory is built over the following assumptions of the relationship between the IO and the intermediary: (1) IO orchestration occurs when they have weak enforcement capacities; (2) when the intermediary and the orchestrators are goal-seekers and their relationship will be mutually beneficial; (3) both have complementary capabilities for the policy implementation; and (4) both have correlated goals in regard to the specific policy or idea (ABBOTT et al., 2015). Moreover, for an IO to be a legitimate, and attractive orchestrator for the intermediaries it needs to project expertise, leadership and resources by focality in a specific policy area.

Intermediaries are key players in orchestration because they have governance capabilities, such as local information, technical expertise, enforcement capacity, material resources, legitimacy and direct access to targets that IOs lack. As mentioned above, IOs have weak oversight over their intermediaries and rely on their inter-organizational relations. In order to attract and maintain the intermediaries, IOs use techniques to empower and steer their behaviour at different policy stages via agenda setting, convening, coordination and material and/or ideational assistance (ABBOTT et al., 2015).

Orchestration ultimately serves the policy purposes and the institutional interests of the IO. Moreover, it serves to create and enforce common rules for the conduct of the target, which is usually the nation-state. Through orchestration and their interaction with the intermediaries IOs gain and further straighten their expertise and legitimacy, hence they enhance their autonomy from nation-state oversight (ABBOTT et al., 2015).

The orchestration theory assumes that IO-initiated orchestration occurs in cases where there is high goal divergence between the IO and the nation-states, and loose national oversight (ABBOTT et al., 2015, p. 372). The assumption holds that IOs “take advantage” of the loose oversight by the nation-state to close the divergence between IO and nation-state-initiated goals. Even though in most cases IOs are the ones that initiate the orchestration to change nation-state behavior, there are instances where the nation-state welcomes and even initiates IO orchestration even when they are the target to be ‘managed’ (TALLBERG, 2015). Managing states means using the intermediaries to shape the state’s preferences, beliefs and behaviors in ways that ultimately the nation-states consent and comply with IO’s goals, policies, and rules. Tallberg (2015) argues that states might welcome rather than fear IOs management. Thus, IOs do not manage states only in cases where their goals diverge, but also in cases where they converge.

Orchestration does not need to include conflict of interest between the IO and the target. IOs and states might agree on the governance goals, but they might lack the capacities to achieve those goals. Oftentimes, it is financially and administratively easier for a nation-state to delegate that responsibility to an IO. In this case, the member-state does not oppose the IOs orchestration but encourages it by providing the necessary resources on its side to bridge the gap. While orchestration increases IO's effectiveness, it also entails low sovereignty costs for nation-states (ABBOTT et al., 2015). The nation-state, even though it is a target, can promote municipal self-regulation and collaborate with the municipalities and the IO, rather than imposing top-down regulation (STREECK; SHMITTER, 1985).

Orchestration should not be undermined because it is used by not only weak and informal institutions, such as the Global Network Organization (JARVENPAA; IVES, 1994) but also by strong and highly institutionalized international actors such as the European Commission and the Security Council (BLAUBERGER; RITTBERGER, 2015; HAUFLER, 2015). Moreover, recent literature proves that the IOs' soft governance model and enforcement mechanisms are effective tools of global public policy diffusion, regardless of their "weak" enforcement mechanisms (JOACHIM et al., 2008; RISSE, 2000; HAAS et al., 1993).

Orchestration theory is a relatively new field that offers a lot of unexplored ground to be investigated. Firstly, orchestration is a useful analytical concept because at its center of analysis are the relationships among the governance actors. IOs shape the capabilities, the governance goals and the existence of transnational networks. IOs operate in an institutional context where inter-organizational complexities matter and can even empower the actors via pooling of resources and specialization. However, orchestration lacks a deeper analysis of the inter-organizational relations among the actors. Also, by focusing merely on an institutional level, orchestration undermines the role of individuals that shape or influence the inter-organizational relations.

Secondly, the existing literature has studied as intermediaries: NGOs (LAKE; MECCUBBINS, 2006), business organizations (VAN DER LUGT; DINGWERTH, 2015), public-private partnerships, transgovernmental networks (VIOLA, 2015; TALLBERG, 2015) and other IGOs (DAI, 2015; BÄCKSTRAND; KUYPER, 2017). Sub-national government entities such as cities have not been studied as intermediaries besides their compatibility with the assumptions on intermediaries.

Finally, the orchestration theory has not been applied to UNESCO. Besides its focused policy reach and well-established standard-setting body, UNESCO has not been studied as an orchestrator, nor have its inter-organizational relations with other actors been significantly addressed in the literature (see BIERMANN; KOOPS, 2017; DUEDAHL, 2016). Studying its role as an orchestrator is beneficial because it explores the relationship between UNESCO, the city (the intermediary) and UNESCO's member-states (the target) and the dialogue of policy transfers and technical assistance with the local contexts and actors.

The policy cycle of global public policies

In his understanding of IOs, Putnam (1988) recognizes their role as coordinators or “managers” of global solutions for global problems which countries cannot solve bilaterally. “Global” does not mean that all countries interact simultaneously, but rather that all potentially share the policy problems (NAGEL, 1991, p.303)³⁴. Based on this reasoning, IOs have a central role in the policymaking cycle which has stretched beyond the nation-state to regional and to international levels.

Reinicke (1998) argues that globalization is often pinpointed as the cause of increased interaction among all actors and the increased role of IOs. Globalization is a process associated with large scale structural change in all fields of public policy and has had a profound impact on the world, “making it different from before” (REINICKE, 1998). Globalization understood as a highly contradictory reconfiguration of densely interwoven, superimposed spatial scales, including those on which the territorial state is organized (see LEFEBVRE, 1991; 1978; 1977), assumes that the state power is rearticulated and re-territorialized on multiple levels. When forming an operating definition of globalization, Hay (2006) argues that a distinction between globalization and economic interdependence needs to be made based on the forms of governance in the global economy. He further states that public policy is neither a victim nor a beneficiary from globalization (Ibid).

A policy process consists of problem definition and agenda setting; formal decision-making and policy transfer; policy implementation; and monitoring and evaluation (STONE, 2008; HOWLETT; RAMESH, 1995). In a classical understanding of the policy process, all stages take place within the national confine. However, due to the increased interaction of nation-

³⁴ When discussing global public policies, it is inevitable to touch upon the idea of global governance. The aim of this thesis is not to dwell into this literature, but for further reference of in-depth discussion, consult: Stone (2008) and Avant, Finnemore and Sell (2010) among others.

states on an international level and the increase of common problems, new forms of authorities emerge via international and regional policy processes that occur alongside the nation-state (REINICKE, 1998; STONE, 2008). In other words, the traditional stages of the policy cycle are conceptually stretched to the international context. Stone (2008) refers to the international space of policy interaction as ‘global agora’ where multi-layered interactions of diverse actors, such as nation-states, IOs, transnational networks and local, regional institutions, civil society, and market actors, coexist. The values, norms, institutions, and practices of that ‘global agora’ are created by those interactions and by non-nation-state actors “that have acquired or appropriated public authority when responding unilaterally or in partnership to global policy problems.” (STONE, 2008, p. 12).

Problem definition

The literature offers a poor understanding of the first stage of the policy cycle and where do global public policies come from (STONE, 2008). It is not apparent which institutions identify the problem, why they offer specific solutions and how do they manage to position them on the international, national and local agendas. These questions depend mostly on the policy area. For instance, issues related to health or social inclusions are mostly initiated by non-state entities or NGOs (GRUGEL; PERUZZOTTI, 2007; KECK; SIKKINK, 1998). Thus, problem definition and agenda setting are externalized from the nation-state and are pluralized by opening the processes to a variety of actors. Public policy scholars have also argued that the politics of a policy depends on the type of policy and the stage of the policy cycle. The so-called secondary policies, which are not of primary importance such as security or economy, tend to be more lenient to political changes and their policy cycle might be more flexible (see DE BEUKELAER, 2012; BIELA et al., 2012).

Governments learn about the policy transfers through common affiliations, membership in IOs, and through informed actors about the policy choices and actions (SIMMONS; ELKINS, 2004; STRANG; MEYER, 1993). The European Union, the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank are an example of networks that diffuse similar policies across diverse countries.

Formal decision-making and policy transfer

The second stage of the policy cycle is formal decision-making and policy transfer. There is no form of global government that makes binding decisions on behalf of all countries,

however international commissions, such as the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED, also known as the Brundtland Commission), function as spaces where official discussions and decisions for global public policies are made (THAKUR et al., 2005).

The formal decision-making of global problems, like pollution for instance, is seen as the responsibility of international organizations, such as the UN or regional ones, such as the EU. That is the case because IOs have the scope and the power to address the transboundary problems and to engage a large number of countries to act towards the same goal (STONE, 2008). They are perceived as such due to their focality and specificity of operations listed in their Charters, but they are limited within their policy focuses. Through international treaties and conventions, these Commissions are expecting that the signatory countries will comply with the collective action towards the common long-term interests (ABBOTT et al., 2015). IOs operate via legally binding documents, such as laws, conventions, etc., but also via non-binding documents of normative nature that nation-states commit to obtain, such as the SDGs (PAVONI; PISELLI, 2016).

Policy transfer is increasing and IOs are key actors in the process of the internationalization of global public policies and their implementation on national or sub-national level (SOROOS, 1986; ARCHER, 2001; KRATOCHWIL; MANSFIELD, 2005). The policy transfer can come from international, national or/and local institution and its role as institutional transferor or receiver can change.

The transfer of ideas, norms, and policies, on an international level is known in the literature as global public policy (BAUMAN; MILLER, 2012; DEACON; STUBBS, 2013) or international public policy (SOROOS, 1986). Orenstein gives a more detailed definition as: “global policies are the ones which are developed, diffused and implemented with the direct involvement of global actors and coalitions in or through the level of international, national or local governance” (2005, p. 177). Borrowing from Weyland (2005), Faria defines diffusion of public policies as the “adoption of the same innovation in different settings, which naturally embraces international, intra-national and sub-national processes of transmission” (2018, p. 35, personal translation). Soroos (1986) sees global policies as a subset of international policies, which are products of the international community as a whole, as opposed to policies adopted by a smaller group of actors. He further argues that global policies should be approached as regulations by IOs of the limits of permissible member state behavior (SOROOS, 1986).

Reinicke (1998) defines global public policies as diverse networks with commonalities across various sectors, organizations, and countries. Global public policy networks are learning organizations, have a broad membership, and can tap information and expertise from various backgrounds. They provide a more complete picture of particular policy issues and give voice to previously unheard groups (1998, p.xiii). Global public policy networks can bring together diverse and sometimes opposing actors which in other circumstances they wouldn't come together to resolve a common problem³⁵ (REINICKE, 1998). Traditional literature studies governmental and non-governmental institutions as main policy networks. However, global policy networks are more heterogeneous including private enterprises, consultants, transitional spaces such as conferences and seminars, etc. Each has their interests and is constantly keeping an eye to best practices which they later translate in their contexts (OLIVERIRA; PAL, 2018; STONE, 2008; REINICKE, 1998).

Importantly, global public policy networks are not created to substitute, but to complement existing institutions and help governments and multilateral agencies to address policy gaps, place new issues on their agenda, gather knowledge, widen and deepen markets, etc. (REINICKE, 1998). Reinicke argues that global public policy networks emerged as a response to the economic liberalisation and technological revolution; of these two, information and knowledge sharing via new technology is among the most important catalysts for global public policy networks (1998, p. xii).

Global public policy networks facilitate the transfer of a policy from one place to another (REINICKE, 1998). Policy transfer is the “processes by which knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in one political system (past or present) is used in the development of policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in another political system” (DOLOWITZ; MARSH, 1996, p. 344). It rarely happens that one policy is transferred in the same manner as from another place. Policies pass through adaptations and changes to dialogue with the structure and agents they are being transferred to (KERN et al., 2001; ROSE, 1991; OLIVEIRA; PAL, 2018). A clear distinction between policy and programs needs to be made. Policy refers to the broad political statements of intention (policy goals, content, and instruments), and programs are specific courses of action to implement those policies. Global public policy networks act as facilitators because they

³⁵ According to Soroos, they are “...a set of circumstances that can potentially be improved upon by purposeful action” (1990, p. 310).

encourage the transfer among municipalities that belong in a particular political or economic block (MENDES, 2018). Few examples are drawn from the European Union or Mercosur (see SKOLIMOWSKA, 2015; PEREIRA et al., 2018, respectively). Thus, policy transfer refers to institutional change on multiple levels (EVANS; DAVIS, 1999).

Dolowitz and Marsh identify eight categories of policy transfer: policy goals, policy content, policy instruments, policy programs, institutions, ideologies, ideas and attitudes and negative lessons (2000, p.12). Moreover, they argue that policy transfer can occur in various degrees that are made up of combination of agents and processes among which: *copying* or a direct and complete policy transfer; *emulation* or transfer of the ideas behind the policy or program; *combinations*, which involve mixtures of different policies; and *inspiration*, where policy in another jurisdiction may inspire a policy change, but where the outcome does not actually draw upon the original (DOLOWITZ; MARCH, 2000). To understand the degree of transfer, one needs to pay close attention to the actors involved (politicians, bureaucrats, etc.) and the stage of the policy cycle where the transfer occurs (agenda-setting, implementation, etc.)(ROSE, 1993; DOLOWITZ; MARCH, 2000). Dolowitz and March (2000) introduce the following model to assist researchers who study this process (Table 4).

Table 4: A Policy Transfer Framework

A Policy Transfer Framework											
Why Transfer? Want To.....		Who Is Involved in Transfer?		What Is Transferred?		From Where		Degrees of Transfer	Constraints on Transfer	How To Demonstrate Policy Transfer	How Transfer leads to Policy Failure
Voluntary	Mixtures	Coercive			Past	Within-a Nation	Cross-National				
Lesson Drawing (Perfect Rationality)	Lesson Drawing (Bounded Rationality)	Direct Imposition	Elected Officials	Policies (Goals) (content) (instruments)	Internal	State Governments	International Organizations	Copying	Policy Complexity (Newspaper) (Magazine) (TV) (Radio)	Media Reports	Uniformed Transfer
	International Pressures		Bureaucrats Civil Servants	Programs	Global	City Governments	Regional State Local Governments	Emulation	Past Policies	Reports	Incomplete Transfer
	(Image) (Consensus) (Perceptions) Externalities		Institutions			Local Authorities		Mixtures	Structural Institutional Feasibility	(Commissioned) (uncommissioned) Conferences Meetings/ Visits	Inappropriate Transfer
	Conditionality (Loans) (Conditions Attached to Business Activity)	Pressure Groups Political Parties	Ideologies					Inspiration	(Ideology) (cultural proximity) (technology) (economic) (bureaucratic) Language		
	Obligations	Policy Entrepreneurs/ Experts	Attitudes/ Cultural Values				Past Relations			Statements (written) (verbal)	
			Consultants Think Tanks Transnational Corporations Supranational Institutions	Negative Lessons							

Source: DOLOWITZ; MARSH, 2000, p. 9

Most of the times it is difficult to affirm that a transfer has been done through coercive or voluntary means because the method of implementation might be mixed. Matland (1995) identifies three governance models through which IOs implement policies: governance by co-

ordination as a managerial tool; governance by opinion formation as a normative tool; and governance by legal and financial means. The three governance models are compatible and IOs can combine them. In order to understand the mean of transfer, one needs to understand the position of the actors and their motivations (DOLOWITZ; MARSH, 2000). If international organizations are involved in the process, it is likely to present a coercive mean of transfer, even though they might be using soft mechanisms, such as orchestration. Moreover, when there are some forms of global crisis, than actors feel pressured to engage in the transfer and resolve the problem rapidly. Similar behaviour might occur when the policy transferred is part of an international movement, a trend that is becoming generally acceptable – as the case of creative cities (Ibid).

Stone (2008) notices that the transfer of global polices has long been underdeveloped. There is a lack of attention to individual agents who are involved in all stages of the policymaking (XU; WELLER, 2005; GULRAJANI, 2007). Prince (2010) refers to the role of consultants, panellists, speakers, the private sector and those organizing or funding an event as the “new frontier” of policy transfer and diffusion. It is difficult to draw the line if they are private or public actors because they fluctuate in between³⁶ and they operate in networks, such as epistemic communities that share intellectual and scientific discourse (STONE, 2005; HAAS, 1992). They can be international consultants or small-size entrepreneurs, but they provide the scientific justification of the policy formulation. Stone (2004) refers to the travel and fluctuation of these actors as “transfer agents”.

These agents act in what Oliveira and Pal (2018) call ‘transnational areas’ that include summits, conferences, meetings and workshops organized by IOs, private actors or transnational organizations on various topics, such as the World Economic Forum, World Social Forum, World Urban Forum, World Cities Culture Forum, World Culture Forum, etc. Interestingly enough, the social connections among the experts can happen in physical spaces or virtually via emails, by reading reports or other policy documents (OLIVEIRA; PAL, 2018). The authors further argue that:

“In these events, transfer agents advocate for models and practices, which are legitimated through awards and other forms of recognition. Funding is raised for policy implementation, networks are established, principles are discussed and negotiated, cooperation documents are signed and statements are declared. In spite

³⁶ There are cases where private consultant is hired by public institutions for purposes of consultancy or take part on advisory committees.

of these dynamics, few studies have concentrated efforts to analyze these spaces, and it is necessary to “open the box” of transnational arenas to understand why some policies are circulating more than others, who are the actors promoting policies at a global level, and how policy translation is taking place” (OLIVEIRA; PAL, 2018, p.206).

The mobility of these transnational actors in transnational areas shapes the transfer and translation of the policy models in terms of embodied practices, what Ong refers to “translocal fields of power” (1999, p.159). The global circulation of expert knowledge is constantly being shaped by the social connections among the actors and their interaction with specific city-contexts. The exchange of expert knowledge and technical information through international conferences, forums and other types of transnational spaces and transfer agents are crucial in understanding global public policies (FARIA, 2003; AYKUT et al., 2017; OLIVEIRA; PAL, 2018).

Implementation

The third stage of the policy cycle is implementation. The literature does not offer many studies on the implementation of global public policies on the sub-national level (SCHOFIELD, 2002). The policy implementation phase is becoming more significant because it provides opportunities for new actors, or straightens the role of old ones, to be effective agents of the execution of international agreements. Analysing the implementation of global public policies in greater depth tells us more about the importance of local actors and institutional arrangements which play a significant role in understanding the impacting role and success or failure of the same policies. Furthermore, this stage of the policy process reveals the authority and legitimacy of international organizations, such as the United Nations, which are not merely neutral bystanders as they show themselves to be.

There are a few reasons why a country, or a regional group of countries, would voluntarily accept the transfer of certain global public policies. Because they are driven by the desire to be internationally accepted or they have been obliged to do so by binding international agreements (EVANS; DAVIS, 1999; DOLOWITZ; MARSH, 2000). Moreover, nation-states accept the transfer rationally in cases of dissatisfaction with the status quo or a crisis as a quick solution to a problem (ROSE, 1991; DOLOWITZ; MARSH, 2000). The so-called good or best practices are an example of successful policies elsewhere that are homogenized and presented as applicable in other structures (OLIVEIRA; PAL, 2018).

Policy implementation is the “translation of agreed-upon international agreements into concrete policies and manifests itself in the adoption of rules or regulations, the passage of legislation or the creation of institutions (both domestic and international)” (VICTOR et al., 1998, p.4). For the implementation of international agreements to be effective local actors need to work in efficient local institutions. This means that implementation is a dynamic process because it assumes constant mobilization of resources and actors along the way. In most situations, IOs are not directly involved in the implementation process but they delegate the action to local actors and they act only as assistants or monitors. Thus, the implementation of the international policies strictly depends on the national institutions, resources, and authorities that are responsible for that process (see CAPLAN, 2005). Knill and Lenschow (2001) argue that the more compatible the international policies are to the local socio-political arrangements, the more likely local governments are to adopt or implement the policy changes.

There are problems when addressing the implementation of global policies because IOs oftentimes lack the authority or the means to enforce the implementation. Generally, implementation depends on the resources of the local structure. The formal relationship between an IO and a member-state for instance, is based on rhetoric of commitment; however the local implementation of the policy which includes time consuming consensus building, diplomatic pressures, the various local oppositions and the obtaining of the necessary resources, all delay the rhetoric of commitment and the coordinated action of the policy implementation.

For those reasons, IOs have used different governance models that can enforce the implementation process. Those are: governance by co-ordination as a managerial tool; governance by opinion formation as a normative tool; and governance by legal and financial means. The three governance models are compatible and IOs make a combination of those models (MATLAND, 1995). Governance by coordination assumes managerial approach. IOs provide the means of handling the policy implementation through organizing conferences and meetings at which significant societal actors come together (see HAAS, 1992). Governance by opinion formation allows IOs to initiate and influence discourses in specific policy field. Taking a normative approach by creating concepts and models, supported by facts and information (books, pamphlets and other publications), IOs create new ideas, values and goals which shape the national policy implementation (see COX et al., 1973; FINNEMORE; SIKKINK, 1998; DI MAGGIO; POWELL, 1991). Finally, governance by legal and financial

means is a technical form of governance referring to the relations nation-states need to bound to, giving IOs enforcement power. IOs invest with financial and organization resources in order to design binding decisions and translate them into local policies.

IOs can use hard or soft policy implementation approach. The enforcement approach works on the method of punishment where the sides know that if they cheat, their suffering will be greater than their benefits. They can face trade sanctions and even military intervention. Thus, it is based on consequential logic that states are rational actors that weight the benefits and losses of each action. The second, softer implementation is done through management which assumes that the nation-states' decision to comply or not with an international agreement depends on the interaction between the parties (CHAYES; CHAYES, 1995). They can employ moral pressure from other states. The managerial perspective assumes that non-implementation of a particular international agreement is due to financial, administrative or technical shortcomings and that the problem needs to be solved together with the IO (HAAS et al. 1993; CHAYES; CHAYES, 1995). Rather than sanctions, problem-solving is based on capacity building, rule interpretation and transparency, given that IOs generally possess specialized expertise they can provide technical assistance to the nation-state (HAAS et al., 1993).

The third perspective also takes a soft implementation approach which stresses the normative power of IOs in influencing states to comply with international agreements. It assumes that the authority of the IO is a vital source for policy implementation. IOs draw their authority from control over information and expertise and their perceived impartiality. Technical knowledge, training, and experiences can enable organizations or nation-states to carry on the policies more efficiently. Moreover, IOs projection as "serving the others" and their high technicality leaves an image of impartiality, while projecting normative behavior (BOLI, 1999; BARNETT; FINNEMORE, 1999). This approach assumes that states are not managed, but IOs use reasoned arguments to persuade states to meet international commitments as something appropriate and as "the right thing to be done" (RISSE, 2000).

The effectiveness of the enforcement mechanisms is the same, but recent literature shows that soft enforcement and sharing of material and ideational resources play a more important role than previously assumed (RISSE, 2000; HAAS et al., 1993). Thus, IOs with weak enforcement tools are as effective as those with enforcement tools at their disposal. Even in cases where influential domestic institutions or societal actors oppose IO's assistance, their

behavior does not necessarily paralyze their actions (JOACHIM; REINALDA; VERBEEK, 2008). This shows that IOs influence national policies and question specific domestic social and political orders (BAUHR; NASIRITOUSI, 2012). IO's intervention can go to the limit of the denationalization of specific policies taking it to the international level.

Oliveira and Pal (2018) argue that sometimes good practices produce incomplete and inappropriate transfers because they failed to give importance to the differences of contexts. Stone (2001) and Dorowitz and Marsh (2000) show that oftentimes policies fail due to: the overshadowing discourse on best practices based on uninformed transfer (lack of information about the policy being transferred), the incomplete transfer (limited institutional settings), and/or due to an inappropriate transfer (not enough attention and importance put on the economic, social and political differences of the country the policy is being transferred to). Moreover, Oliveira and Pal (2018) consider the resistance of local actors to policy transfer and implementation. Depending on the reception of the policy transfer from the local agents, they can act as its constrainer or enabler. If, for instance, the policy implementation depends on the local administration which is against it, then they might try all institutional means to block the initiative. However, independently of the will of the recipients, the relationship between the transfer agent and the recipient is always a relationship of power.

Matland (1995) argues that the local implementation of global public policies occurs at two levels. At the macro-implementation level where selected actors plan or approve a program, and at the micro-implementation level where local actors adapt the plans and implement them. The gap between macro and micro implementation allows for variations of the same policy in different structures (MATLAND, 1995).

(Transnational) Monitoring and evaluation

The type of policy monitoring and evaluation reflects the success or failure of the transfer that occurs on national and international levels. On the national level, the evaluation is done by local bureaucracies. On the international level, the process involves many actors, such as the IO that initiated the transfer, or a private contractor, NGOs or even social movements (STONE, 2008). The evaluation is managed through periodic voluntary or required reports. The evaluations of civil society are not always contracted, but they act as a critical reflection of the policy process.

The policymaking cycle is presented as a straight line from problem identification to monitoring and evaluation, whereas in reality, the process is more complex and messier. Stone (2008) argues that there is no consistent pattern of the global public policy due to the more 'disorganized' arraignments of the international policy cycle, such as the different institutional arraignments, powers, resources, standards, and regulatory frameworks. Global public policy is more complex because it needs to take into consideration different cultures, behaviors and policy actors.

The role of sub-national governments in multilevel governance

In the 1920s there were only 24 cities with more than one million inhabitants. In the 1980s there were 198 cities with more than one million inhabitants, and it is projected that by 2050 the number will rise until 486 cities or more (POTTER; LLOYD-EVANS, 1998). The increasing birth rate and migration flow on a global level are changing the urban map of the globe. Most of the world's population lives or seeks migration to urban areas. It is estimated that by 2050, 66% of the world's population will live in cities (UNESA, 2018). The future economic, social and territorial development of countries will be determined by the type of development cities implement (VAZ; REIS, 2017). Problems caused by industrialization, such as over-urbanization, unequal development, uncontrolled gentrification, urban bias, and regional inequalities, have triggered the implementation of national urban development strategies in the attempt of finding solutions (PIRES et al., 2017; UNESA, 2018). These strategies are mainly social, coordinating the urbanization policy towards human well-being.

Cities are defined as administrative, social and cultural hubs marked by their urban setting, larger surrounding areas, and a larger population. They are governmental entities that enjoy levels of autonomy and power delegated by the state (CAMERON, 2001) or by international organizations (KOHLEK-KOCH, 1996; MARKS et al., 1996; SCHARPF, 1997; PIERRE; STOKER, 2000).

Beaverstock, Smith and Taylor (2000) argue that cities attain wealth, control and power because of what flows through them, rather what they statically contain typically measured with quality data. Scott (2001) shows that cities have become more important actors of local, regional and even national development than their host nation-states. Cities have become motors of national and global economies (SCOTT, 2001).

The literature refers to world cities or global cities³⁷ to the ones that are: centres of large commercial enterprises, multinational corporations, hubs of advanced services and places that are generally marked with deeply segmented social spaces, with extremes of poverty, wealth, social life and division of labour (HALL, 1966; CASTELLS, 1996; FRIEDMANN; WOLFF, 1982; SASSEN, 1991; KNOX, 1995; to name only a few). Although size-terms definitions are conflicting, they all agree that global cities dominate world affairs (POTTER; LLOYD-EVANS, 1998).

At this point, it is important to note that the outgrowth of a city is not necessarily defined as a metropolis. Megacities as London and Paris are global metropolitan nodes acting in multiple networks, but other smaller cities might have the same or more intense global interactions, besides their smaller size (SALET et al., 2003; CUNHA; TOMAZ, 2012). Moreover, regions are coming to function as core implementers of the global policies (SCOTT, 2001) and medium and smaller cities are experiencing what global megalopolis were a few years ago (BROWN; GANGULY, 1997; BIRKLAND, 2005). Gibson and Waitt (2009) argue that large, medium and small cities and city-regions are emerging as political-economic units with increasing autonomy of action on national and world stages as economic and cultural hubs. This trend challenges the current literature on creative cities which predominantly studies large and metropolitan cities. Thus, the national and international scaling of a city does not lie in its size anymore, but in its economic, political and cultural significance (GIBSON; WAITT, 2009).

White (2010) argues that the economic, cultural, and creative development of small and medium-sized cities has been understudied in the literature. The European Union has been at the forefront of recognizing rural development based on the same development principles as stated in the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda³⁸. As part of the strategy for regional development, the EU considers small and medium cities to be “centres for public and private services, as well as for local and regional knowledge production, innovation and infrastructure (...) essential for avoiding rural depopulation and urban drift, and are indispensable for the balanced regional development, cohesion and sustainability of the European territory” (EUROPEAN COMMISSION, 2011, p.4). On national level, the United Kingdom, Australia,

³⁷ There are variety of new spatial configurations including polycentricities, urban corridors, converged cities and even edge cities (GARREAU, 1992).

³⁸ The 2030 SDA does not make specific reference to rural development.

New Zealand and Canada are among the first countries to independently pursue economic development strategies for their rural regions (PIRES et al., 2017).

Global cities are nodes of networks connected with other cities, regionally or internationally (SCOTT, 2001). Thus, global cities affect the region around them by sharing administrative services for specific policies. That is called city-regionalism. Cities and city-regions, from a governance perspective, are a set of ideas and agendas of political constructions with fluid and diverse characteristics. Scott (2001) further argues that they are a result of socioeconomic and institutional restructuring, the multi-level transformation of capitalism, international governance and the increased mobility of transnational actors. City-regions can have multiple administrative districts, but they share resources, such as public transport for example, and thus function like one unit. This territorial expansion and policy changes are a response to internal factors, such as changes in population structure, income levels, and consumer values, as well as to external pressures from economic globalization.

Understanding the link between the city and the region is crucial to explain the institutionalization of city-regions which are mostly driven by the rapidly changing dynamics of globalization (SCOTT, 2001). Moreover, Amin (1999) argues that these cities and city-regions are marked by strong networking with other cities (from the same region and/or abroad), institutional thickness and a multi-level hierarchy from the local to the international (see also AMIN; ROBINS, 1990; AMIN; THRIFT, 1995; HIRST, 1997; PORTER, 1990; SCOTT, 1998; 2001). An example of a large regional success story is Silicon Valley and an example of smaller alternative-looking success is Idanha-a-Nova. Both are characterized by a clustering of economic activity and innovation (MCCAIN, 2007).

Regional economies have become more dependent on global networks rather than on traditional, national investments (BRENNER, 1998). The city-region presents an important territory where multinational transactions and the shift from industrial to service-based economies occur (HARRISON, 2007). Taylor (2000) argues that city-regions are not only sites of economic competitiveness, but also territories of cooperation which have been thriving and becoming increasingly central to the coordination of governance. Moisiu and Paasi (2013) argue that there is a great diversity in the national forms of city-regionalism, so their forms should be analyzed based on their different contexts which will allow for more precise unpacking of the nation-state – city relation.

Global cities are (1) points of capital accumulation (nodes of global flows), (2) places of an administrative organization (coordinates of state territorial power and governance) and (3) implementers of global trends (operate in multilevel governance) (BRENNER, 1998; SCOTT, 2001).

The literature on political economy and historical geography has focused on cities as centres for capital accumulation, operating as points of interstate capital, exchange of local, national and global markets, etc. (see e.g., HARVEY, 1989; STORPER; WALKER, 1989; TILLY, 1990). The increasing importance of cities and city-regions internationally extends the municipal policy processes from the local to regional and international levels (BRENNER, 1998, BRANETT; FINEMORE, 1999). Global cities, independently of their size, contribute more to local development than their national economies (SCOTT, 2001; POTTER; LLOYD-EVANS, 1998; SALET et al., 2003).

Cities as administrative loci mean that they are part of the nation state's territory and the complex structural positions. These positions are multiple and overlapping networks of regulation and governance, in which nation-state power is embedded (BRENNER, 1998). Furthermore, the city facilitates intergovernmental and intragovernmental relations, but at the same time, it does not challenge the authority of the nation-state (LIPSCHUTZ, 1997). The city provides the institutional arrangements for the policy transfer and implementation through the decentralization of administrative, fiscal and political processes on municipal level (BIELA et al., 2012, MOISIO; PAASI, 2013; SALET et al., 2003). Decentralization also referred to as orchestration's entrepreneurship hypothesis by Abbott et al. (2015), is an important institutional arraignment because it gives more decision-making power to local authorities, particularly on the implementation of secondary policies concerning culture and creativity. The willingness of municipal actors to accommodate the policy transfer is key for the entire process to occur (HERRSCHEL; NEWMAN, 2002, BIELA et al., 2012). Moreover, cities dialogue directly with enterprises and civil society in cases where the nation-state is too far away from the people (SAUNIER, 2008; KERATING, 2001). Because of the direct relationship between the municipality and the local people, local policymakers feel the incentive to innovate and adopt best practices³⁹ (OATES, 1977; TIEBOUT, 1956). Fiscal decentralization allows cities to allocate their budgets independently of the central state and

³⁹ Cities also enjoy decisional autonomy, which depending on the national structure, can be constraining or enabling for the policy transfer. This argument will be further developed in the body of the thesis.

invest in strategic policies for their local development (ALMEIDA, 2006). Administrative decentralization allows for the implementation of the diffused policy more efficiently and effectively on a local level, again, not depending on the central unit of governance.

Finally, cities follow global policy trends and strategies (BRENNER, 1998; SCOTT, 2001; SANCHES, 2001; STONE, 2008). Their increasing role in international relations embeds them further in the multi-level governance processes. The deeper the decentralization is the more decision-making power is delegated to the sub-national units and more autonomy is given to the city to participate in international accords. The direct international relations of municipalities with foreign organizations, networks, other municipalities or nation-states also affect which policy/program/idea will be transferred. Their interaction determinates the context of good practices that municipalities share (SCOTT, 2001).

Institutionally, cities operate mainly on two levels on national and international. On a national level, they operate within the institutional structure of their host nation-state. On an international level, cities network and are active through paradiplomacy and their interconnectedness with other cities or institutions.

On national level

The relationship between city or city-region and the nation-state has not been substantially covered in the literature (e.g. HARRISON, 2007; BRENNER, 1998). Studying this relationship is important to understand the level of autonomy a city or city-region has to implement the global public policies on a local level.

Charles Tilly (1990) explains the relation between the state and the city as interchangeable ones. Cities are the centers of capital, whereas states are centers of coercion. His central argument is that regions that had early urban dominance with active capitalists produced different kinds of states than the regions which were dominated by great landlords and their estates (TILLY, 1990). In other words, cities were integrated tightly into the national economic systems and subjected to political power (Ibid). Even in imperial times, cities operated as central nodes of world trade, but their global geography was considered as part of the state territory.

Territorialisation⁴⁰ is a determining factor for the development of cultural policies and their different formulation and implementation on a local and national level (BONET; NEGRIER, 2010). When thinking about the cultural development and culture-led policies there is space for rethinking the social and symbolic construction of a city that incorporates the local and international trends and paradigms. Marginal and peripheral spaces are seen as productive spaces that need to be incorporated into the economic system (Ibid).

The global tendencies towards decentralization have also affected the reshaping of the global geography of social and economic development. As a result, economically developed cities or city-regions are less dependent on the higher-level of government decisions (POTTER; LLOYD-EVANS, 1998; CASTELLS, 2000). Although the step towards decentralization might seem a technical matter, the institutional arena on all governmental levels has changed dramatically. The increasing share of income from local taxes and the decreasing size of central grants have made municipalities more receptive to strategies for increasing local investments. The tendency towards fiscal and financial decentralization has increased the accountability of municipalities and their incline towards entrepreneurialism (CASTELLS, 2000). As municipalities have become far more dependent on their own income (e.g. taxes) they have to invest in financial sources in order to become more attractive than neighbouring municipalities (SALET et al., 2003).

Cities constitute a system, a global city network, which is not merely based on competitiveness, but also networking and cooperation. Sassen (1991) calls this contradiction “systematic discontinuity” because the growth contribution to the city network may not contribute to the national growth. Moreover, the city isolates itself from the national economy and strengthens its relations with other cities, in the host country or internationally (SASSEN, 1991). She also finds that global cities and global city-regions concentrate the goods and services in the region, sometimes producing more than the national average of the host countries (Ibid). The unique position of the city is that nation-states cannot control its growth because they are stimulated by global trends operating through economic, social and cultural networks (POTTER; LLOYD-EVANS, 1998; BRENNER, 1998). Paradoxically, besides their

⁴⁰ It is important to note that the new regionalism literature does not understand the world as borderless space of flows, but in the same time, it does not contradict globalization. It argues that while some flows are detached from place, number of other flows and processes are rooted in series of place-nodes of economic or social exchanges. Arguing for decentralization and implementation of regional institutional frameworks that support those processes, new regionalism literature embraces the city-region as an important territory where multinational transactions and the shift from industrial to service-based economies occur (HARRISON, 2007).

transnational⁴¹ nature, cities are embedded in the national economies (BRENNER, 1998). Disjuncture between the city and the host state's overall economy might occur, but it might be managed politically through hegemonic projects across the state (Ibid).

Because the city operates in the institutional structure of the nation-state, the unitary or federal system will determine the institutional autonomy the city has to successfully implement the global public policies on a local level (BIELA et al., 2012). As Brenner states, "the nature of urban governance within world city-regions is therefore conditioned strongly by patterns of intergovernmental relations within their host states" (1999, p.444). Moreover, "[A]s coordinates of state territorial organization, global cities are local-regional levels of governance situated within larger, re-territorialized matrices of 'glocalized' state institutions" (BRENNER, 1998, p.3).

Biela et al., (2012) argue that the literature has not given enough attention to the effects of territorial state organizations on the institutional performance of the implementation of public policies. There are a lot of studies on federal territorial organization, but not as much on the decentralization and delegation of authority to sub-national units in unitary nation-states (Ibid). It is largely assumed that federal nation-states guarantee decentralization and delegation to sub-national units. However, there are unitary states that besides their centralized structure have decentralized systems (BIELA et al., 2012). Independently of the economic and political agendas of global cultural policies, the practical implementation of norms, strategies, and rules cannot go through the same institutionalization process in different contexts. Therefore, the territorial organization of the nation-state determinates the implementation of the global public policies and beyond that, it determinates the shape the global policy will take on that particular local structure.

Cities are governed by local governments. While local governments are found in federal countries, in unitary countries they may be under other institutional means. The place and role in governance vary considerably. In some cases, the local governments are considered by the Constitution, in others, they are part of the nation-state. Local governments come in all shapes and sizes (from megacities to villages) and perform divergent functions (STEYLER, 2005).

⁴¹ Sassen (1991) also uses the metaphor of 'extraterritoriality' to describe the unique position of cities operating in and outside of the host state territories presupposes a conception of states as static background structures.

Depending on the nation-state system (unitary or federal) decentralization also takes different shapes (TERLIZZI, 2015; HERRSCHEL; NEWMAN, 2002). Moreover, decentralization does not always assume delegation. For instance, in a centralized system, sub-national governments have institutional means for policy innovation and implementation (Ibid).

The gaps this literature has left unaddressed are the inclusion of sub-national governments' engagement in international relations, the relationship between national foreign policy, and the role of the local institutions, actors and mechanism through which sub-national governments transfer and implement the global public policies.

On international level

Cities can sign treaties and contracts without involving the central state. With that, cities can influence the nation-state's external relations (influencing regional or general trade, investment, and other policies) from within (DUCHACEK, 1990). Cities engage in international relations mostly via paradiplomacy. Duchacek (1990) defines paradiplomacy⁴² as the engagement of cities in foreign policy. The term is under wide attack because it refers to a parallel diplomatic activity of sub-national regions from the main foreign policy and diplomatic activities established by the state, wherein practice sub-national regions cannot and do not engage in actions contrary to the central states (AGUIRRE, 1999; KEATING, 1999; CONRAGO, 2010).

There are three broad sets of reasons for regions to engage in paradiplomatic activity: political, cultural and economic (KEATING, 2000). Keating (2000) explains that political paradiplomacy occurs when regions want to gain sovereignty from the nation-state. Hence, they actively engage in international relations in a constant quest for recognition of their division from their host-state. Economic paradiplomacy occurs when cities or city-regions have become highly competitive in the global market, without the protection of the state.

⁴² Dickson (2014) argues that there have been instances in the literature where the term paradiplomacy has been interchangeably used with multi-level governance, wrongfully so. She distinguishes between the two by stating: "that where multi-level governance presents a predominately structural account of governance-based activities, paradiplomacy has the potential to provide an agency-oriented explanation of autonomous, diplomatic practices – often with deeply political connotations. It is suggested that the two can represent parallel, alternative or complementary approaches, depending on the exact nature of the activity under consideration." (DICKSON, 2014, p.698).

Cultural paradiplomacy, Keating (2000) argues, highlights the distinctive cultural traces of a people that use it to claim recognition.

Vieira de Jesus (2016) argues that economic and cultural paradiplomacy should not be understood in terms of division, but in terms of promotion of the local cultural diversity to attain competency in the global market. He shows that creative cities benefit from practicing *cultural paradiplomacy* by attracting foreign investment through promotion of the local cultural attractiveness and tourism, technical cooperation for development of their cultural and creative industries, program partnerships which creates the basis for them to compete as creative city, and by using the influence of the IO to enter the global market of cultural and creative goods (VIEIRA DE JESUS, 2016).

Moisio and Paasi further stated that:

“As part of the ongoing attempts to foster the state’s international competitiveness, the spatiality of the state is constantly remade through state arrangements which tie different types of cities with broader state strategies. It is therefore crucial to continue investigating the projects and strategies that arise from cities, and how these position and construct cities with regard to different socio-spatial processes (such as innovation policies); i.e., how city-regional processes are impregnated with unique scalar practices and performances” (2013, p.261).

The paradiplomatic activities of a city or a city-region do not necessarily allude to conflict between the host nation-state and the city. Tatham (2012) argues that conflicting paradiplomacy is not only rare, but it is sometimes misrepresented in the literature as bypassing because of the different data-gathering processes. Criekemans and Duran (2010) argue that the neglecting of parallel or cooperative foreign policy attitudes has been mainly based on the assumption that sub-national units promote their interest on an international level that is blocked by the nation (central) state. That would result in bypassing the state on conflicting interests (e.g. MARKS et al., 1996; SCHARPF, 1997; PIERRE; STOKER, 2000). Other authors (e.g. CRIEKEMANS; DURAN, 2010; SOLDATOS, 1990) have argued that sub-national territorial interests can bypass the nation-state, but also conduct its foreign relations in tandem with it.

The most common form to practice paradiplomacy, Keating (2000) argues is via inter-regional cooperation and networking. Vehicles of this type of paradiplomacy are inter-regional associations, such as the Council of Local Authorities and Regions of Europe (CLARE). CLARE has played an important role in formulating and negotiating regional

policies at the European Union based on the demands for regional representation of its members. Keating further argues that “[P]erhaps one of their most important roles has been as vehicles for policy learning among regions across a range of functions but notably in the diffusion of the latest thinking on regional development strategies.” (2000, p.5). Other groupings can be bilateral partnerships, alliances and other types of cooperation.

Cooperation can be defined as working together toward the achievement of similar policy objectives. If a city cooperates with the central state but bypasses it on specific policy issues, then particular research of those policy issues is necessary. Tatham (2012) distinguishes between two types of nation-state bypassing: a direct conflict between the city and the nation-state and another that goes unnoticed or it is tolerated by the central state. The type of bypassing also depends on the policy issue. Tatham (2012) further develops a set of hypotheses that determine the behavior and the relationship between the city and the nation-state in terms of foreign policy. He argues that the more formally powerful the member-state is the less frequent conflicting paradiplomacy occurs. Criekemans and Duran (2010) argue that the institutional mechanisms, the diplomatic instruments and the organization structure of the cities are the mechanisms of the city’s engagement with the IO. These mechanisms are used to develop a sub-national foreign policy that is parallel, complementary or conflictual to the national (central-state) foreign policy (CRIEKEMANS; DURAN, 2010, p. 35-36). Furthermore, Tatham (2012) argues that the greater autonomy the city has does not mean that it will conflict or bypass the state more easily.

The literature on paradiplomacy is developing new ideas at a fast pace. Regionalism and paradiplomacy were confined in the borders of the nation-state and its foreign policy, whereas now they are studied as separated institutions operating on multiple levels. However, existing case studies on paradiplomacy have mostly focused on federal and federal-like systems (e.g. DURACHECK, 1990; HOCKING, 1999; PALARD, 1999). Contrary to the limitations of these academic studies, IOs mobilize sub-national governments from all types of national systems.

Moreover, besides its institutional and political impact on policymaking, the attractive agenda of the creative city has been most popular among students of urbanism (e.g. SCOTT, 2014; THIEL, 2015). So far, this literature has not been addressed seriously in political science and IR.

The role of the nation-state in multilevel governance

Nation-states are 'imagined communities', a collage abstraction of social practices, discourses, rules, and symbols, but also materialized governance and institutions inside and outside state territory (MOISIO; PAASI, 2013; ANDERSON, 1991). Moisio and Paasi (2013) narrow the definition of a nation-state to the contextualization of the forms of territory and territoriality manifested through "the structuration of power relations across and between scales, scales which are also produced and reproduced via this process" (2013, p. 255).

The increased role of transgovernmental actors and the intensification of globalization sparked a debate in the literature over their impact on the role of the nation-state. Some scholars argue that there is a decline of the nation-state (e.g. OHMAE; ÖMAE, 1995) because the state is losing its bargaining power from international organizations and corporations. A more productive line of thinking argues that what occurs is a restructuring of intergovernmental relations, where the transfer of powers and responsibilities are diffused among different governmental and international levels (e.g. SCHOLTE, 2000; BRENNER, 1999). Territorial organization of power goes beyond the nation-state (JESSOP, 2005). Nation-states strengthen their economic and cultural activities across their borders so they can gain international competence. Moreover, domestic policy regimes are becoming internationalized. In this scenario, state sovereignty gains a new definition.

Sovereignty does not refer to total control of inter-territorial bureaucracy or civil society, for instance – it cannot be reduced to space. As Agnew argues: "states are always and everywhere challenged by forms of politics that do not conform to the boundaries of the state in question", and, second, "state boundaries are permeable" (2005, p.161).

Jessop argues: "state powers are moved upwards, downwards, and sideways as state managers on different scales attempt to enhance their respective operational autonomies and strategic capacities. One aspect of this is the gradual loss of the de jure sovereignty of national states in certain respects as rule-and/or decision-making powers are transferred upwards to supranational bodies and the resulting rules and decisions are held to bind national states. Another aspect is the devolution of authority to subordinate levels of territorial organization and the development of transnational but inter-local policymaking. The overall result is the proliferation of institutionalized scales of political decision making, the increasing complexity on inter-scalar articulation and the bewildering variety of transnational relations" (2005, p.363).

The state remains a central institutional matrix of political power and territorial organization. The presentation of a dualistic choice between the life and death of the role of the state in multi-level governance disregards the qualitative reshaping of territoriality and sovereignty (ANDERSON, 1996) and the fluid nature of the state (BRANNER, 1998). The development of multilateral institutions and international modes of legitimized authority allows for the expansion of actors beyond the state, but they do not challenge the power and legitimacy of the state. States are still key actors locally and internationally, and a group of other actors is as well. The state can delegate responsibilities and authority in the mode of interactive participation rather than opposing forces (LIPSCHUTZ, 1997).

In terms of the policymaking process, the nation-state is still at the center by willingly devolving aspects of the policy cycle. Stone (2008) argues that the nation-state engages in double devolution: one to global and regional domains and the other to private networks and non-state actors. However, if the nation-state and the sub-national entities engage in complementary or tandem engagement in foreign policy, then the nation-state devolves power to the sub-national unit to transfer and implement a specific policy by not interfering (TATHAM, 2012).

Harrison (2007) argues that the form of the state has been evolving and its understanding is crucial in exploring the relationship between the state and the city. The state re-scales itself through internal administrative and organizational hierarchies (e.g. central-local relations; financial, jurisdictional and legal structures; political divisions of labor; and the like). The increasing importance of cities and city-regions for the national and international systems do not overshadow the jurisdiction of the state.

Brenner argues: "As coordinates of state territorial organization, global cities are local-regional levels of governance situated within larger, re-territorialized matrices of 'glocalized' state institutions. This re-scaling of the state is a key 'accumulation strategy' (JESSOP, 1990) through which cities throughout the world economy are being promoted by their host states as locational nodes for transnational capital investment" (1998, p.4). Moreover, Brenner states that cities and city regions are a result of socioeconomic and institutional restructuring and multi-level transformation of capitalism and international governance - "'glocal' states have constructed new scales of state intervention- neighbourhoods, metropolitan regions and transnational interurban networks" (BRENNER, 2009, p.128).

Like the city, the state operates on national and international levels. On a national level, nation-states are responsible for the formulation and implementation of policies, programs, and strategies, among which the ones referring to culture and development. The policymaking process is hierarchical and more straightforward than the one on the international level. Koops (2017) argues that the design and influence of the nation-states still matter because they are the central actors in international politics by facilitating negotiations, providing resources, etc. All these processes occur on the national level which set the foundation for the development of global public policies and inter-organizational relations on multiple levels.

Salet et al. (2003) argue that a new, meso-government arises as a result of the relationship between the city and the nation-state and the city's metropolitan expansion in its region and neighboring municipalities. The regional policy expansion of a city straightens its cooperation and competition with other national regions as well. This meso-government can be better explained as an informal, strategic role of governance that connects programs from different tiers of government. The city continues to be the center of policy gravity, only its policy reach expands. Moreover, it attempts to link the different spheres of government and the private sector into common strategic commitments. The strategic cooperation with regional municipalities straightens the international competitiveness of the city-region in the wider region and on a global scale (SALET et al., 2003). A new wave of policy and urbanization scholars argues that regional competitiveness⁴³ is achieved by fostering the cultural and creative industries (GIBSON; WAITT, 2009; GIBSON; KONG, 2005; PORTER, 1998; FLORIDA, 2002; LANDRY, 2000).

The increasing agency of the city and city-regions does not challenge the jurisdiction and the sovereignty of the national state. The state remains a central institutional matrix of political power and territorial organizations and its sovereignty has not been compensated but transformed in the different levels of governance (LIPSCHUTZ, 1997; AGNEW, 2005; JESSOP, 2005).

On an international level, nation-states interact with each other or with an international organization via their foreign policy strategy. Traditionally, the literature implies a boundary between public policy and foreign policy and the domestic-external separation between the

⁴³ Much of the regionalism literature focuses on welfare (or regional concentration of economic flows). It is only much later that the literature addresses the regionalism as a political process characterized by economic policy cooperation and coordination among countries (FISHLOW; HAGGARD, 1992).

two types (KEOHANE; NYE, 1977; THAKUR; WEISS, 2009). Zimmerman (1973) first argued that all foreign policies have a domestic impact, but their difference is if they have symmetrical or asymmetrical impacts or similar or different impacts on different interests.

Nation-states become members of IOs as part of their foreign policy strategy. They become members of IOs because it is in their interest, but they can withdraw whenever they wish so. Non-membership in a specific IO, however, might leave the nation-state worse off. That is why nation-states accept to implement policies on a national level they would not normally do (JESSOP, 1990; SALET et al., 2003).

The current turn of globalization that promotes city and city-region development is reconfiguring the nation-state, but it does not create a new city-centric economic model. Nation-states and cities operate simultaneously, but the cities are the ones that push and implement the global trends on the nation-state level. The re-scaling of the nation-state results in the promotion of cities by their host-states as nodes of transnational capital (JESSOP, 1990). IOs then engage directly with sub-national units to transfer and implement the global public policies on local or national levels. From this relatively new dynamic of the policymaking cycle, the role of IOs and sub-national units has been understudied in the literature. Furthermore, the relationship between the three actors has not been studied in detail. For that reason, the policymaking process should be seen as a multilevel phenomenon, involving different actors and players at a different level of governance.

Inter-organizational relations through multilevel governance and decentralization

The literature on multilevel governance and inter-organizational relations could help bridge this gap. Bulkeley (2005) argues that the complex interconnection among the different scales of governance has been ignored by scholars who have followed the classic, independent decision-making process (cascaded decisions from international, to national and finally local institutions). Instead, their interconnection lies in hybrid governing arrangements that operate in networks on multiple levels (BULKELEY; BETSILL, 2005).

Multilevel governance is defined as negotiated, non-hierarchical exchanges between institutions at the transnational, national, regional, and local levels (JACHTENFUCHS, 1995; SMITH, 1997; HIX, 1998). Pierre and Stoker expand the definition “to denote relationships between governance processes at these different levels”, referring to horizontal and vertical governance processes (2000, p.132).

Piattoni (2010) argues that multi-level governance transforms the nation-state in terms of territorial articulation and authoritative decision-making arrangements. She further states: “[T]his trend assumed different forms and names in different national contexts—deconcentration, regionalization, devolution, federalization—but in all cases, it challenged the centralized nature of unitary states and the established division of competences in decentralized states.” (PIATTONI, 2010, p.3). Souza (2008) adds that multiple decision-making structures and multi-organizational arrangements are a combination of structures and processes that interact continuously and occur extra-institutionally. Thus, the shift towards multilevel governance is slow incremental progress that should not be seen as an alternative, but as a complement to the current intergovernmental relations (HOOGHE; MARKS, 2003).

Multilevel governance has been used interchangeably with federalism on quite a few occasions (see SOUZA, 2008). Federalism refers to pluralistic democracy where sets of governments (on central and decentralized levels) legislate and administer separately and whose jurisdictions are interlocked (DURACHECK, 1990). Federalism assumes a division of powers between the levels of government where one has jurisdiction over the entire national territory and the other has jurisdiction over territorially defined part of the entire territory (Ibid). Multilevel governance, however, understands division and allocation of power and authority independently from the nation-state system. Thus, multilevel governance occurs in central (unitary) states as well.

Multilevel governance causes changes in intergovernmental relations due to the negotiated forms of domestic and international institutional exchanges which are different from the domestic (nation-state) hierarchies. Moreover, they cause incremental changes in institutional behavior without changing the legal and institutional structures of the local governmental institutions (WOLLMANN, 2002). Wollmann (2002) finds that even though multilevel governance delegates autonomy to sub-national regions (such as cities and city-regions) vis-a-vis the national authorities, intergovernmental relations have not changed dramatically. In other words, they do not challenge the hegemony of the nation-state (REIGNER, 2000).

The literature has mostly focused on studying multilevel governance in federal states (e.g. DURACHECK, 1990; SOUZA, 2008) because the division and delegation of power and authority are more straightforward. In federal states, there are constitutional arrangements that

clearly define the institutions⁴⁴. In unitary states, the division of power and the level of authority among sub-national institutions are blurrier and depend largely on the national context and historic occurrences.

Peters and Pierre (2000) argue that multilevel governance emerges as a result of decentralization. That is political decentralization, budgetary cuts (fiscal decentralization) and the growing professionalism of the agents at sub-national levels (administrative decentralization)⁴⁵. Political decentralization refers to the representation on the local level, fiscal refers to the financial independence from the central unit and administrative decentralization refers to the independence of the administrative units from the central administration. The underlying idea is that the greater decentralization is, the greater the authority local or sub-national governments have from the central state (BEER, 1988, p. XV). Delegation⁴⁶ of decision-making power and responsibility of specific policies to local units does not refer to complete independence because the person or unit that has delegated the policy remains responsible for the outcome of the delegated work. However, power is still transferred to the sub-unit (ALMEIDA, 2005)⁴⁷.

Decentralization is the place, the locus of decision making. It is the extent to which decision making is concentrated in a single point or dispersed in an institution⁴⁸ (PUGH et al., 1968; MINTZBERG, 1989). The World Bank defines decentralization as “transfer of authority and responsibility for public functions from the central government to intermediate and local governments or quasi-independent government organizations and/or the private sector” (EBEL; YILMAZ, 2002). The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) defines decentralization as:

“...a whole systems perspective, including levels, spheres, sectors and functions and seeing the community level as the entry point at which holistic definitions of development goals are most likely to emerge from the people themselves and where

⁴⁴ Lobby, advocacy, and other informal means might be run, however, in the context, I refer to the formal institutional content and structure.

⁴⁵ It is important to note that the aim of the research is not to measure decentralization, but to use it as a variable to denote the autonomy of the sub-national.

⁴⁶ Delegation refers to an extent to autonomy. Autonomy is addressed as the freedom of day-to-day management, the transfer of responsibility, which is in juxtaposition with control (HARRIS; HOLDEN, 2001).

⁴⁷ It is important to note that the thesis does not seek to discuss the benefits or drawbacks of decentralization, or to measure the level of implementation of the decentralization reforms. This academic attempt has been done elsewhere (see PRUD`HOMME, 1995; TANZI, 1996; GOMES; MAXDOWELL, 2000; RIKER, 1975; BRANETT; FINEMORE, 1999, among others).

⁴⁸ Decentralized units differ from autonomous units because they determine where decision-making authority resides.

it is most practical to support them. It involves multilevel frameworks and continuous synergistic processes of interaction of cycles as critical for achieving wholeness in a decentralized system and for sustaining its development” (UNDP, 1999, p.13).

It is the most encompassing reform of the past decade in terms of quantity- the large number of countries which have introduced the reform (around 80% to 95% of the world nation-states) and quality- the transformational changes due to the reform in the type and nature of governance (MANOR, 1999). Decentralization is applied to different countries, independently of their size and development stage. It has mainly been diffused through the UN and the World Bank and the IMF.

Decentralization has been the main reason for the expanding role of regional and sub-national authorities and has been mainly encouraged by international institutions and organizations such as the European Union (EU), the United Nations (UN), the World Bank (WB), the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), etc. (JOLLANDS et al., 2009; UNDP, 1999). In contradiction to the traditional literature that considers the nation-state as the main actor in international cooperation, multi-level governance considers decentralized international cooperation. Therefore, the agency of the global public policy network is straightened through policy transfer (MENDES, 2018). Decentralization occurs in central states, as well as in federal states, but it might be differently manifested institutionally.

Decentralization in Federal and Unitary Nation-states

The degree of policy transfer depends not only on the political will of the agents, but it also depends on the national institutional structure the city is embedded in (STEYTLER, 2008; BIELA et al., 2012). The formation, continuity, and change of institutions depend upon the power relations between the central unit and the sub-units. In federal states the form of government is vertical and there is a division between the central and regional governments where each has exclusive authority over its area. In unitary states, authority is separated horizontally. Both systems govern the same territory and population, but decision-making lies elsewhere and depends on the recourses and exercise of power (RIKER, 1964; 1975). Decentralization allows for the changing structure of governance because authority and resources migrate from central to sub-national governments (BIELA et al., 2012).

Federal systems are characterized by non-centralization or the diffusion of power among many centers whose authority is not delegated from the central power, but it is gained by

suffrage and guaranteed by the Constitution (ELAZAR, 1987; LIJPHART, 1999; SAWER, 1969). However, there are different types of federalism, among which centralized and cooperative federalism. The prior refers to the strong involvement of the national government in matters of the sub-units, and the latter refers to the autonomous decision-making and financing of the sub-units from the central government⁴⁹. Moreover, depending on the national importance of the policy area, sub-units have greater or lesser independent actors. Security policies, for instance, have more vertical ties to the central unit than cultural policies that have weak vertical ties and can act independently. Thus, active cooperation and coordination among all federal states are needed to avoid conflict, policy overlap and increasing of the policy implementation costs (WEAVER; ROCKMAN, 1993).

In federations such as the United States and Canada, representatives of sub-units are present in the national capital and oversee the legislations as well as the agencies that deal not only with national matters but also with international ones. Furthermore, sub-units have established permanent offices in foreign countries to represent their unit abroad and enhance their international competences. Duracheck (1990) calls this the ‘globalization of provincialism’. The constitution also recognizes some municipal autonomy, but the nation-states are in a relatively strong position to establish intra-state relationships independently⁵⁰.

Unitary states are characterized by one single power which administratively can be divided into sub-national units or not. In contrast to federal states, in unitary states, the central unit chooses the level of authority it will delegate to the sub-unit. Unitary states can have sub-units of autonomous decision-making power such as the case of the UK and its sub-units Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Wales or can be a system with sub-units that do not have decision-making authority such as Romania and the Republic of Ireland. Majority of the world states (165 out of 193) practice a unitary form of government.

As explained before, nation-states delegate governance to sub-national units, supranational and intergovernmental institutions. Stone (2008) argues that these processes do not pose a threat to the nation-state, but the expansion of the ‘global agora’ in public spheres

⁴⁹ Besides the fact that federations have some degree of centralization, they are far from becoming unitary states due to their institutional mechanisms characterized by a veto (see Tsebelis (1995, 2002) and Immergut (1995).

⁵⁰ Some states are notorious because of the hierarchical and very conflictive relationships with their major city-region (see for instance the relationship between Bayern and München); other regions, however, manage to achieve networks of positive cooperation (see the case of Greater Hanover in Lower Saxony).

of governance. All these changes affect the inter-organizational relations among the actors, their pattern, character, origin, and rationale of interactions as well as the consequences of those relationships.

Biermann and Koops (2017) define inter-organizational relations as

“...an ongoing multifaceted process involving a variety of actors who are addressing complex issues over time. In this most widely adopted view, IOR begin with initial formation dynamics, are increasingly formalized and deepen in scope and intensity over time. They require careful strategic management and improving interventions (Gray 2008) in a context of absence of clear hierarchies and ‘top-down’ coordination. Thus, from this perspective, most dimensions of inter-organizational relations relate to processes of relationship formation, coordination, joint implementation, partnership adjustments, and improvements (in the best-case scenario) or to rivalry formation, conflict episodes, and dissolution (in the worst-case scenario).” (BIERMANN; KOOPS, 2017, p.12)

Biermann (2009) argues that the relationships can be formal or informal, direct or indirect, or a combination, and can occur across different levels. Within this line of thinking, the UN has been referred to as a partner organization, and as inter-agency among the different agencies within the UN system (KOOPS, 2017).

Koops and Biermann (2017) further argue that inter-organizational relations are particularly important when different actors converge into a specific policy field and tend to address the policy problem jointly. This initiative calls for efficient policy coordination to implement the global public policy more efficiently. Policy coordination refers to the adjustment and adaptation of policies to the preference of other organizations through the introduction of goals, strategies or activities to pursue joint goals that are mutually beneficial (BARNETT; FINNEMORE, 2004). Another way policy coordination can occur is by IOs taking the ideas or activities of other IOs into account when taking unilateral action (Ibid)⁵¹.

In those ways, IOs expand into each other’s domains (accidentally or not) from which might arise conflicting or cooperative relations (BIERMANN 2007; HOFMANN, 2011). These relations can be triggered from domain overlap⁵² and/or membership overlap. The prior refers to the “several organizations operating in the same domain and addressing similar policy issues, is similar, but not identical to organizational overlap” and the latter refers to the situation “when states are members in several cooperating organizations and overlapping

⁵¹ The shrinking of the dense policy spaces calls for increased cooperation among IOs. The more frequent the interactions among the IOs, the more cooperation occurs. Cooperation is the access to material or immaterial resources another organization has, such as personnel, equipment, expertise, etc (KOOPS; BIERMANN, 2017).

⁵² The overlap can be based on functional or regional commonalities.

resources when organizations share the same or similar resources”(BIERMANN; KOOPS, 2017, p.17).

Koops and Biermann (2017) argue that the relations among international organizations, member-states, and other actors should be seen as a multilevel phenomenon involving a variety of different actors and players at different levels of analysis. Furthermore, they argue that while the literature on International Relations has focused on the three units of analysis – the international system, the nation-state, and the individual – the relation amongst the actors should study the bureaucratic and the inter-institutional levels in order to comprehend the inter-organizational relations (IORs) As Koops explains,

“... [the] *level of the international system* refers to processes, dynamics, events (such as major crises), ideas, ‘opportunities’ and power shifts at the level of the international system, directly affecting cooperation or rivalry between international organizations. The *state level* or, indeed, the *level of member states/national level* refers to the influence of key decision makers, processes and interests at the governmental and national level. Here, the ‘national interest’ or tendencies of national control of key member states need to be kept in mind when assessing IORs. The *individual level* refers to the influence and impact of key officials or decision-makers dealing with interorganizational relations. This category can range from major ‘executive heads’(such as Secretary Generals) to ambassadors, liaison officers, senior officials and policy advisors to national representatives dealing with multilateral issues or operational personnel in the field interacting with individual counterparts in partner or rival organizations. The *bureaucratic level* refers to important aspects and actors within major administrative structures and organized hierarchies within international organizations. Finally, the *inter-institutional or inter-secretariat level* refers to jointly established, institutionalized structures and processes between two or more autonomous international organizations, created with the explicit aim of facilitating inter-organizational relations. While this *level* includes mostly joint steering committees, inter-organizational liaison offices or formalized inter-secretariat channels, it also captures *informal* processes and influences.” (2016, p.119).

The international level refers to the processes, dynamics, ideas, and opportunities in the international system that directly affect the cooperation or competition between the organizations. The member-state level refers to the influence of national key decision-makers, processes, and interests on the national level. The individual-level refers to the influence and impact of key decision-makers or officials negotiating the inter-organizational relations. This includes ambassadors, officials, policy advisors, etc. Here we need to add the importance of transnational actors and experts who are not necessarily part of the institutions but do affect the decision-makers and the shape of the policies (OLIVEIRA; PAL, 2018; KOOPS, 2017). The bureaucratic level stresses the importance of actors working in the administration and the established structures within the international organization. Finally, the inter-institutional or inter-secretariat level refers to the jointly established institutions, structures, and processes among the organizations created to facilitate their relations. This includes steering

committees, liaison offices, and other institutions that exchange formal and informal processes and influences.

The literature on inter-organizational relations complements orchestration because it provides a more detailed account of the multilevel interactions among the actors, particularly on the individual and inter-organizational level. The literature on inter-organizational relations is helpful, but it still adopts a nation-state approach. In other words, it hasn't considered sub-national units as independent decision-making bodies and the bureaucratic and inter-institutional level of actors operating on the municipal and international level, as in the case of UNESCO's engagement of sub-national governments. Moreover, the literature has not even studied UNESCO besides the fact that the organization has established inter-organizational relations (BIERMANN; KOOPS, 2017).

UNESCO has established strong inter-organizational relations with local institutions of its member states, such as NGOs, schools, public and private institutions, etc. On an international level, UNESCO has inter-organizational relations with other IOs, such as other institutions from the UN System, the OSCE, OECD and regional organizations such as the European Union, Mercosur, ASEAN, and others. By establishing strong inter-organizational relations, UNESCO aims to ease the implementation of the SDA, the Conventions, laws, and regulations on the topics of education, culture, and science as well as to oversee the policy development. UNESCO uses the terms partnership and collaboration to refer to its inter-organizational relations with its partners, be those part of the UN System or not (BIERMANN; KOOPS, 2017; OLIVEIRA; PAL, 2018).

Particular importance should also be given to regional organizations. Besides the global interconnectedness of nation-states, there are strong tendencies of regional cooperation and integration. Geographical and political proximity of nation-states leads to the regionalization of their practices. Regionalism⁵³ refers to the political process characterized by economic policy cooperation and coordination among countries (FISHLOW; HAGGARD, 2005). The economic and political interactions of neighbouring nation-states or nation-states bounded by the same/similar cultural, economic, political ideologies, organize themselves in regional

⁵³ When referring to economic cooperation on a regional level, some scholars refer to as regional integration, meaning economic integration. Economic integration includes the creation of free trade zones, customs unions, economic and monetary unions such as the EU, NAFTA, MESCOSUR, etc. (LAURSEN, 2010).

organizations to strengthen their cooperation⁵⁴. Regional organizations are also defined based on the geographic proximity of the members. They matter because they create international rules and regulations and affect national decision-making procedures (LAURSEN, 2002). Regional organizations are also global public policy networks that diffuse the policies among their member-states.

For those reasons, Biermann and Koop's (2017) framework will be complemented with municipal and regional inter-organizational relations among UNESCO, the city and the nation-state, as well as the actors engaged in those levels.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the research takes an interdisciplinary approach by merging the literature on public policy, institutionalism and international relations. The need for bridging the distances among the scholars lies in the fact that the international and the local are coming close very rapidly, but the literature has not caught up with these fast processes. Institutions and processes on all levels have expanded the internationalization of global public policies and trends, and the idea of creative cities has spread very rapidly as a result of that. Those relationships produce a different form of authority, outside of the traditional sovereign state model (STONE, 2008; FARIA, 2018).

As to international organizations, cities are also agents to the nation-states. Thus, the city does not compromise national sovereignty, but it can swing its policies from within while implementing global public policies on a municipal level. The nation-states' role continues to be active in the formulation of national policies. However, the nation-state has delegated more power to its local constituencies in the process of implementing those policies and to the IOs in the process of formulating the policies. Depending on the policy area, nation-states can be bypassed or they can work in tandem with the city in the process of transferring a policy.

IOs can be active actors in the global public policy process because they use soft governance mechanisms to steer nation-state behaviour in their benefit. Using orchestration, IOs apply a soft and indirect method of influencing national decision-making and implementation via local intermediaries.

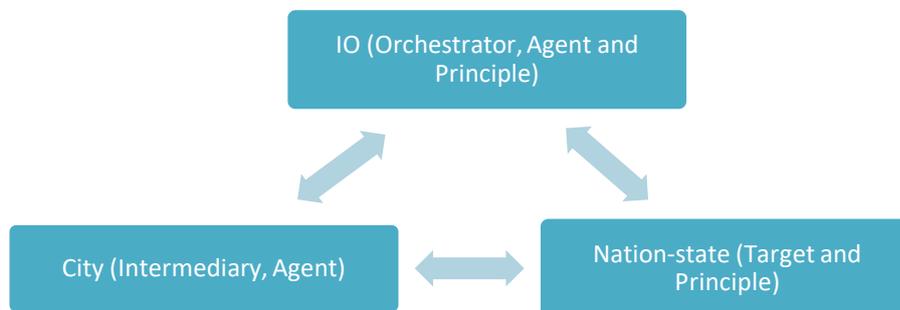
⁵⁴ For more on regionalism, see MANSFIELD; MILNER, 2005; BENNETT; OLIVER, 2002

The next chapter describes the roles of UNESCO as an orchestrator, the city as an intermediary and the nation-state as a target. Their relationship is studied based on policy transfer and their inter-organizational relations. The research questions and hypotheses are also formulated based on the gaps in the literature review.

Chapter IV- Theory and Hypothesis- the UN System and the implementation of the SDA via the diffusion of the Creative City model

To fill in the gaps of the literature, the research takes upon the analytical model of orchestration complemented with inter-organizational relations to understand the interaction among UNESCO, the sub-national government and the nation-state in the global policy cycle. In this context, UNESCO uses the sub-national governments' membership at the UNESCO Creative Cities Network to orchestrate the behaviour of the nation-state, its target, and to implement the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (Figure 6). The UNESCO policy overlap with regional organizations such as the European Union and Mercosur⁵⁵ are also taken into consideration.

Figure 6: Relations between IO, state and city in the orchestration framework.



Source: Personal elaboration

That leads us to the first hypothesis (H1): The role of cities⁵⁶ in the implementation of the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals is one of a mechanism (intermediary⁵⁷) conducted

⁵⁵The selection to use examples of these two regional organizations is due to their influence over the cities that were selected as case studies (Curitiba, Dublin, and Idanha-a-Nova). See Chapter V.

⁵⁶ The UNESCO Creative Cities Network (UCCN) is not treated as an intermediary because its governance structure is within UNESCO. The decision-making is done by UNESCO Directorate-General; instead, the UCCN is treated as a functional tool for orchestration.

⁵⁷ A contradiction in the discussion arises when cities are treated as intermediaries (orchestration theory) and as fundamental agents of public policy (institutionalism). When looking closely these two theories come together. New institutionalism literature goes beyond the definitions of formal institutions and rules and expands

through orchestration by UNESCO via the UNESCO Creative Cities Network in order to align the nation-state behaviour with the Sustainable Development Agenda.

Rival hypothesis (RH1) would be that cities do not act as intermediaries (mechanisms) or they do not change nation-state behaviour, aligning it with the UN's Sustainable Development Agenda. In this case, the result might be a failure of policy transfer due to incomplete transfer, uninformed transfer and/or inappropriate transfer (DOLOWITZ; MARSH, 2000). The inability to change state behaviour via UNESCO Creative Cities Network would result in drawing lessons for further policy initiatives by UNESCO.

Most importantly, the research seeks to answer the following questions: How are cities acting as intermediaries in implementing the SDGs on local level without compromising the national policymaking process and sovereignty? When UNESCO orchestrates, do cities bypass, manage or complement the nation-state? What are the city's inter-organizational relations with the nation-state and UNESCO on multilevel governance?

In conjunction with Abbott et al.'s (2015) orchestration theory, I apply Biermann and Koops' (2017) framework on inter-organizational relations, and the literature on regional and city-level governance to test the H1. The three actors interact on international, regional, national (member-state), municipal, bureaucratic, individual and inter-institutional levels. This analysis will help us understand, describe and explain the aspects of their relationships, as well as the power relations among them.

UNESCO as Orchestrator

As an orchestrator, UNESCO operates through the institutional structures of the city to steer the behaviour of the nation-state. Thus, UNESCO is the Principal of the city, providing it with ideational assistance. At the same time, UNESCO is an Agent to the nation-state, however, it can go against the member state's decision because its mandate allows for it⁵⁸.

it to the sociological understanding of interactions among institutions in society in formal and informal modes. These rules are different in each particular institutional setting and their individual analysis will reveal the city's authority, the actors involved and their relations on multiple levels. Abbott et al. (2015) also take on a constructivist understanding of international relations where norms and rules are fluid and international institutions are a result of social intersections on global level.

⁵⁸ Such an example is the case of the USA, which withdraw from UNESCO due to the IO's strong persistence of protecting Palestine's heritage by listing Palestinian sites on the National Heritage Sites List and UNESCO's recognition of Palestine as a full member in 2011.

UNESCO has limited capabilities to implement the SDGs on a national level because it strictly follows the principle of sovereignty. For that reason, a feasible strategy for UNESCO orchestration is the engagement of cities as intermediaries. UNESCO has limited direct involvement on the local level but instead supplies ideational assistance directly to municipalities to implement and manage policies and programs for creativity and innovation to achieve the SDGs.

UNESCO's legitimacy as an orchestrator is in its expertise in the issue-specific area. As mentioned in Chapter II, UNESCO is the first IO to publish reports and promote the creative economy and creativity-related policies on global and on sub-national levels. UNESCO has strong orchestrator focality because it is seen as a governance leader in the area of culture and the creative industries (KOZYMKA, 2014). UNESCO has differentiated from other IOs by stressing the importance of culture, creativity, and innovation for achieving the SDA. Jørgensen refers to differentiation as "to an organization's active effort to build up its own image, identity and reputation" (2009, p. 174). This explains why the UNESCO Creative Cities Network has expanded very rapidly since 2004 – its focality has allowed attracting a large number of municipalities, which has further helped the Network to maintain and enhance its central role in cultural policies and the creative industries.

UNESCO's function for orchestrating is both norm-setting and implementation. Via standardization of practices, transnational rulemaking and universalization of ideas, policies, and programs UNESCO sets the global framework for policies for development, education, science and culture and shapes the methods these policies would be implemented (see Chapter II). It accounts for the standards via the SDA and the implementation of the Agenda through the guidelines outlined in Goal 17. Moreover, the policy sphere of cultural policies has not received such global attention as policies related to health or security. In the weak institutional context of the 'global agora' (STONE, 2008), UNESCO as a policy actor is arguably more influential in shaping the parameters of decision-making, defining problems and specifying what constitutes 'global public goods'. UNESCO is selling 'expert evaluation' services that have far greater expertise than those within the confines of the nation-state (DUEDAHL, 2016).

UNESCO is an attractive orchestrator because it offers benefits for the cities. The IO performs four of the overlapping functions as typical means of orchestration which are: convening, agenda-setting, assistance, endorsement and coordination (ABBOTT et al., 2015).

UNESCO is giving privileged access to actors from the sector of creativity, innovation and culture to the UCCN city-members, through which it empowers them. Via the Network and the access to UNESCO's logo, UNESCO connects the cities, directly and indirectly with influential actors and steers the city's behaviour to foster relationships with specific actors. An example is the convening of the nation-states and encouraging them to adopt and promote the SDA, its principles and standards. UNESCO sets the global agenda on development by advocating for the fostering of the cultural and creative industries. It cooperates with NGOs, consultancy companies, member-states and other actors that have decision-making power and can set the policy issue on international and national agendas. UNESCO sets the global agenda for development through the 2030 SDGs by shaping the strategic plans of other IOs, member-states and sub-national units. Through agenda setting, UNESCO shows normative guidance and policy solutions for local problems. These initiatives influence municipal policy priorities and define their strategies. Particularly after the economic crisis of 2008, UNESCO's role as an orchestrator has intensified by strengthening its expertise in cultural policies.

Through ideational assistance, UNESCO supports the rule implementation by providing information and sharing best practices of how a city can solve its urban problems via programs linked to innovation and creativity. UNESCO does not have a specifically created budget for the UCCN and its administrative costs are covered mostly by voluntary contributions from the member cities. However, even though UCCN does not offer material assistance, the ideational assistance it offers leads to greater material gains by attracting tourism, investment in entrepreneurship, science and other creativity-related activities (VIEIRA DE JESUS, 2017). Moreover, independently from the UCCN, UNESCO publishes reports and assists nation-states in the formulation of their national plans for development. UNESCO disposes of with softer instruments (ideational assistance) that ensure that states will follow through with their commitments. UNESCO thus adopts a hybrid model of governance when it comes to influencing the national policy processes, combining governance by co-ordination; by opinion formation; and by legal and financial means. The emergence and change of the idea about development guided by UNESCO, is crucial in understanding that it is a learning process, however, its underlying ideas and normative policies have been embedded in the neoliberal ideas of capitalism, promoting structural adjustment, privatization, and downsizing of the state (CRAIG; PORTER, 2006). Textbook like application to the normative institutionalization of development ideas and policies is what

Olsen (2007) refers to as the “logic of appropriateness”⁵⁹ which guides the behaviour of actors (in our case, member-states) within institutions (HÄIKIÖ, 2014). Its soft enforcement mechanisms based on capacity-building and technical assistance based on the UN’s specialized knowledge shapes the member-states behaviour and re-establishes its international authority.

Through the endorsement of the Creative City Title and the right to use UNESCO’s logo, UNESCO transfers its legitimacy in the policy area to the cities. Therefore, UNESCO empowers intermediaries by validating its competence and legitimacy by formally recognizing their activities. The endorsement is particularly important for rule-making intermediaries, as the cities, which can introduce policies and lobby for higher-level institutional and law-based changes on the national level. All these types of endorsement increase the social and political role of a city by attracting even greater support from the local creative community, potential investors, the private sector, etc.

Finally, UNESCO tends to present itself as coordinator of culture-related policies on a global level by coordinating the overlapping activities of other UN institutions and other IOs. UNESCO has created various networks for urban collaboration including the United Cities and Local Governments, the Cities Alliance, UN-Habitat, etc, which cooperate based on a cultural, social and economic exchange of ideas and practices. UNESCO’s close cooperation with its member states and partner organizations represent networks of expertise on sustainability and development which advise other member states and developing countries in their public policy processes. Furthermore, UNESCO cooperates with non-UN institutions such as the EU, ASEAN, OSCE, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and other international and regional organizations⁶⁰. The aim of this cooperation is the diffusion of the SDA and its implementation on all levels of governance. Most IOs have expanded their agenda and have duplicated another organization’s mandate. In the case of the SDA, international organizations co-ordinately have expanded into each other’s agenda. This is mostly the case of UNESCO’s cooperation with the EU. However, there are many cultures

⁵⁹Olsen’s “logic of appropriateness” is a conceptual framework of studying institutions studying the culturally shared norms and rules as well as the culturally dominant logic. In the thesis, the “logic of appropriateness” is only referred to stress the norm-driven approach of development thinking, because the thesis is guided by the different conceptual framework.

⁶⁰ It is important to note that regionalism is not opposed by United Nations institutions. In its Charter, the UN encourages regionalism as the first step of settling an issue before addressing the international institutions. Universalism and regionalism coexist in sometimes competing and sometimes supporting relationship (LAURSEN, 2002; FISHLOW; HAGGARD, 2005).

and sustainability-related EU policies which are duplicating and competing with the UN's, such as the program of European Capitals of Culture⁶¹. UNESCO has managed to work on a cooperative basis by advocating for the adoption of the 2030 SDGs by other Creative or Culture cities networks as part of their mission (ASEAN CREATIVE CITIES, 2019).

The orchestrator lacks local capabilities, but it has very efficient orchestrating capacities. UCCN was designed to have clear regulatory competences, strong operational capacities and high level of legitimacy (ABBOTT et al., 2015). UNESCO regulates the entrance, the progress and the exit of a city within the Network. For the membership application, UCCN requires an Action Plan showing the willingness and commitment to the Network and Monitoring and Evaluation reports that need to prove the actions of a city towards the Network's mission and objectives. Moreover, UNESCO has the power of reducing the cities' vulnerabilities to urban problems, such as unemployment, pollution, underdevelopment, etc., and manages the means of reducing those vulnerabilities through programs and actions related to creativity, innovation and culture.

Finally, UNESCO is aligned with Abbott et al.'s (2015) orchestrator entrepreneurship hypothesis that states that "governance actors are more likely to engage in orchestration when their organizational structure and culture encourages policy entrepreneurship" which refers to governance actors that are open to collaboration and experimenting with governance approaches (ABBOTT et al., 2015, p.25). Such characteristics are decentralization, reward-based initiatives, risk-taking and openness to learning from other activities (best practices). UNESCO is such a governance actor because: firstly, it promotes multi-stakeholder governance; secondly, it promotes decentralization as a basic variable for good governance; thirdly, it rewards municipal initiatives that are risk-taking and innovative in their local programs and policies.

International inter-organizational relations

On international level UNESCO's inter-organizational relations are very prominent (see UNESCOc, 2019). UNESCO has sparked cooperation among member-states in order to bring solutions for the problems of global warming, migration, unequal industrial development,

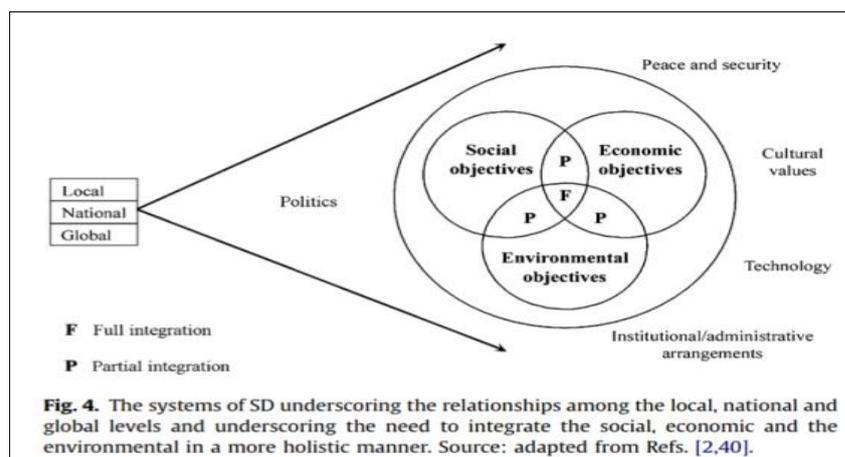
⁶¹Link for more information on the program: https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/actions/capitals-culture_en

global and regional economic crisis and unemployment, environmental disasters⁶². These crises have created space for new opportunities, new ideas about development and sustainability from which the SDGs are a result of.

UNESCO's implementation of the Sustainable Development Agenda (SDA) stresses the importance of mutual reinforcement mechanism, multilateralism and cooperation among institutions on different levels. UNESCO's, and the broad UN inter-organizational discourse, alludes on "effective multilateralism" (LAATIKAINEN; SMITH, 2006; JØRGENSEN 2009; KOOPS, 2011) which encourages institutional cooperation taking an integrated approach (MAJOR; MOELLING, 2009). The full integration of the SDA joins the local, national and the global governance policies on social, economic and environmental issues (Figure 7). The interaction on international level can be horizontal and/or hierarchical. Horizontal interaction occurs when there is interaction on same-level institutions, such as between UNESCO and the EU, for instance. Hierarchical interaction occurs when UNESCO cooperates with subordinate bodies, such as the UCCN.

Figure 7: Full implementation of the SDA on local, national and global governance

⁶² "We are meeting at a time of immense challenges to sustainable development. Billions of our citizens continue to live in poverty and are denied a life of dignity. There are rising inequalities within and among countries. There are enormous disparities of opportunity, wealth and power. Gender inequality remains a key challenge. Unemployment, particularly youth unemployment, is a major concern. Global health threats, more frequent and intense natural disasters, spiralling conflict, violent extremism, terrorism and related humanitarian crises and forced displacement of people threaten to reverse much of the development progress made in recent decades. Natural resource depletion and adverse impacts of environmental degradation, including desertification, drought, land degradation, freshwater scarcity and loss of biodiversity, add to and exacerbate the list of challenges which humanity faces. Climate change is one of the greatest challenges of our time and its adverse impacts undermine the ability of all countries to achieve sustainable development. Increases in global temperature, sea level rise, ocean acidification and other climate change impacts are seriously affecting coastal areas and low-lying coastal countries, including many least developed countries and Small Island developing States. The survival of many societies, and of the biological support systems of the planet, is at risk." (UN, 2015, p. 4)



Source: LOZANO, 2008, p. 40⁶³

On international level, UNESCO has joined with the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization, who were also among the most active actors in the negotiation process of the SDGs, as well as other UN agencies to support each other during this process (IRIYE, 2002; GODIN, 2001; DUEDAHL, 2016).

In each country, governments must translate the goals into national legislation, develop a plan of action, establish budgets and at the same time be open to and actively search for partners. UNESCO notably delivers its programmes through the implementation of normative instruments – the Culture Conventions and Recommendations – which frame national policies by providing a set of principles, standards and guidelines. Since UNESCO’s adoption of the SDGs, it is committed to “Localize the SDGs” by linking the urgency of the Goals to the previous binding and non-binding documents that UNESCO as produced (GODIN, 2001).

As a strong international institution in the policy area, UNESCO takes upon the responsibility to bridge the global poverty gap. Developed countries and urbanized cities have had more ease in applying for UCCN membership due to their access to knowledge, financial resources, timely data and technical resources which developing countries or rural cities do not enjoy (UNESCO, 2017). UNESCO promotes the equal geographic distribution of the creative cities, but it does that via its intermediaries. It aims to launch a new program where UCCN city members assist cities from the African countries in their application process and the development of an action plan if approved (UNESCO, 2017). The orchestrator benefits because it does not have additional costs implementing the SGA and the city-members willing

⁶³ Available at: <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Envisioning-sustainability-three-dimensionally-Lozano/7255a360e76d1c71fd7ed0166c03dd4c03f14fe3>

to assist other cities to benefit by presenting themselves as more capacitated. With this initiative, UNESCO also encourages regional cooperation among its city-members.

Regional level relations

UNESCO acts as coordinator of global policies related to development and sustainability. As regional organizations such as EU and Mercosur expanded their policy reach towards the fields of culture, innovation and technology, UNESCO initiated for joint programs in the area.

The EU was active in the negotiations of the SDGs at the UN⁶⁴ and has actively advocated for their implementation (CHASEK; KAMAU; O'CONNOR, 2018) which as a result the EU has deeply embedded them in its structure. SDG Watch Europe is only one of the first of these alliances.

The European Union (EU) has been referred to as “superstate”, “federal-state”, “confederation”, an “international organization”, etc. It is difficult to define the structure of the EU because it has gone beyond the definitions mentioned above due to the strong jurisdiction over its member states. In other words, it is concerned with its member-states interests, but also its own (common interests) (ARCHER, 2001). It is critical that the European dimension is not overlooked because there is a widespread recognition among scholars and policymakers that the dynamics of European economic integration have significant spatial consequences on national, regional, metropolitan and urban scales (BRENNER, 1999; KREUKELS; SALET; THORNLEY, 2005). Similarly, growing attention has been paid to the role that European policies are playing in reshaping governance at the sub-national level, with a number of authors pointing to the possible ‘Europeanisation’ of local governance (ATKINSON; WILKS-HEEG, 2000) or the emergence of forms of ‘multilevel governance’ that connect European, national, regional and city-based policymakers through complex networks⁶⁵ (HOOGHE; MARKS, 2006). Claudio Radaelli (2000, p.26) argued that the EU had evolved into a ‘massive transfer platform’ for disseminating different aspects of policy among member states. Subsequent research revealed just how far the EU’s influence extends: from the environment (JORDAN; LIEFFERINK, 2004) to foreign and energy policy (BULMER; PADGETT, 2005), and from policy goals to policy instruments.

⁶⁴ Representative from the European Commission speaks on behalf of all EU member states.

⁶⁵ To bring institutional cooperation and avoid policy-overlap, the EU developed the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP, 1999) among other institutions.

EU's implementation of the SDGs is as follows: at the European regional level, the European Union seeks to establish a new approach to growth and sustainability in its threefold dimension (economic, social and environmental) beyond 2020. This process, which is linked to the "Europe 2020" Strategy, should necessarily reflect the internal and external implementation of the two major international milestones of 2015 on Sustainable Development: the adoption of Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development and the Paris Agreement on Climate Change. To this end, on 22 November 2016, the European Commission published a Communication entitled "The next steps towards a sustainable European future", with a view to the implementation of Agenda 2030 within the EU. In this document, it is confirmed that sustainable development has long been at the heart of the European project. The EU Treaties recognize the economic, social and environmental dimensions to be tackled, demonstrating the commitment to a development that meets the present needs without compromising those of future generations. Besides, several EU funding instruments complement European policies and initiatives and contribute horizontally to SDGs. In particular, cohesion policy - through the European Structural and Investment Funds - is highlighted as the EU's main investment policy, to achieve economic, social and territorial development based on reducing disparities between regions (EUROPEAN COMMISSION, 2010).

The EU has advanced cultural policies aimed at promoting European integration through legislation and funding for public institutions, private companies, NGOs and individual initiatives. The cultural areas the EU policies are most advanced in are cinema, audio-visual, publishing, music and crafts. The European Commission and the Council of Europe have set the Education, Audio-Visual and Culture Executive Agency and run a series of programs among which the European Capital of Culture, Creative Europe, EU Year of Cultural Heritage, H2020, COSME, Culture for Cities and Regions, Intercultural Cities Project, Regional Development Fund, Investment Fund, etc. The Committee on Culture and Education is represented in the European Parliament and the Council of the EU has the Education, Youth and Culture sector. The EU also cooperates with numerous non-EU institutions and offers funding or joint programs⁶⁶. The SDGs are an integral part of almost all these programs.

The strong European interest in the cultural and creative industries for common economic growth is due to their 4.5% contribution to the European economy, coming mainly from 1.4

⁶⁶ See the entire list at: https://ec.europa.eu/culture/node_en

million small and medium-sized business (ECIS REPORT, 2015). Moreover, during the 2008 crisis, the cultural and creative industries continued to grow, and their effect spill over to other sectors such as tourism and information technology (Ibid).

The implementation of these policies relies largely on local and regional governments. 60% of the decisions taken by our towns and regions are influenced by European legislation and almost 70% of public sector investments in Europe come from local and regional governments⁶⁷ (EUROPEAN COMMISSION, 2016). Cooperation and collaboration through the sharing of practices and peer learning activities are encouraged among cities and regions. Some authors argue that since the EU institutions are so far away from the ‘common person’, these programs tend to show that the EU affects every person’s life (MORAVCSIK, 2002). Other authors argue that the active engagement of the sub-units is due to the decentralization process and the federal-like system of the EU⁶⁸ (MORAVCSIK, 2002; BENGOETXEA, 2011).

UNESCO’s cooperation with the EU to implement the SDA is dispersed among the different UNESCO-EU partnerships. EU is also one of UNESCO’s strategic partners. Both parties have signed a Memorandum of Understanding where the EU provides most of the funding to UNESCO. In the area of culture and the creative industries, UNESCO-EU partnership is mostly focused on funds or capacity-building projects for heritage sites (UNESCO, 2019d).

Mercosur or the Southern Common Market has been an attempt of a common regional union, but it falls far behind the institutional developments of the European Union and thus its influence on national and local institutions cannot be compared. Laursen argues that Mercosur is “an incomplete customs union aiming to become an economic community” (2002, p.3). Besides, Sarikakis and Ganter (2016) argue that Mercosur’s attempt to strengthen the cultural industries via the audio-visual sector draws from the policies for branding and coordination of production first implemented by the European Union (2016).

Mercosur was not involved in the negotiation process of the SDGs, but it has accepted their importance, mostly via the implementation of Agenda 21. Among Mercosur members,

⁶⁷ The European Charter of Local Self-Government shows that decentralization and self-government are at the heart of the policy processes at the European level.

⁶⁸ The EU is considered a 'special kind' of an intergovernmental organization due to its legal structure and a high degree of constitutional developments (BENGOETXEA, 2011)

Brazil has been the most prominent leader pushing for the implementation and monitoring and evaluation process of the SGDs (UNDP, 2019).

UNESCO's cooperation with Mercosur is not very extensive. UNESCO has been a vocal supporter of MICSUR (international fair for the creative industries). On education-related activities UNESCO has held a conference on the comparative education indicators for the Mercosur countries in 1998, other independent analysis and program support on the integration approach; however, the relations between the two institutions remain superficial (MUNCK, 2001).

Nation-state level relations

On the nation-state level, UNESCO has the authority to set the agenda and take formal decisions due to its legitimacy and efficiency (BARNETT; FINNEMORE, 2004). Each member-state has appointed a permanent delegate to UNESCO who represents the national interests, dialogues and votes at UNESCO meetings (UNESCO.IT, 2017) (further explained below). The member-state association with the highly legitimized IO such as UNESCO translates the legitimacy and efficiency to the member state⁶⁹. This position also justifies why member states are prone to implement the Sustainable Development Goals locally besides their non-binding nature. Moreover, some nation-states or cities independently develop policies directly related to international documents without the IOs pressure because it gives credibility to those policies⁷⁰. The United Nations often publishes guidelines for management and best practices of policies that intend to advise, inform and facilitate the national or sub-national actors to implement those initiatives (see UN, 2003; UN, 2010a; UNESCO, 2017).

In the last few years, nation-states have taken initiatives of publishing term-based development plans. Depending on the country, the development plans refer to sustainability, the economy or even to the implementation of the SDA (SD, 2019). The national plans serve as tools to governments to set goals that they want to achieve within a certain period. As stated in the UN System Database: "UNESCO is supporting countries in developing their national sustainable development strategies and promoting policy coherence to achieve the

⁶⁹ 'Goodness-of-fit' thesis is when local actors put pressures on governments to implement a specific policy and follow the global trend (see Van der Vleuten, 2000).

⁷⁰ An example is the 2004 Montreal Declaration for Cultural Diversity and Inclusion drawing from the UNESCO Convention on Cultural Diversity and UNESCO's guidelines for the management of heritage sites.

SDGs through its specialized expertise in education, the sciences, culture and communication and information” (UN SYSTEM SDGs DATABASE, 2019).

This approach assumes that nation-states are not bypassed, but IOs use reasoned arguments to persuade states to meet international commitments as something appropriate and as ‘the right thing to be done’ (RISSE, 2000).

Municipal level relations

On the municipal level, UNESCO benefits from the role of an orchestrator because it manages to implement the SDGs on the global and local level, without the cost of doing the job itself⁷¹. Moreover, besides the wide range of intermediaries (NGOs mostly), the city is an efficient one. The city and UNESCO complement each other quite well. As goal-seeking actors, they help each other achieve their interests. The city supplies specific capacities and expertise that UNESCO lacks, and UNESCO offers ideational and potential material gains. Overall, the relationship is efficient.

Individual level relations

On the individual level, the high-level ranks at UNESCO, such as the Secretary-General, are not directly involved with the UNESCO Creative Cities Network. Of course, part of their mandate is to promote the Network (UNESCO, 2017), however, in practical terms, they do not play a central role. A more practical work related to UCCN is given to UNESCO experts. They are an international pool of recognized experts (consultants, academics, researchers, government officials, civil servants, etc.) that have relevant experience in designing or implementing cultural and creative policies. These experts are called upon when support is needed in different areas of the implementation of the 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions such as: developing training materials; writing research papers; evaluating funding requests for the International Fund for Cultural Diversity; providing policy advice, trainings and capacity development; supporting policy monitoring activities; advancing advocacy and networking opportunities, etc. Even though their mandate is focused on the 2005 Convention, their expertise is also counted on in the selection of UCCN members, and on the overseeing of the implementation of the SDA via the

⁷¹Experience with the implementation of the 2015 Millennium Development Goals shows state and non-state actors were highly engaged in the implementation providing resources, policy plans and programs on a local level (AWORTWI; MUSAHARA, 2016).

cities' monitoring and evaluation reports (UNESCO, 2019). These experts are called to contribute to the cities' reports.

The designation procedure of city-membership, as well as the monitoring and evaluation, is done by UNESCO together with the experts, consultants and the Steering Group. Interestingly enough, the names of the experts and consultants are not publicly available and the staff at the UCCN was not responsive for an interview (neither via email or phone).

Bureaucratic level relations

UNESCO manages all the bureaucracy from the headquarters in Paris. The UCCN is also managed from there. The division of the UNESCO Creative Cities Network is located within the cultural sector, in the division for creativity⁷². Moreover, in most of UNESCO member states, there are the UNESCO Field Offices in which are employed international and national professionals. The international staff is employed on the bases of expertise and/or managerial role, whereas the national staff are nationals of the host country and provide local knowledge and expertise (UNESCO, 2019). Additionally, there are the Permanent Delegations to UNESCO that are appointed by each member state. They serve as a liaison between the member state and the UNESCO Secretariat. The National Representation of UNESCO's objective is to promote UNESCO's work in the country and work jointly with the national government towards national development, in line with the UN development objectives (Ibid). Their specific role regarding the UCCN is local promotion and they do not offer any assistance for cities that want to become members (SALVADORI, 2019). The organs that are directly dealing with UCCN-related activities on local levels are the UNESCO National Commissions.

Inter-institutional level relations

UCCN is a UNESCO programme. The National Commissions are UNESCO counterparts whose staff cooperates with UCCN in the implementation of the Creative Cities programme by supporting new member cities, providing information to applicant cities, implementing specific projects or capacity building activities, etc. (ROBERT, 2019). Each National Commission presents an Annual Report to UNESCO through which it shares best practices and challenges in each country. The UNESCO Secretary General states that they are very

⁷² There are only a handful of bureaucrats who are responsible for the Network, that unfortunately were not available for interview.

important in shaping and improving the public perception of UNESCO in the member-state and mobilizing educational, scientific and cultural communities (AZOULAY, 2017, p.3). The National Commissions are adjusting their method of work and priorities to fit the national ones in order to respond to the member-states needs in implementing the SDA (Ibid).

The UNESCO National Commissions operate on the inter-institutional level. These Commissions are created jointly with UNESCO and national institutions such as the Ministry of Education, Culture or Foreign Affairs. National Commissions make part of the overall constitutional architecture of UNESCO. They operate on permanent bases to link the national and local governments and the non-governmental bodies that operate in the field of education, science, culture and communication in line with the work of UNESCO. Moreover, they assist the implementation of jointly signed agreements, conventions, and laws on national and local levels and manage other inter-organizational activities between UNESCO and the member-state. All applications of UNESCO conventions and programmes, as well as the proposals to join to the Creative Cities Network, are coordinated by the UNESCO National Commission. In the example of Portugal, the Commission itself, according to its site, welcomes new contributions from Idanha-a-Nova, as the Creative City of Music and Óbidos as a Creative City of Literature, but it states that UNESCO's "agents" have the final responsibility for managing the data and creating implementation activities of value in each of the urban centres (COMISSÃO NACIONAL DA UNESCO, 2019). Currently, all UNESCO 199 member-states have established National Commissions and all take a different form in terms of status, composition and management, but are committed to promoting intellectual solidarity and peace through international cooperation (UNESCO, 2012).

As the ultimate governing body of the UCCN, UNESCO is the agenda-setter for UCCN's long term goals, together with the cities through the Strategic Mission Statement. Although the Steering Group plays a strong intermediary role between UNESCO and the member-cities, the decision-making power lies at UNESCO. UNESCO sets the standards for membership approvals, the technical eligibility of the cities to implement the action plan and the procedures for the monitoring and evaluation.

On inter-institutional level, UNESCO cooperates with the member-state and the intermediary, the city on the institutional level through the National Commissions and on the operational level through the joint programs, funds or policies. The National Commissions are "professional associations" using the term from orchestration theory (ABBOTT et al., 2015,

p.10) because they serve as a middleman between the orchestrator and the target. Through the National Commissions, UNESCO and the member-state exchange information and personnel, they negotiate the agreements, form working groups and hold joint meetings. They institutionalize the relation between them. The intensity of cooperation on institutional and field level might diverge because the operation filed is more results-based (KOOPS, 2011). The National Commission's role is important due to presenting a channel of top-down and bottom-up cooperation through which UNESCO influences local policymaking, however, local and national institutions can also initiate policies or programs that are diffused via the National Commission on regional and global levels. Example of the latter is the diffusion of good and best practices.

Goal divergence among nation-states helps explain the reliance on orchestration. All countries have committed themselves to attain the Goals, however, in practice, they have different priorities. UNESCO National Commissions are part of different local institutions (mostly either the Ministry of Education or Foreign Affairs), which expresses the different priorities on national and inter-institutional levels in each member-state. The National Commissions create the favourable conditions that make orchestration appealing and viable. Besides the different national priorities, UNESCO Secretariat is responsible for the orchestration, its strategies, objectives and purposes and it plays an individual role besides the political pressures. It manages to find practical ways of orchestrating via its programs.

City as Intermediary

The intermediary is crucial for the policy implementation stage. The effectiveness of the policy implementation depends on the local institutions, resources and authorities (CAPLAN, 2005). Cities are suited intermediaries because they manage the adaptation for the idea transfer to occur by identifying the local vulnerabilities, implementing plans and programs, mobilizing the local actors (private, public and mixed partnerships). Although UNESCO can set standards for development, it does not have the localized political, managerial and even scientific expertise to identify the problems and implement the solutions.

The city is an intermediary but also acts as an agent to UNESCO which is its orchestrator and principal at the same time. As an intermediary, the city strengthens its paradiplomatic activities (DUCHACEK, 1990), promotes itself internationally and gains ideational assistance from UNESCO (ABBOTT et al., 2015), thus it becomes more financially independent from the national government (VIEIRA DE JESUS, 2017). The city gets access to the pool of

resources available in the UCCN and expert knowledge directly from UNESCO to implement the SDGs. Moreover, the city strengthens its legitimacy and authority as a creative city nationally and internationally (SASSEN, 1991; ROOST, 2001). Cities exist in an environment of material and informational linkages with various types of actors. Non-state actors, such as socio-economic interest groups, political parties, advocacy groups, advisory bodies and experts, may develop opinions on the implementation of global public policies. Mobilization of social actors depends on their expert knowledge, material resources and transnational contacts (OLIVERIA; PAL, 2018). They might act in favour of the policy implementation or try to prevent it in an opportunity to bring their contents closer to their interests. These actions allow the city to be more competitive in the world economy.

The intermediary availability hypothesis (ABBOTT et al., 2015) argues that goal convergence and complementary capacities are necessary attributes of an intermediary. “Orchestrator and intermediary are goal-seeking actors who work together to achieve a common goal, and they choose orchestration because it allows them to benefit from a division of labour” (GRAHAM; THOMPSON, 2015, p. 129).

The city has complementary capacities because it is constituted within the nation-state political and institutional system. Consequently, the city has the resources and decision-making power to implement the transfer and steer the nation-state behaviour towards the objectives of UNESCO. UNESCO treats the cities as space to link upstream and downstream actions. The role of city authorities as policymakers at the local level can create dynamic synergies. UNESCO is supporting sub-national plans and/or strategies and implementation for the SDGs through its networks of cities-Creative Cities, World Heritage Cities, Learning Cities, Inclusive and Sustainable Cities, and the Alliance of Megacities for Water and Climate (UN System, 2019). The city’s goals are converged with UNESCO up to the level that the city is the one which is initiating the orchestration.

This leads us to the second hypothesis (H2). The theory of orchestration assumes that international organization (IO) initiated orchestration occurs in cases where there is high goal divergence between IOs and nation-states, and loose state oversight (ABBOTT et al., 2015, p. 372). The assumption holds that IOs “take advantage” of the loose oversight by the nation-state to close the divergence between IO and nation-state-initiated goals. However, *if cities are taken as intermediaries by UNESCO and they apply voluntarily to be part of the UNESCO Creative Cities Network than they must engage in city-initiated orchestration and*

there must exist low goal divergence (as in the intermediary availability hypothesis) and strong municipal oversight.

It is important to distinguish the intermediary-initiated orchestration from IO or nation-state-initiated orchestration because they follow a different causal logic. Tallberg (2015) has proven that high goal divergence is not necessary for orchestration to occur. On the contrary, there are cases where the nation-state calls upon orchestration (see TALLBERG, 2015). In their volume Abbott et al. conclude that even though goal divergence does not increase nor decrease orchestration it can be a powerful predictor of the initiator of orchestration (2015, p. 370). However, hypothesis 2 differs from state-initiated orchestration because the city or the city-region (municipality) is the main actor which calls for orchestration and is an intermediate which can change state behaviour by becoming part of the UNESCO Creative Cities Network and gain further financial and ideational assets (see Annex 1 for further reference). So, we are talking about an intermediary- initiated orchestration. Moreover, the orchestrator and the intermediary are goal-seekers whose goals are converged, and their capabilities are complementary.

The second rival hypothesis (RH2) would be if cities are not calling upon UNESCO orchestration and thus do not act as orchestration-initiators than intermediaries cannot act as orchestration-initiators at the same time. Moreover, if there are high goal divergence and weak municipal oversight between the city and UNESCO, then the thesis will confirm the current orchestration assumption that high goal divergence and weak state oversight is necessary for orchestration to take place.

Abbott et al. (2015) further argue that selection of intermediaries might come at risk because they have not demonstrated a commitment to orchestrator goals and thus require greater oversight. To overcome this risk, UNESCO has set some standards for membership as follows: the cities need to demonstrate that they have previous policies, programs or activities that correspond to the UCCN mission. Those need to be listed in the application.

The intermediary benefits from association with UNESCO by gaining cultural policy credibility and image of reliable partner on culture-related activate internationally. Consequently expand their budgets by attracting investment in the local municipalities. By becoming a member of UCCN, cities gain international highlight, prestige and capacity to easier interact with other cities. The key detail is the city's usage of UNESCO's name and

logo attached to the municipality's logo. These are the ideational means that UNESCO offers. Failing to meet up with the UCCN requirements, the city loses access to these benefits.

Orchestration is soft because it lacks control over the intermediaries. UNESCO has not established direct overseeing mechanisms on the municipal level. UNESCO oversees the role of the intermediary via reports and leaves the city with substantive space to interpret its mandate as a creative city. In the transfer process, cities translate and adapt the language and the programs in terms of the local context (more below). Cities can even exit from their role as intermediary at any moment.

In order to facilitate the orchestration, the intermediary not only engages actively in the process but also reshapes its existing organization to facilitate the actions. In some cases, municipalities have created separate institutions (arms-length to the municipality, such as UCCN commissions), others have expanded the tasks of existing institutions and bureaucrats to manage the UCCN-related activities.

International level inter-organizational relations

The inter-organizational relations of cities grew in number with the “shrinking” of the nation-state's budget. Local municipalities have straightened their paradiplomatic activities as a new source of economic investment and attraction of human and economic capital (LE GALÈS; HARDING, 1998; MICHELMANN, 1990).

Global cities, regardless of their size, are active players in the international arena and the regional market. They are points of capital accumulation and nodes of global flows (BRENNER, 1998; SCOTT, 2001). Particularly, creative cities, be that capitals or not, are unique because they take on political, administrative and cultural roles, different from the other cities in the country (FF, 2019). Drawing from UNESCO's study, UCCN member cities, which have different cultural and geographical backgrounds, after they have acquired the UCCN title, they have become nodes of global flows (UNESCO, 2018). Moreover, besides their connection in the UCCN network and sub-networks, cities are connected among each other through forums and organizations such as the United Cities and Local Governments⁷³,

⁷³ The organization aims to internationalize and empower local authority on a global scale. It is the largest local authority organization thus far. During its meeting in 2004, it accepted that culture is the fourth pillar of development and drew its inseparable relationship with the United Nations Development Agenda and the Agenda 21 for Culture (UCLG, 2010).

the World Cities Culture Forum, Cities Alliance, UN-Habitat, Euro-Latin-American Alliance for Cooperation among Cities.

Most of the creative cities take part in more than one network and more than one field. Curitiba and Idanha-a-Nova, for example, focus their policies on creativity, culture and sustainability, hence besides being members of networks related to culture, they also actively participate in networks encouraging sustainability, gastronomy and environmentalism (CURITIBA CRIATIVA, 2017).

A city's best practice becomes an international example of successful and sustainable management of a specific issue, simply by taking part in UCCN. Good and best practices are key to UCCN because they transfer knowledge and ideas. Good practices include: (1) creation, production, distribution and dissemination of cultural goods and services; (2) incentives for creation of hubs of creativity and innovation that broaden the opportunities of cultural professionals; (3) increase the access and participation in cultural life, mostly for marginalized groups; and (4) create cultural policies and programs that dialogue with the sustainable development goals (UNESCO, 2018) (Example of UCCN best practice can be found in Appendix IV).

It is important to note that UNESCO or the UCCN do not promote one unique form of best practice or creative city, but the policy models are in constant coproduction resulting in new and innovative hybrid models. UNESCO sets the general framework of how a creative city should look like or what kind of policies should include, but it does not promote a fixed model. The city is ultimately the agent that transfers and implements the global policy on the local level. Cities adopt the policy transfer to the local context. As Biela et al. (2012) draw, the institutional context the city is located in matters- the unitary or federal governmental systems shape the institutional mechanisms the municipality would have at disposal to conduct the transfer. That leads us asking: How is the UCCN creative city framework reproduced in different municipalities? What are the specific policies, programs and ideas that are being transferred and are they changed to accommodate the local contexts?

These questions lead us to the third hypothesis (H3). It is interesting to approach cities as intermediaries because the Sustainable Development Agenda assumes standardization of practices and implementation of global public policies universally in different countries, municipalities and other institutional structures (UN, 2013). However, *the different institutional settings of cities, as well as the state structure they are located in, must influence*

the way good practices and the transfer of global public policies are implemented on the local level.

The research might show that besides the different institutional settings, standardized global policy transfer occurs. In that case, it will be interesting to see how those standardized policies, programs, or practices are transferred via the different institutions and contexts (Rsub-H1).

Regional level relations

Cities are engaged actively on a regional level as well. EU and MERCOSUR have also created creative cities networks – the European Capitals of Culture and the Creative Cities Monitor; and Mercocities, respectively. Besides connecting with their own region, cities can connect with others, such as with the ASEAN City of Culture (network between Japan, China and Korea), the Intercultural City Program and the Creative Cities Network of Japan⁷⁴.

The EU and Mercosur's expansion to the cultural sector resulted in overlapping policies on culture, creativity and innovation with UNESCO. As mentioned in the previous section, UNESCO and the regional organizations have tended to coordinate their actions by classifying these policies under the umbrella of the Sustainable Development Agenda and creating joint programs and funds for achieving them (e.g. MERCISUR Culture; MICSUR; "Investing in Culture and Creativity" Programme; among others).

Cooper, Hughes and Lombaerde (2008) argue that city-regions with institutionalized frameworks play an important role in implementing international agendas because they can set the ground for their diffusion in the region. Besides the city's cooperation and competition with regional organizations and cities, it also causes triple-down-effect to the region around it by expanding its policy reach to the neighbouring municipalities. Salet et al. (2003) call this phenomena meso-government. UCCN encourages the inter-municipal and metropolitan expansion of the cultural policies and in fact, UNESCO specific funds require this action (e.g. the International Fund for Cultural Diversity, the International Fund for the Promotion of Culture).

⁷⁴As a result of global inequalities, the membership of the international cultural networks is skewed towards Europe and North America. Cities from South America and Asia are less represented and cities from Africa are significantly underrepresented (BANSARD; PATTBERG; WIDERBERG, 2017).

Nation-state level relations

Besides their global reach, cities are embedded in the nation-state administrative organizations. They are coordinates of the nation-state territorial power and governance on local levels. They are dependent on the state system and hierarchy (BIELA et al., 2012; COOPER; HUGHES; LOMBAERDE, 2008). Consequently, cities are a fundamental government agent which makes them suitable intermediaries because they can implement global public policies with ease. In those lines, the foreign affairs office on the municipal level is always in line with the national interests, goals and objectives. In the case where the nation-state has developed sustainability or development plans, the municipality's local plan aims to implement those objectives according to the local needs (see Chapter VI).

The nation-state delegates decision making power to sub-units through decentralization which is determined by the national system (of federal or unitary state) and the local structure. Sub-units or local government's governance role and function vary considerably (STEYLER, 2005). The decentralization process is different in each country, but the general rule is that policies such as culture, sport and education are formulated (or imported) and implemented by the sub-unit (SOUZA, 2008; BIELA et al., 2012). The level of political, fiscal and administrative decentralization affects the delegation and devolution from the nation-state to the city.

The central state has institutional mechanisms to control the city's application process and later, its implementation of the UCCN objectives. Before sending the municipal application for membership at the UCCN to UNESCO, the applicant team needs to get the approval from UNESCO's National Commission. As mentioned above, the National Commission is composed of local staff that is responsible for presenting the national interest, alongside UNESCO's. When the National Commission approves the city's bid with an official letter, the municipality can then send the application directly to UNESCO.

As in the case of the implementation of the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda, nation-states and cities can cooperate, but cities can bypass the state in the same time. In cases where there is goal convergence between the interests of the two parties, the nation-state is not bypassed, but the city and the nation-state cooperate because the ideological norms and values are similar, if not the same (TATHAM, 2012). The bypassing of the state occurs on an institutional level because the city engages directly with the international organization. The

city does not use the national resources (such as personnel or budget), but the local ones. Thus, the nation-state does not engage in a conflict with the city, but it tolerates the actions.

The role of the intermediary is to steer the target's behaviour towards the IOs goals. The role of the city in terms of steering the state behaviour does not have a direct effect. However, the objective of UCCN is gradual change of thinking and behaviour that would "wake-up" the citizens, the creative class to work towards the direction of sustainability (NICKOLIC; CHEOK, 2016) and consequently, the nation-state would need to adjust its policies towards the needs of the citizens. The user-centred designed applications, objects, communication, space⁷⁵, interface or service based on innovation and technology contribute to the change of mindset towards the general good (NICKOLIC; CHEOK, 2016). Furthermore, from a broader perspective, the city and UCCN is just one intermediary and program, of UNESCO and the national mechanisms of implementing the SDA.

Municipal level relations

The policy transfer from international to local level implies that the connection between the international and the local is strong and that the local coalitions or the local municipal government are supportive of the policy which is being transferred (OLIVEIRA; PAL, 2018). The policy transfer passes through changes and adaptation of their material (models, programs, norms, etc.) and abstract (idea, ideology, worldview, etc.) components in order to be better accepted in the receiving context (Ibid). At the local level, the translation can be an outcome of different ways of interpreting and understanding the initiative or it could be subject to political priorities and national interests.

UCCN offers localized benefits to the cities, which are: spotlighted touristic attraction, attraction of creative workers, attraction of enterprises operating in the section or innovation, culture, creativity and technology- and all of that via the usage of the UNESCO logo (VIEIRA DE JESUS, 2017; MATOVIC et al., 2018).

However, the transfer on municipal level is in compliance with UCCN missions and nation-state policies on development, sustainability and the creative industries. Municipalities

⁷⁵ Specifically, it is referred to smart space which is "a responsive collaborative environment, which requires involvement of interdisciplinary fields such as computing, architecture, industrial design, interaction design, engineering and cognitive psychology for the development" (NICKOLIC; CHEOK, 2016, p.4).

publish development plans that are drawing from the national ones but are also complemented with the objectives of UCCN (see Chapter VI).

Individual level relations

On an individual level, the UNESCO Creative City Title is usually managed by a small team between two to seven people (ELLIS-KING, 2019). Most of the time, the team in charge of managing the UCCN membership is not even financially compensated for his or her extra work, besides the fact that her responsibilities have increased (Ibid). Besides its relations with the Network, the local team needs to closely cooperate with other local public and private institutions and the civil society sector active in the relevant cultural and creative field.

The person (or team) that has intimated the membership process is of special importance. Whether the person comes from the civil, private or public sectors, they inform on the importance of experts and the role of local decision-makers. Oftentimes, the application can be a joint effort of two or three sectors because their spaces are intertwined and even facilitated by the orchestrator. The transfer can occur in physical spaces such as meetings (UNESCO General Conference and issue-specific meetings), conferences, signing of agreements, or joint projects; and it can be motivated by UNESCO's influence from published reports.

Mayors play a key role in the process of applying for UCCN membership and the maintenance of the title because they are the key decision-makers. Even if the initiative is taken by civil society or an arms-length body of the municipality, the mayor is the one that needs to submit a support letter for the bid and later coordinate the municipality's objectives with the ones from UCCN. Their political will needs to be taken into consideration because it can enable or disable the implementation of the Creative City plan, depending on their alignment with the SDGs.

Bureaucratic level relations

On the bureaucratic level, cities are implementers of global trends because they operate in multi-level governance (BRENNER, 1998; SCOTT, 2001). Majors attend international conferences, participate in paradiplomatic activities and learn about best practices. The political aspect of the bureaucratic administration should be considered because besides the commitment to implement the goals in national level, the political will on municipal level matter. They can enable or block the implementation of the SDA (OLIVEIRA; PALL, 2018).

The paradiplomatic activities of a city or a town are managed by the local municipalities. In most cases, local municipalities have a department of foreign affairs that takes upon the paradiplomatic activities. In terms of the UCCN title, the municipality establishes a particular office and a person responsible that manages the activities. In other cases, the foreign affairs office of the municipality handles the responsibilities, such as the city's participation in the Annual Meetings, in the sub-meetings, writes the Monitoring Reports and handles the local activities in cooperation with local actors.

Inter-institutional level relations

The inter-institutional cooperation between the municipality and UNESCO occurs via the UCCN local office. It is expected that the UCCN local office will take part in the UCCN Steering Committee because its membership is on rotation bases every two years. At the Steering Committee, the local UCCN office participates in the monitoring of the Network. It is the mechanism through which the Creative City exercises power in the Network and also participates in the decision-making processes. As explained in Chapter II, the role of the Steering Committee is to ensure smooth cooperation between the UCCN member cities and UNESCO Secretariat, as well as give proposals for further improvement of the Network, such as gather data, implement pilot projects, establish co-partnerships and capacity-building projects among the member cities.

The most advocated form of cooperation among the UCCN members is the thematic level of inter-city cooperation. Besides chairing in the Steering Committee, cities are expected to actively participate in their respective sub-Networks. The sub-Networks also are chaired by cities on rotation bases. There are cases where cities do not participate at the meetings nor have been candidates to chair them due to limited municipal resources (e.g. Curitiba City of Design).

Nation-state as Target

Hawkins et al. (2006) argue that since IOs are constructed and formalized by member states, then nation-states delegate responsibilities and authority to IOs for a specific mandate. Membership in international organizations (IOs) is voluntary, thus a country's exit is free. However, most of the time nation-states have greater loss by not participating in a specific IO than complying with certain policies which they wouldn't comply with otherwise. Hawkins et al. (2006) argue that IOs act as agents to states (their Principals), therefore they can acquire authority and can act against the interests of their Principals.

Besides its role of a target, the state has strong oversight over its internal and external affairs. The state can promote municipal self-regulation and collaborate with the intermediary and the orchestrator, rather than imposing top-down regulation (STREECK; SHMITTER, 1985). Instead of mandatory state regulations, cities can implement development and sustainability policies independently, but within the frameworks of the national plans. Moreover, rather than the UN enforcing standard-setting through the nation-state, the UN supports and coordinates the activities via the municipality and endorses those standards via Conventions, laws and binding or non-binding agreements.

States embrace orchestration when it allows them to achieve a satisfactory level of governance at low sovereignty cost (compared to delegation) by granting only limited authority to UNESCO. The nation-state accepts the orchestration and its role as a target because it lacks the overall necessary expertise that UNESCO has, and it is institutionally distant from NGOs or other entities on local levels. States do not oppose UNESCO orchestration because they have committed to comply with the SDA by ratifying it. Through orchestration, the nation-state is not bypassed, but it works in cooperation with the city to implement the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda. UCCN and UNESCO bypass the states by offering ideational assistance directly to the municipality; however, because the nation-states ratification of the SDA their work is to manage the behaviour of the nation-state that works in collaboration with the municipality. There is a general goal convergence in terms of the SDGs among the three actors. This situation has a wider implication of the role of UNESCO in global governance because it strengthens its role as the leading IO for cultural and creative industries and straightens its autonomy in multilevel governance.

International level inter-organizational relations

Nation-states act on international level through their Ministries of Foreign Affairs, embassies and respective officials and diplomats. The foreign representation of a nation-state is still part of its national sovereignty. Particularly speaking of the SDGs, specific Ministries such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Culture or those in collaboration with the Ministry of Economics promote and coordinate the implementation of the SDGs nationally and internationally via cooperation programs. Depending on the member state's internal affairs, different Ministries and collaboration strategies and programs are involved.

Nation-states cooperate on international level not only unilaterally or multilaterally, but also as members of UNESCO and other international organizations. There is an attempt by UNESCO to coordinate, participate or support in some form in the international actions related to cultural initiatives for achieving the SDGs (ROBERT, 2019).

What is controversial here is the nation-states engagement in internationally binding decision-making via IOs because it blurs the space of sovereignty. The adoption and ratification of the Sustainable Development Agenda is just one of the many examples where the policy decision-making is made through National Representatives and Ministers on international level.

Regional level relations

The joint efforts via inter-organizational cooperation of UNESCO and regional organizations such as EU and Mercosur enforce the pressure over a member-state to confine with the international agenda.

The structure of the EU is such that the member states are responsible for their own cultural policies. However, the role of the EU is to suggest policies on common problems or challenges such as the fast impact of digital technologies, the emergence of new models of cultural governance and the rise of the creative and cultural industries. For that reason, the EU adopted a New Agenda for Culture⁷⁶ in 2018 that focuses on the positive contributions of culture to European societies and its International Relations agenda. The New Agenda also establishes the working methods of the EU with its partners (member states, civil society, etc) and the framework for cooperation. The member-states adopt and define the working methods and collaborations on culture through the Council of Ministers (EUROPEAN COMMISSION, 2019). The Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor is created in order to assist national, regional and municipal policymakers to identify the local cultural strengths and benchmark their city, as well as to encourage cities to exchange knowledge and resources (MONTALTO et al., 2017).

⁷⁶The seven main objectives of the New European Agenda for Culture are: sustainability in cultural heritage, cohesion and well-being, an ecosystem that supports artists, cultural and creative professionals, gender equality and international cultural relations. The Agenda is directly linked to the UN Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions and the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda.

EU's regional plan for development called "Europe 2020"⁷⁷ has a specific strategy for creativity that recognizes the importance of culture and creativity as the motor for local development, emphasizing the creation of new spaces for experimentation, innovation and entrepreneurship. These spaces called "Living Labs" are user-centred and capable of generating new dynamics of territorial sustainability (EUROPEAN COMMISSION, 2010). Moreover, the program Creative Europe has established the sub-program Horizon 2020 which aims to increase competitiveness and jobs through user-centred and design-driven ideas, products and services (EUROPEAN COMMISSION, 2013).

Since the Latin American countries are not united via an intergovernmental organization like the European Union, the country-specific policies and programs for culture and creativity are individual with some exceptions for cooperation in the audio-visual sector. There is a lack of coherent policies concerning the cultural and creative industries and that is due to many reasons among which secondary importance of cultural policies, the unequal access to information, lack of reliable data and statistics for investment and consumption, communication and cultural goods and services in the region, the concentration of production and consumption of cultural goods and services, etc. (MASTRINI; BECERRA, 2006). One advance that the organization had on the subject was the creation of the Cultural Parliament of Mercosur (PARSCUM) which aimed at standardizing and facilitating the exchange of cultural goods and services among the member states, however, the latest information of their actions available online is in 2004.

The biggest event that Mercosur has organized is the Cultural Industries Market of the South (MICSUR) in 2014 which was held in Mar del Plata, Argentina and in 2018 in Sao Paulo, Brazil. The inconsistent participation of the member's Ministries of Culture resulted in lack of institutional support and hence inconsistency in the event occurrence (MASTRINI; BECERRA, 2006).

Nation-state level relations

⁷⁷ The "Europe 2020" strategy aims to make the European Union an "intelligent, sustainable and inclusive economy" that should help the EU and its Member States to achieve high levels of employment, productivity and social cohesion (EC, 2010). At this level, the European Union has set five ambitious targets for employment, innovation, education, social inclusion and climate / energy. Each Member State has adopted its own national objectives in each of these areas.

This global transfer causes denationalization of specific policies, firstly from international and regional organizations and secondly from the municipalities. Cities' membership in the UNESCO Creative Cities Network binds cities to comply with the commonly-agreed policy objectives of the international organizations which they would not otherwise pursue. The IOs objectives might not be a priority of the nation-state's plan for development, but the city-member of UNESCO commits to achieve them. For instance, the IO might promote municipal policies for the revitalization of abandoned industrialized areas, a policy promotion that it is not initiated by the nation-state. However, the nation-state is the key resource provider and principal of the IO. Its organization, structure and level of development determine the nation-state's compliance and implementation of the SDA (BIELA et al., 2012). Furthermore, being part of the nation-state institutional system, the city could be restricted by not enjoying decision-making powers to act by the IOs objectives. For that reason, a case-specific study should be conducted. Countries that have ratified the 2030 SDA promote and assist in the implementation of the SDGs in other (usually less developed) countries (Goal 17). When so, it is part of the country's foreign policy to include the objectives of the SDGs on the national and international policy-making strategies. The 17th goal highlights that the SDA's implementation needs to be done via cooperation in different levels and policy sectors, assumes a broad range of foreign policies with the final aim of maintain peace and preventing conflict (CARIUS et al., 2018).

The nation-state is still an important level because it provides the key resources of the IO and the city. The main level of implementation of the Agenda 2030 being unquestionably national implies that each country defines how the SDGs should be implemented. Given that there are 17 SDGs and 169 targets, the natural tendency is for each state to define its strategic priorities. The national ambition of the goal implementation is aligned with the national priorities and the strategic evaluation of the SDGs. While respecting national strategic priorities and guidelines the implementation of Agenda 2030 is conducted in: an (i) comprehensive manner, taking into account national efforts to comply with all SDGs; ii) integrated manner, respecting a global vision of promoting sustainable development; and, iii) focused, with a clear identification of the priority SDGs in the light of the country's strategic vision of development, embodied in particular in the National development plans (CARIUS et al, 2018). Moreover, in their commitment to implement the SDA internationally, more developed countries assist less developed by offering financial and capacity-building aid (Ibid).

What was multilateral cooperation on international level, translates in whole of government approach on national level which refers to straightening coordination among government and non-governmental agencies based on universal practices (CARIUS et al, 2018; BIERMANN; KOOPS, 2017).

Municipal level relations

Being embedded in the national structure, central states set the grounds for development that the cities need to follow. Central states secure the compliance of local governments by setting national policy guidelines and monitor their implementation via reports and the hierarchical institutional structure.

Individual level relations

Individual-level inter-organizational relations occur on the level of minister, ambassadors, mayors and experts. The interaction on the national level is horizontal because the interaction among the different ministries occurs on the same level, but it can also be hierarchical when the ministries cooperate with their subordinate bodies, such as the UCCN representative office. Government officials from different ministries often pursue uncoordinated policies depending on the differing interests or the different departments involved. The interests and roles of specific ministries and departments, as well as the individuals and bureaucrats, are crucial to understanding the way a transfer has taken place (KOOPS, 2017; BIERMANN; KOOPS, 2017; OLIVEIRA; PAL, 2018).

Ambassadors are representing national interests internationally. Of particular importance here are the Permanent Delegates to UNESCO which are appointed by the UNESCO member-state and have the status of a diplomat. They are the highest rank of the National Commissions and the link between the country and UNESCO, based in Paris. The local National Commission is part of the Ministry of Education, Culture or Foreign Affairs. Ultimately, the National Commission within the country is responsible for approving the city application to UNESCO.

The national staff working in the UNESCO National Commission has a similarly blurred position. Being nationals of the country, they ultimately need to represent the national interest, however being employees of UNESCO, they promote UNESCO's values, programs and missions. They are responsible for assisting the local municipalities in the application process and prove them with endorsement letter which is attached to the city's application for

membership. In more general terms, the National Commission staff support the listing of specific local natural or heritage sites, as well as develop strategies of assisting member-states in safeguarding the already listed sites (UNESCO, 2017).

Experts on cultural policies and the creative industries, such as Richard Florida and Charles Landry, are key opinion-formulators who have helped shape the national policies of many countries. Both have founded consultancy agencies, the Creative Class Group and Comedia, respectively, through which they have consulted cities and enterprises of how to be 'more creative'. Their theories have been stated in the development plans or creative strategies of cities and countries (see ASEAN Creative Cities, Dublin City of Literature, etc.) or they have been directly contracted to assist in the process of development of cultural policies (e.g. Charles Landry's contract with the city of Bilbao, Canberra, etc.).

Landry and Florida are an example of consultants and transnational actors which operate in transnational areas. They are hired by private companies, by municipalities and even by UN institutions to evaluate a project or be part of its formation (LANDRY, 2010). The role of international consultants blurs the distinction between voluntary and coercive policy transfer. On the one hand, they can force a policy upon a country if they are hired by a government or an aid agency. On the other hand, if they are independently hired, the policy transfer can be coercive and voluntary and as the relationship between the actors develops, the type of policy transfer can be further tangled (DOLOWITZ; MARSH, 2000; OLIVERIA; PAL, 2018).

Bureaucratic and inter-institutional levels relations

The bureaucratic and inter-institutional levels are intertwined on the nation-state level. The Ministries of Culture, Education or Foreign Affairs are central nation-state bodies that offer the administrative structure and hierarchy to link the nation-state and UNESCO. The nation-state and UNESCO have established cooperation channels via the National Commissions through which they exchange information and coordinate the projects regularly. The National Commissions communication channels and institutional cooperation with UNESCO are mostly via progress reports on development, technical follow-ups, action plans and funds (KOOPS, 2017). The Permanent Delegate also participates actively in the meetings and decision-making processes in Paris.

The channels of interaction are mostly formal through the UCCN annual meetings, the UCCN sub-networks meetings, the monitoring and evaluation reports, and we should also not

disregard the informal interactions among city-representatives, civil society and experts that take part during those meetings⁷⁸. The more proactive countries also offer Voluntary National Reviews on the implementation of the SDGs on all national tiers. The citation of municipal activities in the cultural sector brings towards positive contribution (SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT, 2019).

Conclusion

The diffusion of the UN policy models, and the SDGs is, what Deacon et al. (1997) refer to as, “socialization of global politics”. The global diffusion of these norms and ideas delegate agency to authority outside the sovereign state (STONE, 2008). Specifically talking about the SDGs, we are referring to decision-making and agenda-setting on international level and diffusion and implementation of cultural policies directly on municipal level. The public policy cycle which was exclusive to the nation-state has now stretched to international and sub-national agents. The inter-organizational relations among UNESCO, the city and the member-state have become more complex, revealing the higher degree of pluralization of actors (presented graphically in Table 5).

Table 5: Inter-organizational relations between the orchestrator (UNESCO), the intermediary (the City) and the target (the nation-state) in the implementation of the SDA

Inter-organizational level of interaction	Orchestrator – UNESCO	Intermediary- City	Target – Nation-state
International	With other IOs and Networks (multilateral cooperation?)	Paradiplomacy	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Regional	UNESCO’s cooperation and overlapping policies with regional IOs (EU and Mercosur)	City’s foreign relation with the regional IO (EU or Mercosur)	Regional IO policies influence on nation-state level
National	Assists in the development of national plans for development, sustainability, etc.	Municipal representatives	Whole of government approach of the SDGs on national level
Municipal	Assists in the progress of municipal plans for development, sustainability, etc./or in their compliance with the national plans	Municipal compliance with UCCN missions and nation-state policies on development/sustainability/creative industries.	The municipal development plans for sustainability and the creative/cultural industry draws from the national goals, objectives and strategies
Individual	UNESCO experts	NGOs, enterprises, municipal representatives operating with the UCCN, experts	Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ambassadors, Experts

⁷⁸Due to limited resources to conduct a field study and explore the informal interactions, this research addresses only the formal channels of interaction.

Bureaucratic	UCCN administration in Paris	UCCN division at the municipal level	The joint staff working at the UNESCO National Commission in the host state and Field Office
Inter-institutional	UNESCO, Permanent Delegations to UNESCO, National Commissions, UNESCO Filed Offices	UCCN Steering Group	UNESCO National Commission

Source: personal elaboration

UNESCO as an orchestrator is an expert body with extensive focality in culture-related policies. Besides its limited material budget, UNESCO has managed to expand its orchestration by performing orchestration techniques such as convening, agenda-setting, assistance, endorsement and coordination, endorsement and coordination and by enlisting the number of cities, among other intermediaries, to implement the SDA and the New Urban Agenda.

UNESCO orchestrates the implementation of the SDA on international, national and local levels. On the international level, it cooperates with other IOs, regional organizations and Networks to implement the Goals. On national and municipal levels, UNESCO assists member-states and municipalities to develop national and municipal plans for development and sustainability and integrate the 2030 Goals within their national structures. On the individual level, UNESCO makes use of international experts that are hired on needs-basis due to their expertise in the field or region. On the bureaucratic level, UNESCO manages almost everything from its headquarters in Paris, but to foster its inter-organizational relations with the nation-state and the city, UNESCO has established Permanent Delegations to UNESCO, National Commissions and UNESCO Field Offices.

Due to its scope and legitimacy, UNESCO has presented to be an actor of its own right. It defines the global problems and offers solutions. Besides the fact that UNESCO is made-up of its member-states, the decisions can sometimes go against its members. That is how UNESCO is an actor in the first stage of the global policy cycle.

UNESCO uses the cities as intermediaries due to their organizational characteristics: administrative, political and institutional structure to further implement the SDGs on a local level. Cities are nodes of global flows, coordinators of state territorial power and governance through decentralization, and implementers of global trends through multi-level governance. In other words, cities have the capacities and resources of implementation that UNESCO lacks. In return, UNESCO endorsees international legitimacy and credibility to the cities in

cultural policies. On international and regional levels cities straighten their paradiplomaic activities. UNESCO, the regional agencies and the city have converged goals when coming to the implementation of the SDA. The city's paradiplomatic policies are complementary with the national ones, which means that the cities do not bypass the nation-state but work cooperatively. On the national level, the cities operate via their local representatives, such as mayors, and experts. The bureaucratic level of inter-organizational relations also depends on the municipal resources and its investment in the local team that manages the UCCN-related activities. Finally, on the inter-organizational level, the cities and UNESCO work directly via the UCCN Steering Group which is composed of municipal representatives responsible for maintaining the city's progress.

The role of the intermediary is to eventually steer the target's behaviour towards the IOs goals. The particularity of the SDA and the New Urban Agenda is that the change of behaviour should be gradual and include multiple stakeholders that will eventually and jointly reach all 16 Goals. In other words, the city is just one UNESCO intermediary for implementing the SDA.

The city has become an active actor in the global policy process. Specifically, in the context of UCCN, cities are mostly active in agenda setting, policy transfer and the implementation phase. By being part of the UCCN, cities need to adjust the local cultural policies to accommodate the policy transfer. With that, they are setting the agenda on a new approach to culture. They are also the key transferors because it is ultimately the local level where the transfer occurs. They translate and adjust the SDA to fit the local contexts. Finally, they have the institutional and political means to conduct the transfer.

The state is the target of the orchestrator, but also the Principal of UNESCO and the city. The role of the nation-state is not challenged in the direct relationship between IOs and cities. Besides the empirical proof that cities and city-regions are on the rise in economic and governance terms, they are embedded in national institutional and economic structures which they need to comply with. The nation-state becomes a facilitator of the policy transfer on the local level through the institutional framework and recognizes that cities and city-regions are locomotives of the national development.

Nation-states and cities can cooperate, but cities bypass the state at the same time. In cases where there is goal convergence between the interests of the two parties, the nation-state is not bypassed, but the city and the nation-state cooperate because the ideological norms and

values are similar, if not the same (TATHAM, 2012). The bypassing of the state occurs on an institutional level because the city engages directly with the international organization. The city does not use the national resources (such as personnel or budget), but the local ones. Additionally, due to the goal alignment with the SDA, the nation-state allows for the bypass to occur and it actually facilitates the policy implementations. Thus, the nation-state does not engage in a conflict with the city, but it tolerates the actions. The role of the nation-state is still crucial because it facilitates and manages the institutional changes, acquired by supranational entities such as the European Union or the United Nations (BRENNER, 1999a, 1999b; JESSOP, 2000; JONES; MACLEOD, 1999; MACLEOD, 2001; SCOTT, 1998, 2001; SWYNGEDOUW, 1997).

States embrace orchestration when it allows them to achieve a satisfactory level of governance at low sovereignty cost (compared to delegation) by granting only limited authority to UNESCO. There is a general goal convergence in terms of the SDGs among the three actors which makes the transfer smoother. All UNESCO member-states have ratified the SDA which obliges them to formally adopt it in their national and foreign policy strategies. Moreover, member-states (as well as the cities) draw from UNESCO's authority, legitimacy and international image to present themselves as legitimate actors in the international arena.

The stretching of the policy cycle resulted in the limited presence of the nation-state in all policy stages. The nature of the SDGs is universal, taking all of government approach on the national level and the international level. The UN is a space where member-states can come with a proposal (as Colombia with the idea of SDGs) and negotiate its ratification. With that, the nation-state has participated in the problem identification and decision-making stages of the global policy. The problem-definition is not exclusive to the nation-state, however, the agenda-setting is. By accepting the international policy, the nation-state is bounded to adopt it in its national policy agenda. Even though the member-state might not be directly involved in the decision-making (particularly in the negotiation stage, but it might just vote on the policy), it is responsible for its transfer and implementation on all national levels. The more proactive countries also submit Voluntary National Reviews of the implementation of the SDA and the New Urban Agenda on all national levels.

Policy transfer requires a coherent understanding of the changing policy process that avoids binaries of local-global, domestic-international, public policy-international relations.

Bluntly put, the global public policy cycle for cultural policies orchestrated by UNESCO and discussed above looks the following:

Table 6: Global policy cycle for cultural policies specific to innovation and creativity orchestrated by UNESCO

Policy cycle	Actors		
	UNESCO	City	Member-state
Problem definition / agenda-setting	x	x	x
Formal decision-making / policy transfer	x	x	x
Policy implementation		x	x
Monitoring and evaluation	x		

Source: Personal elaboration

A level of denationalization of cultural policies occurs because the problem-definition and decision-making are not exclusive to the nation-state. In normative cases, such as the SDA, member-states might feel pressured to adopt the ideas in order to be accepted in the international community. This global transfer causes denationalization of specific policies, firstly from international and regional organizations and secondly from the municipalities (PETERS; PIERRE, 2001; ABBOTT et al., 2010). Cities' membership in the UNESCO Creative Cities Network binds cities to comply with the commonly agreed policy objectives of the international organizations which they would not otherwise pursue. The IOs objectives might not be a priority of the nation-state's plan for development, but the city-member of the IO commits to achieve them. Policies formulated on international and implemented on a sub-national level present a new path of the policymaking cycle (CRIEKEMANS; DURAN, 2010).

The next Chapter presents the analytical design that draws from the theoretical discussion and the research methods used.

Chapter V- Analytical Design and Research Methods

Analytical design

The thesis aims to study cities as an intervening variable in order to explore the relationship between the orchestration conducted by UNESCO and the implementation of the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) delivered at the national level. Intervening mechanisms are the processes through which an explanatory variable produces a causal effect (MAHONEY; VILLEGAS, 2009). The research is designed to test this relationship (Figure

8). Moreover, the particular role of the UNESCO Creative Cities Network shows that cities can also act as orchestration-initiators. The city’s role as intermediary and initiator of orchestration might hint to the strengthening of the changing policymaking process which sets IOs as eligible actors in the global policy cycle.

Figure 8: Causal relationship: the city as intervening mechanism to implement UN’s SDGs on national level.



Source: Personal elaboration

The analytical design will make use of Table 5 developed in Chapter IV which combines inter-organizational relations and orchestration. The detailed interaction among the three institutional levels allows addressing the institutional structures and the power mechanisms. It also allows clarifying the orchestration relationship among the three actors focusing specifically to the municipal unit of analysis.

In addition to that, Dolowitz and Marsh’s Policy Transfer Framework is used in order to identify what was transferred, where was it transferred from, what shape did it take when applied on local level and who were the actors involved (Table 7).

Table 7: A Policy Transfer Framework

A Policy Transfer Framework											
Why Transfer? Continuum			Who Is Involved in Transfer?	What Is Transferred?	From Where		Degrees of Transfer	Constraints on Transfer	How To Demonstrate Policy Transfer	How Transfer leads to Policy Failure	
Want To.....	Have To			Past	Within-a Nation	Cross-National				
Voluntary	Mixtures	Coercive	Elected Officials	Policies (Goals) (content) (instruments)	Internal	State Governments	International Organizations	Copying	Policy Complexity (Newspaper) (Magazine) (TV) (Radio)	Media Reports	Uniformed Transfer
Lesson Drawing (Perfect Rationality)	Lesson Drawing (Bounded Rationality)	Direct Imposition	Bureaucrats Civil Servants	Programs	Global	City Governments	Regional State Local Governments	Emulation	Past Policies	Reports	Incomplete Transfer
	International Pressures		Institutions			Local Authorities		Mixtures	Structural Institutional Feasibility	Conferences	Inappropriate Transfer
	(Image) (Consensus) (Perceptions) Externalities	Pressure Groups Political Parties	Ideologies					Inspiration	(Ideology) (cultural proximity) (technology) (economic) (bureaucratic) Language	Meetings/ Visits	(Commissioned) (uncommissioned)
	(Loans) (Conditions Attached to Business Activity)	Policy Entrepreneurs/ Experts	Attitudes/ Cultural Values	Negative Lessons			Past Relations			Statements (written) (verbal)	
	Obligations		Consultants Think Tanks Transnational Corporations Supranational Institutions								

Source: DOLOWITZ; MARSH, 2000, p. 9

Dolowitz and Marsh's Policy Transfer framework offers a very detailed account of the process. The framework studies the policy transfer in eight stages. (1) The nature of the transfer - most of the times it is difficult to affirm that a transfer has been done through coercive or voluntary means because the method of implementation might be mixed. (2) The actors involved - Who initiated the transfer? Were only bureaucrats involved in its implementation, or was the civil society, the artistic community involved in any way? At what policy level of the cycle, the policy has been transferred? (3) The object being transferred - Whether the transfer includes the entire policy or a certain program, an idea, an ideology, etc.? What are the institutional changes the municipalities understudy went through in order to facilitate the implementation of the global public policies on municipal level (whether they transformed the old institutions and management or opened new institutions and hired new bureaucrats, etc.)? (4) The place from where the transferred occurred - Is it from an international organization or another UCCN member-city? From UNESCO on an international level to the local municipalities, or another city part of the UNESCO Creative Cities Network on a cross-national level? (5) The degree of the transfer - *Whether a copy, emulation, inspiration or a mixture* of the policies, programs, ideas, instruments, attitudes or ideologies occurred (DOLOWITZ; MARSH, 2000). (6) Constrains of the transfer - Complexities might arise from previous policies, pressures coming from specific political or social groups, etc.? We need to consider the political, social and institutional context and conditions such as historical background, culture, religion, values, beliefs, knowledge, skills, health conditions and poverty-level that shape the grounds for enabling or constraining the policy transfer (HERRSCHEL; NEWMAN, 2002). (7) The policy communication - Whether it took place via conferences, the media, academic cycles, reports, visits, etc? Was greater attention given to local, national or international communication? Whom was the communicated intended for? And (8) the success/failure of the process - policy transfer assumes that greater emphasis on context needs to be given. It doesn't measure policy success or failure in its implementation phase, but it highlights the importance of structure assuming that one policy cannot be transferred from one place to another without any difference. For that reason, the Policy Transfer Framework studies aspects of the policy failure, such as incomplete transfer, uninformed transfer and/or inappropriate transfer. The research analyses the transfer via its embeddedness in domestic law, the continuity or change of local institutions (JOACHIM et al., 2008; STONE, 2008; DOLOWITZ; MARSH, 2000, p. 9).

Dolowitz and Marsh's Policy Transfer framework will not be addressed in detail because there might be a lot of information overlap. Particular attention is given to the stages (3) and (5), the object being transferred and the degree of transfer. Due to the similar relations between UNESCO, the member-state and the city, the other stages of the framework are repetitive. For those reasons, the Policy Transfer Framework is presented at the stage of analysing the data (in Chapter VII).

For analytical purposes, policy implementation is treated as a distinct phase of the policy cycle and the analysis does not focus on the previous policy levels. Evidence of whether cities or city-regions comply with the agreed terms is the implementation phase because that's where actors and resources are mobilized, and the appropriation of the international agreement or program is taking place. This analytical approach does not argue that implementation is the most important policy phase neither that it can be separated from the other policy cycles which compose the complex policy process.

The two analytical tables allow analysing whether the degree of decentralization matters for paradiplomacy to occur and consequently, for the UCCN city members to be actively involved in the Network. Decentralization is important institutional arraignment because it gives more decision-making power to local authorities, particularly on secondary policies concerning culture and creativity. The three dimensions of decentralization, administrative, fiscal and political, are addressed in the analysis, however in thin theoretical concepts⁷⁹. Decentralization is addressed only as a mechanism to analyse the levels of municipal autonomy. It does not address its effects over democratization. Moreover, the thesis does not study the success or failure of the transfer, but the transfer process itself.

The data gathered for the three case studies and their results are then analysed in the VIIth chapter. The pattern-matching approach is used to compare the research data to the hypothesis and the rival hypothesis to see which explanation matches better. This approach adds to the internal validity of the study.

Methods

The methodology used is multiple case studies, process-tracing and in-depth analysis.

⁷⁹ The term "thin" here refers to the milder theoretical depth of addressing decentralization. Since the objective of the thesis is not to dwell into decentralization as the main theoretical framework, but only as a variable to analyse sub-national autonomy, a thick theoretical approach is not necessary.

Multiple case study analysis encompasses the situational complexity which is inherent part of social sciences and studies multiple cases within one complex setting, program or phenomenon (STAKE, 2013). Each case is studied individually, and each has equal weight and contribution. The cases are dynamic because they operate in real time – the data is gathered at the moment of the research (ibid). The case selection is based on the following criteria: (1) cities need to be part of the UNESCO Creative City Network (UCCN) until 2015 (116 cities in total), (2) cities need to be from different UCCN category (crafts and folk art, design, film, gastronomy, literature, media arts, and music), (3) need to have different geographic size and (4) population and (5) need to be from countries with different governmental (unitary and federal or federal-like) systems.

The time frame for the case selection is drawn from 2004 until 2015 because the city members included in UCCN in 2017 do not have enough information for analysis. They haven't published any follow-up and monitoring reports, nor had the time to implement the programs they have committed to in their candidacy. Curitiba (Brazil) is UNESCO City of Design since 2014; Dublin (Ireland) is UNESCO City of Literature since 2010 and Idanha-a-Nova (Portugal) is UNESCO City of Music since 2015. The year represents the moment of their designation as UNESCO Creative City. However, cities prepare the application minimum a year before because they need to link the existing cultural policies and programs to present their dedication to the Goals. This stage will help us identify the specific programs and ideas that were adopted to accommodate the transfer. For those reasons, the analysis will consider the period before the designation and after (up until 2018).

The selection of the case studies was conducted by constructing an Excel spreadsheet⁸⁰ after collecting all information for each category. From the list of cities, Curitiba, Brazil; Dublin, Ireland; and Idanha-a-Nova, Portugal, were selected based on biggest, medium and smallest values for geographic size and population, in order to achieve maximum variance⁸¹ (GERRING, 2007). As Seawright and Gerring (2008) argue, random sampling is effective when we must deal with a large sample. Hence, the geographical distribution of the case studies was randomly selected and depended on the criteria mentioned above. After selecting

⁸⁰ The complete data set is included in Annex 3.

⁸¹ It is important to note that the number of inhabitants of each city refers to the metropolitan size of the city and not only the municipality at stake, because UCCN encourages inter-governmental cooperation on regional level as well as the involvement of the entire region with the cultural and creative policies of the central (capital) municipality of that certain region.

on geographical size, population and UCCN creative category, I selected the cases based on their different governmental structure. The result was one country with a federal model and two unitary nation-states, which have different levels of decentralization.

As shown in Annex II, from the sample of UCCN city-members, Brazil is the only federal nation-state and happened to be selected based on the established criteria. The other two case studies come from unitary nation-states. The case selection on medium city however, was a tie between Dublin, Ireland and Glasgow, Scotland, UK, but either way, would have given the same result - a city from a unitary and centralized nation-state. As for the smallest sample, Idanha-a-Nova is the smallest city in both cases, by population and by geographical size.

The outcome of the case selection resulted in analysing countries with democratic regimes, which generally follow a “Eurocentric” development approach. The selection bias is also due to the general tendency of UNESCO Creative City Network members which are mostly located in Europe (see Image 3). Taking the democratic regime as a constant gives focus to the research, on one side, but on the other side, it opens the floor for applying this research to countries of other regimes. The three cases also are skewed regarding the level of development, representing substantially economically developed countries.

There is a general assumption across the literature that federalism equals decentralization and that local governments enjoy independency from the federative government (BIELA et al., 2012). Biela et al (2012) and Piattoni (2010) show us that multi-level governance, presented in the form of decentralization, of federalization among others, challenge the centralized nature of unitary states and the established division of competences in decentralized state. Given the systematic differences between federal and unitary nation-states and their effects on decentralization and paradiplomacy, it seems promising to study the cities’ variance on cultural policy to understand these differences and their effect on the city as an intermediary.

The form of local government is dependent on the central governmental structure, so the application of these categories on case-selection allows us to better understand the relationship between the city and UNESCO, to avoid bias and test the hypothesis on very different grounds. Selecting on differences for the creative category and the territorial organizational structure of the host-state allows testing UNESCO standardization discourse and the practical implementation of the SDGs in different institutional contexts (testing sub hypothesis 1). Besides the governmental structural organization, the size of the city matters

because when we talk about sustainability, the idea should be able to be applied everywhere in the same or similar manner. The universality of the discourse needs to be tested. The institutional arrangements of Brazil (federal-decentralized), Republic of Ireland (unitary-centralized) and Portugal (unitary-decentralized), thus present to be eligible case studies for the purposes of the specific research.

The number of cases is limited to three in order to gain in-depth understanding of the structure of each case and avoid generalizations. There is an embedded approach to case studies not holistic. As Yin (2009) argues that the researcher needs to focus on analysing the case from various aspects and thus gain different perspectives of the case study. An additional case would not add value to the argument but might saturate the thesis with information. Data saturation might cause a diminishing return, meaning that the data will start present repetitive patterns (GLASER; STRAUSS, 1967; GLASER, 2001).

Using process-tracing I study the historical structure and agents and their policy and idea linkages with the UN and UNESCO. Collier and Mahoney (1996) argue that good description and careful causal inference are central to process tracing and that is precisely why it will be enriching in the process of describing the context of each case. Through in-depth analysis, I analyse the transfer in each city and the city's relation with the nation-state and UNESCO.

The data acquired for the qualitative inference is gathered through document analysis, semi-structured interviews and historical case analysis.

Document analysis is used to gather data from the creative cities' websites, creative cities reports, the local municipalities' websites, UNESCO's and, UNDP's website and publications, the World Council on City Data, UN Data, World Bank reports, academic papers, articles and news stories. Particular attention was given to the national plans for development, which in each country exist under a different name. Regardless of that, the plans draw directly from the UN's SDA. Some countries have published sustainable development plans for different sectors, such as for culture, education, the environment, others have one general that guides the objectives of all sectors. Due to the different sustainability plans on a national level, I drew data from the documents that are referring to the national and local cultural and creative industries. Moreover, the member-states signatories of the SDA are expected to submit Voluntary National Reviews of the national path for achieving the Goals which, in the case it is available, is a useful document to draw data from (see Annex 3 for the complete list of documents for each case study).

Semi-structured interviews were conducted where there was a lack of reliable data from the document analysis (YIN, 2002). The city's bid for UCCN is not considered a public document, thus not all municipalities have shared publicly the objectives behind the application process or the people which they consulted at the stage of formulating the candidacy. For those reasons, semi-structured interviews were conducted with the people responsible for managing the UNESCO Creative City Title on municipal level, the people and experts involved in formulating the candidacy for membership at the UNESCO Creative Cities Network and representatives of the local UNESCO National Commissions in Brazil, Ireland and Portugal. The identification of these individuals was not difficult because each UNESCO Creative City has an official contact person and moreover, the identification of the people or institutions involved in the candidacy stage is available in newspaper articles and the municipality's official websites. Due to financial and temporal restrictions of conducting the interviews in person, the participants were approached via email. Upon accepting the interview, a Skype call or email exchanges were arranged. Due to the fact that the interviews are complementary to the rest of the data collection methods, their reliability was confirmed with the data available in the documents or newspaper articles. The semi-structured interviews were of informative nature, only to gather missing necessary data, and for that reason conducting them via email or Skype calls as medium of interviewing did not affect negatively towards gathering the data (HAWKINS, 2018). The people that were interviewed were familiar with the technology and its usage. Moreover, qualitative researchers, such as Fritz and Vandermause (2017), using email interviews for data collection found that scheduling advantages of the email interview increases access to participants and encourages greater participation of working adults (HAWKINS, 2018). As most of the interviewees are public figures, I opted towards using their identity, however an option was given if the person wanted to remain anonymous. The interviews were conducted with national UNESCO representatives and actors involved with the local UNESCO Creative City Title and the city's candidacy for membership at the UNESCO Creative Cities Network (List of interview questions in Annex 4)⁸².

Historical case analysis (MAHONEY; RUESCHEMEYER, 2003) is more than a presentation of historical facts. Mahoney and Villegas (2009) argue that historic enquiry

⁸² The complete list of interviewees is available upon request via email on: julijana.nicha@gmail.com

identifies the intervening mechanisms that link the explanatory variable with the outcome variable.

Triangulation of data sources allowed me to draw evidence from different data sources and complement and verify the findings. This strategy added to constructed validity of the study (GREENE; MCCLINTOCK, 1985; KNAFL; BREITMAYER, 1991).

The thesis benefits from the multi-level analysis by avoiding generalizations and inadequate specifications (GUY, 1998; SARTORI, 1970). This means that the research departs from a high level of abstraction i.e. universalization and standardization of global public policies to a low level of abstraction i.e. to specific conceptualizations of the variables used to implement the sustainable development policies (SARTORI, 1970).

The study has several unavoidable limitations. Firstly, the thesis would have benefited from fieldwork which could enrich the data gathered from the documents. However, due to limited financial and time resources, fieldwork could not have been conducted. Secondly, the interviews were conducted via online calls or via email. This method offers limited access to face-to-face interaction which might have been valuable, particularly in addressing the informal inter-organizational relations among the actors. Permanently, the data gathered from national voluntary reports might be skewed towards presenting the country in its best light and might exclude valuable data that contradicts the country's efforts to present a positive image.

Chapter VI- Empirical Analysis: Curitiba, Dublin and Idanha-a-Nova UNESCO Creative Cities

This chapter presents the analysis of the three case studies: Curitiba (Brazil) UNESCO City of Design since 2014; Dublin (Ireland) UNESCO City of Literature since 2010 and Idanha-a-Nova (Portugal) UNESCO City of Music since 2015. Each case study is addressed in a separate section. An introduction to the national organizational system and the institutional embeddedness of UNESCO Conventions, programs and ideas are addressed in the different tiers of government. Furthermore, the inter-organizational relations among UNESCO, the UNESCO Creative City and the member-state are studied. Finally, the type of transfer in each city is identified. Process tracing of the changes of development ideas and policies about a change of governments in Brazil, Ireland and Portugal from their independence until present days are available in Appendixes I, II and III, respectively.

Curitiba – UNESCO Creative City of Design

The Brazilian federal model, decentralization and delegation to local actors

Brazil is a Federative Presidential Republic formed by the Union, States, the Federal District and Municipalities. This system guarantees political autonomy of the 27 federal states, including the federal district. Each state government is the executive branch, headed by the state governor, vice-governor, several secretaries of state and state attorney-general.

Stepan (1999) argues that Brazil, along with the US⁸³, is an extreme demos-constraining federal state because its institutions are set in the way to benefit the will of the majority. The veto power of the states, which is the core element of political autonomy in federalism, is diminished by the strong legislative powers of the Senate. Brazilian federalism does not hold invincible veto power in the implementation of the federal government's reform agenda in particular policies, such as culture and sport (ARRETCHE, 2010). In the same time as the state veto powers are undermined, states present themselves as 'currency for trading political agendas. They use their localized spending primarily to financially support a political

⁸³ For the most influential authors (RIKER, 1964, WHEARE, 1964 and DUCHACEK, 1970) the USA is the inventor of the federative state, thus reference will always be made to the US system and political institutions (ARRETCHE, 2010).

representative in a specific district (pork barrel-like distribution of the budget) and through which establish the cooperation on all levels (PEREIRA; MUELLER, 2002, p.269).

Arretche (2010) argues that the literature assumes that Brazilian sub-national governments have authority due to their high public spending when compared to other federal states. She argues that in the Brazilian context, sub-national governments, particularly municipalities, have greater competences in certain policies, rather than the central government. Income-guarantee policies are the responsibility of the Union (welfare, unemployment compensation programs), service delivery policies are implemented by sub-national governments and basic health services, education, culture, infrastructure, sanitation are carried out by municipal governments. Banting (2006) adds that Brazilian municipalities shape their policies and programs in accordance with international trends.

During the military regime, Brazil was an extreme case of centralized federalism. During the democratization period in Brazil, decentralization has been another name for democratization because it gave more power to local governments. The rewriting of the Constitution in 1988 guaranteed the decentralization reforms and defined the forms of cooperation among the different levels of government. It guaranteed administrative and political decentralization. Moreover, fiscal resources were redistributed from federal to state and municipal levels, leaving the municipal authorities with the biggest share of the fiscal transfers. However, the same Constitution guaranteed competences to federal and state levels of policies with rival competencies such as natural resources; cultural, artistic and historic heritage conservation; education; culture and sport; etc. (BRASIL, 1988, Article 24).

The Constitutional changes and the decentralization reforms were in line with the actual trend at the time summarized in the Washington Consensus which, a few years later was applied in Brazilian economic and political reforms (SEELE, 2004; GONZALEZ, 2008). Between 1984 and 1997, 1,405 municipalities were created in Brazil causing increasing sub-national outlays on administration in addition to transfers to their legislatures, at the expense of more productive spending on, for instance, social programs and urban infrastructure (SERRA; AFONSO, 1999).

The contradiction of competences on the federal and sub-national level does not reflect weak intergovernmental relations. The Union guarantees the competences of sub-national and municipal governments and provides them with policy autonomy to implement them. In cases that there is a divergence between the opinion of the federal and the sub-national unit, the

disagreement is constrained by federal regulation. The Constitution guaranteed competences on topics as on a broad range of issues, among them: natural resources and environment protection; cultural, artistic and historical heritage conservation; education, culture and sports; petty claims courts; health and social security; legal aid; protection of children, youths and the disabled; and the organization of the civil police force (BRASIL, 1988). Although there was a general trend toward increasing local government responsibilities from within a cooperative federalism framework, decentralization meant different things and had different rhythms and results. The differences resulted from each specific policy design, and the previous distribution of competencies and financial control among the three levels of government (ALMEIDA, 2006). Arretche (2004) shows that besides the dispersive tendencies between the political and fiscal systems, the federal government has the instruments to coordinate social and cultural policies besides their overlapping with other policies. Decentralisation and centralization forces, thus, coexist. Decentralization on municipal level created new fields of action on this level, along with the definition of new normative, regulative and redistributive roles of sub-national responsibilities.

Fiscal decentralization is very strong in Brazil even though there are strong centralization forces from the federal government. The centralization forces of the federal government became stronger with the Fiscal Responsibility Law of 2000. The law aimed at assuring fiscal discipline at all levels. However, it mostly constrained municipal governments because it limited their freedom to allocate revenues. Furthermore, the federal state-imposed limits to the sub-national fiscal autonomy by imposing provisions for regulating the stability of resources for social programs (ALMEIDA, 2006).

Besides those restrictions, the federal government has little jurisdiction over local expenditure management. Increase in federal revenues means an increase in the total sub-national revenues via revenue sharing. The 27 states (including the Federal District) and 5,559 municipalities together account for over one-third of total government spending and revenue collection. States and municipalities also account for almost 40 per cent of the public sector's net debt stock. Revenue mobilization capacity is concentrated in the more prosperous states and municipalities of the South and Southeast, and some equalization of expenditure capacity has been pursued through mandated revenue sharing. Although larger municipalities are less dependent on federal grants and financial programs, they face increased demands of the local population for goods and services. Oftentimes, they need to provide for the needs of

neighbouring municipalities, particularly for regional services, such as urbanism (ALFONSO; MELLO, 2000).

The share in GDP of revenue-sharing transfers rose by nearly 1.5 per cent in the 1990s and currently they account for 6.5 per cent of GDP. The federal government transfers approximately 4% of GDP to the states and municipalities, whereas the states transfer approximately 2% of GDP to the municipalities in their jurisdictions. Revenue sharing is the main source of incomes at the municipal level. Municipal revenues account for approximately 17% of total revenues. Excluding revenue-sharing transfers from the states and the federal government municipal revenues account for 5.5% of total revenues. Federal transfers to sub-national governments account for approximately one-fifth of federal revenues. Municipal and state spending amount of a total of 30% and 70% respectively. Moreover, municipalities are granted tax on services, particularly telecommunications and inter-municipal transport and they are provided with non-tax instruments (ALFONSO; MELLO, 2000). In order to boost its revenue collection, the federal government created a high charge on financial transactions and increased the rates on the existing taxes on enterprises payroll and earnings. These are not shared with the states and municipalities (Ibid).

There are also joint ventures between the federal state and municipalities, and states and municipalities, focusing mostly on social and cultural programs. The joint ventures between the federal state and municipalities focus on output-oriented service delivery, as well as their monitoring and evaluation. On similar grounds, states and municipalities taken together already spend more on pensions and other social security benefits than on health care or housing, urbanization, and sanitation. For that reason, states and municipalities are in a search of means to boost local revenue mobilization, particularly in light of growing demands for social security spending at the local level (ALFONSO; MELLO, 2000).

Administrative decentralization meant that the formulation on specific policy areas, such as education, health, culture, social services and urbanization among others, would be executed on the sub-national level. The transfer of responsibilities and power aimed to improve policy efficiency and service delivery (LIMANA, 1999).

As for foreign relations, Milani and Ribeiro (2011) note that there is no legal structure of the international activities of municipalities and states in the Brazilian Constitution. An attempt was made to address this subject and formalize paradiplomacy via a bill known as “PEC of Paradiplomacy”, however, no timely information about those developments is

available (FUGA,2014; MILANI; RIBEIRO, 2011). Vigevani (2006) argues that Brazilian paradiplomacy is concerned with secondary policies and for those reasons it doesn't make it on the agenda⁸⁴. However, there are national associations of municipalities that do recognize the international operations of Brazilian cities, among which are the Confederação Nacional de Municípios (National Confederation of Municipalities), Frente Nacional de Prefeitos (National Front of Mayors) and Fórum Nacional de Secretários e Gestores de Relações Internacionais (National Forum of Secretaries and Managers of International Relations).

Without fiscal and administrative decentralization, political decentralization is almost impossible. In Brazil, each sub-national jurisdiction has its own directly-elected legislature and executive branches, as well as an independent judiciary. Samuels suggests that federal elections are dependent on state-level politics and governors play a central role in this process (SAMUELS; ABRUCIO, 2000). In contrast, Brazilian national parties have historically been weak, making national cross-state coordination difficult (SAMUELS; ABRUCIO, 2000). This structure leaves a lot of space for pork-barrel like distribution of the budget (PEREIRA; MUELLER, 2002).

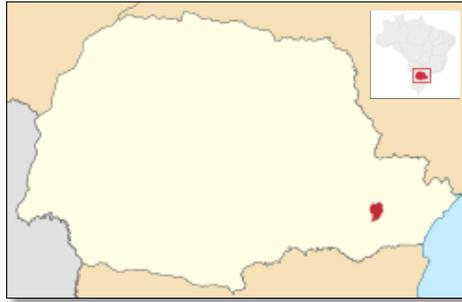
Background information on Curitiba UNESCO Creative City of Design

Curitiba is the capital and the largest city of the state of Paraná, located in Southern Brazil, situated in flat terrain and enjoying a hot and humid climate. Paraná is subdivided into 399 municipalities, among which Curitiba is the Capital. In its territory, it includes the National Park of Iguazu, which is a World Heritage Site by UNESCO. Additionally, Paraná is among the most developed states in Brazil, ranking 4th in GDP, right after Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Minas Gerais (IBGE, 2018).

The municipality of Curitiba covers a geographic size is 435,036 km². As of 2014, Curitiba's population numbers 1,908,359 (BRINKHOFF, 2019), making it the eighth most populous city in Brazil and the largest in the Southern region. The Municipality of Curitiba is divided in 10 regional governments and 75 districts (PERFEITURA DE CURITIBA, 2019) (Image 4). The City Council of Curitiba has 38 elected councillors.

Image 4: Situating Curitiba on the map.

⁸⁴ Mendes and Figueira (2017) argue that the avoiding of the "PEC of Paradiplomacy" is due to the fear of states and sub-national governments to enter high politics, thus the central state needs to preserve their dependency on the matter.



Source: Wikimedia Commons⁸⁵

In the 1960s Curitiba passed through a rapid growth which caused rapid urban expansion from some hundreds of thousands to million people, attracting Brazilians from all over the country. The rapid growth resulted in mass unemployment, transport congestion, lack of basic services, uncontrolled growth of squatter settlements and crime (ICLE, 2016). Moreover, Curitiba is very culturally diverse municipality. It is a home of German, Italian, Ukrainian and Polish migrants that immigrated to Brazil in the 1980s, each populating a certain part of the city (Ibid).

Curitiba has a very efficient garbage management system, where it recycles 70% of its waste (ADLER, 2016). Moreover, it has had a historical infrastructural and transport issue which was solved with the introduction of the Integrated Transportation Network (BRT in Brazilian Portuguese) which consists of dedicated lines for public transport that can easily navigate in the transit. This system has been used as best practice and implemented across Latin America, China and recently Indonesia (DEMERY, 2004). The city's concern with sustainability has resulted in the creation of large green areas, public spaces and spaces for pedestrians. The numerous parks, preserved areas and green leisure spaces have been something that Curitiba proud itself internationally (PERFEITURA DE CURITIBA, 2019; MONTANER, 2016).

Besides its policy turn towards sustainability, conscious waste and user-based urbanization, Curitiba is on the list⁸⁶ of the most dangerous cities in the world (BNP MEDIA, 2019). In 2017 it was 49th on the list of 50 most dangerous, numbering 34.92 homicides per 100,000 residents (Ibid). The socio-economic conditions in Curitiba are suffering from the large poverty gap and violence (BANDA, 2017).

⁸⁵Available at:https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Parana_MesoMicroMunicip.svg. Accessed 08/06/2019

⁸⁶The ranking is done annually by Mexico's Citizens' Council for Public Security

Image 5: Map of Curitiba's municipality.



Source: Prefeitura Municipal de Curitiba, 2019⁸⁷

Curitiba has long history of design. It is home of the Oscar Niemeyer Museum, also known as the New Museum or the Eye Museum. Its exhibitions focus on visual arts, architecture and design of international significance (Image 6). Moreover, Curitiba has the Botanical Garden as its major tourist attraction. The Garden is also part of the campus of the Federal University of Parana (Image 7).

Images 6 and 7: Oscar Niemeyer Museum and the Botanic Garden.



Source: Wikimedia Commons⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Available at: <http://www.curitiba.pr.gov.br/fotos/album-novo-mapa-regionais/23644/>. Accessed 08/06/2019

⁸⁸ Available at: https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Regi%C3%A3o_Metropolitana_de_Curitiba#/media/Ficheiro:JardimBotanicoCuritibaBrasil.7.jpg Accessed on 08/06/2019

Curitiba's aim as Creative City of Design is to promote innovative urban solutions departing from four dimensions: (1) diversity – recognize the holistic and heterogeneous Brazilian customs; (2) sustainability – merge issues concerning the environment, culture and entrepreneurship; (3) community – community based living and (4) youth – focus on youth engagement and their challenges for a better future (SILVA, 2014).

In its application for candidacy besides these historical buildings, Curitiba numbers a long list of events related to sustainability, culture and design in order to argue for the creativeness and innovation at the heart of its policies (among which the Brasil Design Centre, the National Design Biennale, the Tuboteca, etc.). Moreover, in the application, the team refers to the hosting of the World Cup and the Olympic Games which further attract professionals from the area of design.

As a member of the UCCN, Curitiba aimed at creating a new identity for the city. This identity is a blend of more human, participative and innovative policies inspired from the principles of sustainable development, integrated planning and management and the promotion of economic, social and environmental society (SIVLA, 2014, p.4). Their mean of implementing those policies is by investing strategically in creative industries on the local level. Curitiba takes advantage of its membership at UCCN to attract investments and be recognized as the World Capital of Design. For that reason, the municipality organizes and promotes events of design, innovation and local identity (Design BRASIL, 2014; UNESCO, 2017).

The focus on design is in regard to urban mobility, accessibility and quality public space. Particularly, the programs include: new design for the metro stations, new pavements, public libraries at the metro stations, QR code for visual communication of the city, the creation of visual identity for the electric cars; the installation of totems for the city's local universities, among others (SILVA, 2014). Design played a major role in the urban transformation to sustainability.

Curitiba became part of the UNESCO Creative Cities Network (UCCN) in 2015 as city of Design, together with Buenos Aires (Argentina), Nagoya (Japan), Shenzhen (China), Shanghai (China), Bilbao (Spain) and Graz (Austria) from the same field (UNESCO, 2015). In addition to the abovementioned cities, UNESCO Creative Cities of Design are also: Berlin (Germany), Montreal (Canada), Kobe (Japan), Seoul (South Korea), Saint-Etienne (France), Beijing (China), Dundee (Scotland), Turin (Italy), Helsinki (Finland), Bandung (Indonesia),

Budapest (Hungary), Detroit (USA), Kaunas (Lithuania), Puebla (Mexico) and Singapore (Singapore), numbering 22 in total (Image 8).

Image 8: Graphic depiction of UNESCO Creative Cities of Design



Source: UCCN Design Cities⁸⁹

Image 9: Curitiba's logo as part of the UNESCO Creative Cities Network of Design.



Source: Municipality of Curitiba, 2019

Inter-organizational relations between Curitiba UNESCO Creative City of Design, Brazil and UNESCO

This section analyses the inter-organizational relations between UNESCO, the Municipality of Curitiba and the Brazilian government, but from the municipal level of analysis. Their relations are studied on the international, national, regional, individual, bureaucratic and inter-institutional levels.

Table 8: Inter-organizational relations between UNESCO, the Municipality of Curitiba and the Brazilian government

⁸⁹Available at: <https://www.designcities.net/>. Accessed 08/06/2019.

Level of interaction	Orchestrator – UNESCO	Intermediary- Curitiba	Target – Brazil
International	UNESCO relations with other IOs, NGOs, networks, organizations, companies	Curitiba's International Relations Office connected with UCLG, UN Habitat, LGSN and sister-cities	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and National Commission for the SD Objectives
Regional	MICSUR and Mercosur Cultural	Mercocidades	Regional cultural exchange and circulation programs
National	UNESCO assistance in the development of national plans for development, sustainability, capacity-building programs	“The Guide for Locating the Sustainable Development Goals in Brazilian Municipalities”; “Location Manual for Metropolitan Regions”	National System for Culture, National Plan for Culture, National Program for the Economy of Culture and cooperation with IMF, WB, G20
State	The Atlantic Forest on the list of UNESCO Natural Heritage and Paraná's National Museum listed as UNESCO World Memory	Agency for Development and Innovation of Curitiba	State development plans in line with the Federal plans for development, sustainability and the creative industries
Municipal	UNESCO assistance in the development of municipal plans for development, sustainability, etc.	Cultural Foundation of Curitiba, Culture Plan, Master Plan, Creative Curitiba, UCCN candidacy/membership	Vale Cultura Curitiba; support for municipal UCCN candidacy/membership
Individual	Bruno Volpi (UNESCO/UCCN consultant)	Thago Alves (expert); Sergio Pires (IPPUC President); Gustavo Fruet (mayor)	Aloysio Nunes (Minister of Foreign Affairs); Mr Paulo Vassily Chuc (UNESCO National Commission)
Bureaucratic	UCCN Secretariat and UNESCO Filed Office for Latin America and the Caribbean	UCCN office in at the IPPUC and Steering Committee for the Title of UNESCO Creative City of Design	UNESCO field office staff
Inter-institutional	UNESCO National Commission	UCCN Steering Group	UNESCO National Commission at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Source: personal elaboration

International

As explained in Chapter II, UNESCO engages in multilateral relations with non-member states, with regional and international organizations to promote and implement the sustainable development goals.

Paradiplomatic activities of Brazilian municipalities within Mercosur are also inspired by Brazil's hegemonic position vis-a-vis other South American countries. The Constitutive Forum of Municipalities, Federal States, Provinces and Departments of Mercosur (FCCR) founded in 2004 is an institutional mechanism for discussion and debate in line with cross-border integration, productive integration, and regional citizenship. Other regional integration initiatives in South America that contribute to foster paradiplomacy in the region are Southern Council for Development and Integration, Northeast Argentina Regional Commission on Foreign Trade and Central West South American Integration Zone. The Mercocidades network and the Latin American Federation of Municipalities and Local Government

Associations are other important associations for the paradiplomatic action of sub-national governments in the country (MENDES; FIGUEIRA, 2017).

Curitiba has quite active paradiplomatic activities. The International Relation Office (Assessoria de Relações Internacionais) is the responsible sector of the Municipality that handles most of the paradiplomatic activities which are divided in: internationalization of municipalities and municipal bodies, relationship with the diplomatic corps, optimization of the relationship with the Sister Cities of Curitiba, implementation of cultural diplomacy and alignment with the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (GABINETE DO PREFEITO, 2019).

On cultural matters Curitiba's actions are reflected mostly through sister-cities activities and membership at international city networks. Curitiba is a sister-city of the following cities: Akureyri, Iceland; Assunção, Paraguay; Changzhou, China; Columbus, USA; Krakow, Poland; Durban, South Africa; Guadalajara, Mexico; Hangzhou, China; Himeji, Japan; Jacksonville, USA; La Plata, Argentina; Montevideo, Uruguay; Orlando, USA; Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Bolivia; Suncheon and Suwon, South Korea and Toluca, Mexico (ZUCHETTI, 2019; GABINETE DO PREFEITO, 2019).

Curitiba is a member of the World Design Organization through the Centro Brasil Design. Curitiba has been nominated for the World Capital of Design Award, but it hasn't obtained it (PERFEITURA DE CURITIBA, 2015). Moreover, it is a member of the Local Governments for Sustainability Network which is a platform for knowledge exchange between cities and cities and regions. Currently, the network includes more than 1750 local and regional governments in more than 100 countries (ICLEI, 2019). Finally, the Municipality of Curitiba fosters its development policies by collaborating with the Japan International Cooperation Agency, the Interamerican Bank for Development, and the French Agency for Development.

Curitiba has also won numerous national and international awards for sustainability, among which the UN Award for reaching the Millennium Development Goals in 2010, the Award for City with the Major Innovation Potential in 2015 issued by the Brazilian Ministry of Science, Technology, Innovation and Communication, etc⁹⁰. It has gained a lot of international recognition for those policies. It has been ranked 49th on the MasterCard Index

⁹⁰ The entire list of awards up to date is available at the following link:
http://ippuc.org.br/visualizar.php?doc=http://admsite2013.ippuc.org.br/arquivos/Documentos/D367/D367_001_BR.pdf

for Emerging Markets in 2008; in 2010 Curitiba was awarded the Global Sustainable City Award; it has been pronounced to be the most environmentally sustainable city of Latin America by the Index of Green Cities in 2015 and also, in 2014 it has become member of the UNESCO Creative Cities Network. Forbes has cited Curitiba as the third most prudent city in the world, and the Globalization and World Cities Study Group & Network classified Curitiba as an auto sufficient city. The above-listed events and organizations linked to the field of design and sustainability were used to fill in the UCCN membership application (SILVA, 2019). After gaining the title UNESCO City of Design, the municipality built upon the existing events to prove its eligibility for membership.

On the international level, Brazil has been an active member-state at UNESCO (see Appendix I for the detailed tracing of Brazilian national cultural policies and their change over time to suit the UN decisions). As its member since 1946, Brazil has ratified almost all Conventions (UNESCO, 2019b).

The Brazilian delegation at the UN had active involvement in the negotiations of the SDG by calling upon the Rio+ Summit and hosting it (KAMAU; CHASEK; O'CONNOR, 2018). Brazilian Ambassador Luiz Alberto Figueiredo Machado and Foreign Minister Antonio Patriota took over the consultations until the start of the Conference. Kamau, Chasek and O'Connor (2018) argue that the Brazilians were preoccupied with keeping the legacy from the previous Rio Conference in 1992 and straighten Brazil's role and ability of effective multilateral processes. Besides that, Brazil was very supportive of promoting sustainability and advocated strongly (together with the EU) for stronger international political commitment to the Goals and the inclusion of green economy (sustainable development and poverty eradication).

As mentioned, the official negotiation channel was and is via the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The national coordination of the negotiation of Agenda 2030 and the SDGs resulted in the document "Guiding Elements of the Brazilian Position", which was a result from seminars with representatives of civil society; of offices with representatives of municipal entities organized by the Institutional Relations Secretariat and the Ministry of Cities; and the deliberations of the Interministerial Working Group on Agenda 2030, which brought together 27 Ministries and organs of federal public administration.

Not only does the Brazilian federal model allow for municipal activities in international relation, but the Ministry of Foreign Affairs encourages it. For instance, the National

Confederation of Municipalities is a national agency that takes part of the Latin American Coordination of Local Authorities for Unity in Diversity, part of the United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) (FLACMA, 2019). Curitiba also takes part in this network.

In 2016, the National Commission for the Sustainable Development Objectives (CNODS) was created which serves as a mechanism for national coordination and national monitoring of Agenda 2030, as well as alignment between national public policies and SDGs. It is a joint collegial body, of an advisory nature, for articulation, mobilization and dialogue between federative entities, civil society and the private sector. It is composed of eight government representatives and eight representatives of civil society and the private sector (ITAMARATY, 2019).

Regional

As mentioned in Chapter IV, UNESCO and Mercosur do not have many points of reference besides their cooperation on the international friar for the creative industries, MICSUR. Since Mercosur has not developed resolutions on culture-related policies, besides attempts in the audio-visual sector, there is no ground for policy overlap. Their greater point of interaction has been in education projects, among which the Criança Esperança Program⁹¹ has been chosen as best practice due to the mobilization of domestic and private sector resources to implement the project (UNOSSC, 2018).

The XLV meeting of Ministers of Culture of Mercosur was hosted by UNESCO in 2019 in Argentina at which Ministers and State Secretaries participated. The meeting included discussion on regional cultural policies and the new strategy of the program Mercosur Cultural established in 1998. The new strategy should focus on actions such as promotion of free circulation of artists, increased access to the market of cultural goods and services and the creative industries. The strategic alliances and integration of Mercosur Cultural with the Pacific Alliance and the European Union, UNESCO and the Organization of Ibero-American States should have also been discussed. The overall strategy for Mercosur Cultural is guided by the findings and recommendations of UNESCO's 2018 Report "Reshaping Cultural

⁹¹ The Criança Esperança programme is partnered with the TV Globo, a major media company in Brazil, to communicate about the programme. Moreover, Brazil is extending its support to other countries from the South, particularly Portuguese speaking countries, to share with them the Brazilian experience and to support the development of similar programmes.

Policies” (UNESCO, 2019). The outcomes of the Meeting are not publicly available yet, thus the practical implementation of this program remains to be seen.

Paradiplomatic activities of Brazilian municipalities within Mercosur are also inspired by Brazil’s hegemonic position vis-a-vis other South American countries. The Constitutive Forum of Municipalities, Federal States, Provinces and Departments of Mercosur (FCCR) set up in 2004, is an institutional mechanism for discussion and debate in line with: cross-border integration, productive integration, and regional citizenship. Other regional integration initiatives in South America, that contribute to foster paradiplomacy in the region, are: Southern Council for Development and Integration, Northeast Argentina Regional Commission on Foreign Trade and Central West South American Integration Zone. The Mercocidades Network and the Latin American Federation of Municipalities (LAFM) and Local Government Associations (LGA) are additional important associations for the paradiplomatic action of sub-national governments in the country (MENDES; FIGUEIRA, 2017).

Curitiba’s paradiplomatic activities with Mercosur are not extensive. Curitiba is part of the Mercosur Cities Network (also known as Mercocidades or Mercocities) as a founding member. This network aims to promote the cities integration on a regional scale and stimulate development and cooperation between them. Currently, there are 181 city-members from South American countries. The Mercocidades is committed to achieving the 2030 SDGs which they have embedded in their work plans and use the platform to share best practices for their attainment (MERCOCIDADES, 2019).

Brazil has had a leading role in Mercosur. It has been active in advocating for common audio-visual policies and has adapted its national policies to suit the cooperative spirit of the organization. As a result, there are a lot of exchange programs and art residencies from all sectors of the arts. However, in the area of creativity, innovation and entrepreneurship exchange programs or other types of incentives are lacking.

National

Besides its active participation and advocacy for the implementation of the SDGs, Brazil cannot achieve the objectives by engaging only federal-level institutions. For that reason, Brazil has welcomed UNESCO orchestration on the matter. The UNESCO National Commission in Brazil has raised awareness and assisted States and Municipalities to work

towards achieving the SDA through guides and capacity-building programs (UN Brasil, 2017; UNESCO, 2017).

Brazil's policy priorities regarding the SDGs are the implementation of Goals 1, 2, 3, 5, 9, 14 and 17 (BRAZIL, 2017). Besides its active participation and advocacy for the implementation of the SDGs, Brazil cannot achieve the objectives by engaging only federal-level institutions. For that reason, Brazil has welcomed UNESCO orchestration on the matter. The UNESCO National Commission in Brazil has raised awareness and assisted States and Municipalities to work towards achieving the SDA through guides and capacity-building programs (UN Brasil, 2017; UNESCO, 2017, BRAZIL, 2017). There is also a specific website that publishes the news on capacity-building workshops done jointly between UNESCO and Brazil in the country⁹². From the website, we can notice that there are a lot of online courses, capacity-building programs, trainings that UNESCO offers in Brazil as means to promote social integration and tackle the class differences access to education, culture and knowledge.

Culture and urban policies have a unique position in Brazilian policymaking because there aren't many jurisdictions referring or restricting it on the three tiers of government. The role of municipal government is changing significantly, not only due to their increased revenue mobilization capacity but also in terms of their more active role in service delivery, particularly in the social area and public investment. Sub-national governments, particularly the municipalities, have enjoyed greater autonomy in program design and implementation.

The Brazilian Federal system demands uniformity of the cultural public policies on all governance levels. Cultural policies and programs aiming to integrate culture in sustainable development are shaped on the national level. The initiatives include financial and institutional incentives for culture (for a detailed list of policies see UNESCO, 2016). The Brazilian Federal States have their own cultural projects that are carried out by each state via the Secretariats of Culture. The federal budget for culture is very low compared to other policies and for that reason, the fiscal incentive law for culture, Law Rouanet is the most referenced on local, regional and national level (see Appendix I).

⁹² See the following link: <https://nacoesunidas.org/secao/desenvolvimento-sustentavel/amp/>

The National System for Culture⁹³ is a model for governance that promotes the cultural public policies and assumes the joint action of the federal, state and municipal governments. It aims to decentralize the public policies for culture, give continuity independently from the change of governments, and to universalize the access to cultural goods and services. As soon as federal states sign the term, they are obliged to implement the objectives of the National System for Culture. In return, the Ministry of Culture offers material and ideational assistance for the development of the state or municipal cultural policies (GOVERNO DO BRASIL, 2017). Through this system, there is wide citizen participation because the system operates through advisors from the artistic community in the process of formulating and implementing the cultural policies.

The Federal government also elaborates the National Plan for Culture that constructs the scope of national, sub-national and local policies, stressing the importance of urban development (clusters and hubs), creative and cultural industries, innovation, and fostering the national and international market (such as the Creative Brazil Incubators Network and the Identification and Strengthening of Local Intensive Productive Arrangement in Culture). Moreover, as part of a broader action plan towards sustainable development, the Federal government has published the National Program for the Economy of Culture (2016)⁹⁴, through the development of a National Agenda for the Economy of Culture which was a result of partnership among the Federal Government, the Ministry of Culture, private partners and UNESCO (PACHECO, 2017).

The Brazilian Federal government has formally accepted to meet the SDGs by 2030 and for that reason, it has published its National Voluntary Review in 2017 informing the policies and programs implemented towards the goals (PRESIDENCIA DA REPUBLICA, 2017). It established a Pluriannual plan composed of programs, objectives, targets and initiatives that covers the guidelines of the public administration for the following four years. It internalizes the SDA and its Goals and Targets. Moreover, the Federal Government has formed the National Commission on the Sustainable Development Objectives⁹⁵ to implement Agenda 2030 in the country. It is an advisory body whose purpose is to internalize, disseminate and

⁹³ The idea for the National System for Culture draws heavily from the Brazilian System for Health (SUS), even though in practice falls far behind.

⁹⁴ The National Program for the Economy of Culture (2016) is part of the abovementioned 2011 “Plan of the Secretariat of the Creative Economy: Policies, Guidelines and Actions, 2011-2014” and the plan “Brasil Criativo”

⁹⁵Adopted by the publication of Presidential Decree 8.892, signed in October 2016.

give transparency to actions related to the SDA. The Commission is created by representatives of the three levels of government and civil society (PLANALTO, 2017). Among the Commission, members are the National Confederation of Municipalities which has elaborated “The Guide for Locating the Development Sustainable Goals in Brazilian Municipalities” (CNM, 2016).

The Federal Government provides a study which shows that the local public policies are largely inspired by the SDA – 86% of the targets and 78% of the indicators of the SDA are converged into the Brazilian national policies (PRESIDENCIA DA REPUBLICA, 2017). The institutionalization of the norms and practices is done via the National Commission for the Objectives of Sustainable Development⁹⁶ founded in 2016. Moreover, among the main networks and forums stand out the Civil Society Working Group for Agenda 2030, SDG Strategy, SDG Brazil Network and SDGs National Movement “Nós Podemos”, organized at both national and sub-national levels.

Moreover, considering the whole-of-government approach, a group of Brazilian-based foundations and associations including Banco do Brasil Foundation, Sabin Institute, Roberto Marinho Foundation, Itaú-Unibanco Foundation, C&A Foundation, GIFE, and the Institute for the Development of Social Investment (IDIS) are part of the SDG Philanthropy Platform in Brazil.

Innovative incentives of social diffusion and engagement in the area of creativity and innovation, among the many, are the “Big Hackathon Campus Party” and “Hackathon Global UN Influx” that develop technological solutions and promote entrepreneurship; as well as the “Projeto Musica SDA” that encourages mobilization and engagement of the artistic and cultural sector with emphasis on peripheral and vulnerable areas.

The national (federal level) encouragement of municipal and sub-regional involvement is done via advocacy groups for mobilization for municipal elections as well as accountability of the elected officials towards meeting the Goals. The encouragement of local development programs and targets in line with the SDA is encouraged through the Location Manual for Metropolitan Regions. The plan estimates that in 2017, 5.570 municipalities elaborated

⁹⁶ The aim of the National Commission for the Objectives of Sustainable Development is to internalize, diffuse and transparently implement the Agenda 2030. It is composed of 16 members, representatives of the Federal, State, District and Municipal levels, as well as civil society.

development plans for the period between 2018 and 2021. Furthermore, the municipalities organize themselves in various networks, among which: the National Front of Mayors⁹⁷, the National Confederation of Mayors, the Brazilian Association of Municipalities, The Meeting of Municipalities with Sustainable Development⁹⁸, etc. Furthermore, the national government publishes guidelines, such as the “Guidelines for Implementation of the SDA in the Brazilian Municipalities: 2018-2021”, and promotes regional seminars for recently elected officials to receive capacitating skills for the adaptation of the SDA in their regions (PRESIDENCIA DA REPUBLICA, 2017). The federal government also incentivises inter-institutional collaboration. For that reason the Ministry of Science and Technology, the Ministry of Development and Industry and the Secretary of Micro and Small Enterprises have come together to also work for regional development.

Brazil’s biggest aim is investing in innovation to reach the level of developed countries such as the United Kingdom, Germany, and Australia through direct financial support, credits and fiscal incentives. The National Program “Conexão Start-up”, for instance, identifies the demands of the industry and maps start-ups that can meet those demands (PRESIDENCIA DA REPUBLICA, 2017).

Finally, Brazil meets the 17th goal – the implementation of the SDA via partnerships - by taking a more active role in the International Monetary Fund⁹⁹ (IMF), the World Bank (WB) and the G20, by pushing for global macro-economy. Moreover, the Brazilian Agency for Cooperation and the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs encourage International Technical Cooperation for socio-economic development through information sharing of creative and innovative industries (OCDE, 2012, p.61).

Brazil’s international participation in networks fostering the ecosystem of innovation and creativity is evident with the membership of seven cities at the UNESCO Creative Cities Network. The Brazilian UCCN city-members are the following: Curitiba (Design), João Pessoa (Crafts and Popular Culture), Belém (Gastronomy), Brasília (Design), Florianópolis

⁹⁷Since the Rio+20 meeting the National Front of Mayors addresses sustainable policies and actions on the local level.

⁹⁸ The Meeting of Municipalities with Sustainable Development occurs every two years intending to mobilize public officials of the federal, state and municipal levels to implement sustainable policies in their areas and create agendas for sustainable development. Specifically, the meeting promotes a more dynamic environment for small businesses, implementation of entrepreneurship in public management, urban development, inclusive production, elimination of poverty, etc.

⁹⁹ In which the Brazilian share rose from 1.78% to 2.32% (PRESIDENCIA DA REPUBLICA, 2017).

(Gastronomy), Paraty (Gastronomy), Salvador (Music) and Santos (Cinema) and the three possible candidates in 2019, Belo Horizonte (gastronomy), Fortaleza (design) and Recife (crafts). The cities cooperate on a national level through meetings. The first Meeting of Brazilian Creative Cities (ECriativa) was held in João Pessoa in 2018 that included the participation of local UNESCO representatives and the Ministry of Culture. The Second ECriativa meeting will happen in Florianopolis in 2020 (MINISTERIO DO TURISMO, 2019). The Ministry of Culture even opened a small fund and ideational support for cities that wanted to apply for membership at UCCN, but needed assistance (MINISTERIO DA CULTURA, 2018).

The impact of the creative economy on the national level is substantial. The Federation of Industries of the State of Rio de Janeiro (FIRJAN) estimates that in 2015 the creative industries generated 155.6 billion Reais towards the national economy or 2.7% of the total national production. Put in perspective is the amount generated by Facebook, Zara and L'Oréal together (FIRJAN, 2016). Moreover, the creative class has also increased by 0.1% since 2013, numbering 851.2 million formal professionals in 2015. There are around 320 million cultural enterprises that generate 1.6 million formal employments. In other words, 5.7% of all enterprises in Brazil are responsible for 4% of the total employment. Regarding remuneration, creative workers and the creative class earn above the average of 6.270 Reais. Finally, events such as the Carnival generate more than 3 billion of Reais annually for large municipalities as the one of Rio de Janeiro (Ibid). In general, the national creative industries contribute 18% to the Brazilian GDP. On a global scale, Brazil is the 5th place when referring to the contribution of the creative economy in the national economy, just behind USA, United Kingdom, France and Germany (SILVA, 2013).

The national system of culture obliges the states and municipalities to legally to implement the National Plan and System for Culture by creating Secretaries of Culture, advising bodies on cultural politics, organize conferences in the area, to create a state plan of culture and formulate their budget (GOVERNO DO BRASIL, 2017).

State level

The state of Paraná formulates the cultural policies through the Secretary of Culture of Paraná. Furthermore, the Secretary created the State Council for Culture aiming to stimulate societal involvement in cultural policies. Both drafted and ratified the State Plan for Culture of Paraná which draws from the National Plan for Culture and the National System for

Culture and numbers series of projects among which the program “Incubator Paraná Creative” (SECRETARIA DA CULTURA, 2019).

The program “Incubator Paraná Creative” was created as part of the state plan and public policies for development drawing from the creative economy. “Incubator Paraná Creative” is a program by the State Secretary of Culture of Parana in partnership with the Ministry of Culture, the Network Creative Brazil and in line with the Creative Economy Program of Parana and the State Plan for Culture of Paraná. The Incubation Program is a public office for professionals and micro and small entrepreneurs from the creative sector that offers consultancy and capacity programs. The “Incubator Paraná Creative” is present in 10 cities, among which Curitiba (IPC, 2016).

Another program is The Paraná Project which is a virtual network that houses micro and small businesses in the state, interested in using design as a tool for higher quality and competitiveness. Regarding the creative economy, Positivo University launched the first School of Economics in Brazil, offering postgraduate courses aimed at developing the professional aspect and encouraging the transformation of creative talent (FERREIRA, 2018). The Network of Creative Economy Paraná established in 2011 is also an important space for the diffusion of knowledge, projects and businesses in the creative economy sector.

The state development agency has played an important role in policy processes. The Agency for Development and Innovation of Curitiba is founded to lead the economic, technological and innovation development of Curitiba to generate work, employment and income. In addition to the Municipality of Curitiba, three entities representing the State of Paraná – the Federation of Industries of the State of Paraná (FIEP-PR), the Federation of Commerce of the State of Paraná (FECOMÉRCIO), and the Federation of Commercial and Business Associations (FACIAP) are members of the Agency. Together they have implemented the large project called Vale do Pinhão – a project to foster the innovation and internationalization in Curitiba and to connect the multiple stakeholders linked to innovation and culture, such as universities, associations, and the civil sector.

The creative economy has also had high economic impact in the state of Paraná. Particularly, the design network employs more than 100.000 workers on national scale. In Parana, 1.7% of the total population is employed in the creative sector in more than 90 design offices, ranking the state in 5th place (SILVA, 2013; HENRIQUE; SCHNEIDER, 2015).

Paraná's collaboration with UNESCO is mostly in the heritage field. The Atlantic Forest within the state is listed as Natural Heritage by UNESCO. Moreover, other heritage-related initiative between the two actors numbers the participation of Paraná's National Museum at the UNESCO World Memory Program.

Curitiba is the capital of the state of Paraná and as such, it is embedded in its institutional structure. In its State Plan for Culture, State Plan for Tourism, State Plan for Sustainability and State Plan for Regional Sustainable Development, the State of Paraná adopts the SDGs as a framework of reference, thus shaping the stage for Curitiba's municipal plans.

Municipal

In entire Brazil, 12.7% are employed in the design sector, which is the largest percentage of design workers in the country. In Curitiba, 8% of the city's GDP comes from services and 20% from the creative and cultural industries (FIRJAN, 2016).

In line with the Research of Basic Municipal Information, 42% of the Brazilian municipalities haven't formed a local cultural policy, only 17% have Municipal Councils of Culture and 13.3% have Municipal Councils for Preservation of Cultural Heritage (IBGE, 2006). Moreover, on average, only 0.9% of the municipal funds are reserved for culture (Ibid). However, this is not the case of Curitiba.

By browsing the website of the Municipality of Curitiba (Prefeitura de Curitiba), one can notice that the Municipality portrays an image of a sustainable city and a city which is close to its citizens. It has implemented numerous public policies that have confirmed that reputation.

According to the Municipality of Curitiba, Curitiba is the second city in Brazil that most attracts professionals in the creative area (design, fashion, architecture, television, cinema, games, computer programs, etc.). In 2015, more than 12 million professionals were living and working in Curitiba (PREFEITURA MUNICIPAL DE CURITIBA, 2015). Moreover, Curitiba is home of almost 20,000 formal creative companies that generate 22 thousand jobs with a formal contract and offer average monthly income of R\$ 3,600 (CURITIBA CRIATIVA, 2017).

The Cultural Foundation of Curitiba¹⁰⁰ is the main municipal institution that develops cultural policies and mechanisms of support to cultural projects supported by the Municipal Law of Incentive to the culture. It manages programs, projects and cultural actions of the city and its 10 regions. Moreover, it manages with cultural spaces, few cultural groups¹⁰¹ and realizes large public cultural events¹⁰². It also supports various initiatives in the area of visual arts, cinema, dance, literature, music, cultural heritage, theatre and circus (IPPUC, 2013). Interestingly enough, the Municipality of Curitiba does not mention the local cultural traditions and the rich cultural diversity of the region. However, the discourse carries the “cultural” weight side by side with the tourist infrastructure of consumption and fun, mentioning that the municipality has more than 30 theatres, 184 public libraries, 98 museums, 125 programs involving cinema and arts and others.

The Cultural Foundation of Curitiba sets the Municipal and Sectorial Plans for Culture for the past ten years. The 13 principals of the Plan draw directly from the SDGs referring to the valorisation of culture as a vector for sustainable development and collaboration with public and private agents for the development of the economy of culture, among the others (PMCC, 2016). Moreover, The Plan for Culture relies on targets, indicators and objectives to be met in a certain period, resembling the structure of the SDA (Ibid).

The policies for strengthening the creative economy in Curitiba first appear in the revision of the Master Plan (Plano Diretor) in 2014. The Plan devotes two chapters to actions linked to creative and cultural industries because it is understood that new ideas are needed to solve the existing problems. Among the measures adopted, the Master Plan presupposes the identification of creative territories; partnerships between public and private institutions; tax incentives in accordance with the zoning law; the insertion of design and creative services into the municipal education program; the presentation of guidelines for public investments related to the green, creative and digital economy, among other measures that announce Curitiba as a “propitious city for business” (IPPUC, 2013). In this way, the symbolic use of

¹⁰⁰ The creation of the Cultural Foundation derives from the Municipal Law No. 11,266, of December 16, 2004, with the purpose of acting in the formulation, elaboration and follow-up of the Municipal Urban Policy, according to the guidelines of Federal Law 10,257 of July 10, 2001 and of the Master Plan.

¹⁰¹ The Lyra Curitiba Band, the Brazilian Vocal and the Brasileirinho Choir, and the String and Blow Base Orchestras.

¹⁰² Such as the Music Workshops, the Curitiba Festival, the Carnival, the Anniversary of the City and, more recently, the Cultural Current and Gibicon.

design among the planned actions of the city adds to the creation of the city's "iconic image" (IPPUC, 2013).

The "Viva MaisCultura" plan and "Curitiba Criativa" are local programs that raise awareness towards the Sustainable Development Goals through sport, culture, leisure time and tourism. The initiative "Curitiba Criativa" (Creative Curitiba) is a project by Massa News and the Municipality of Curitiba (particularly with the Agency for Development and Innovation) that aims to bring innovation, technology and sustainability in the city in different forms. "Curitiba Criativa" holds the World Creativity Festival and runs the competition Curitiba Creative Economy (PREFEITURA MUNICIPAL DE CURITIBA, 2016). Other projects implemented in the city are Garden of Honey, the Chef's Vegetable Garden, Vale do Pinhão and Lines of Knowledge (CURITIBA CRIATIVA, 2017).

There are other private or administrative institutions of the Municipality of Curitiba that are actively engaged in the creative and cultural sector of the city. Among the most active are the Centro Brasil Design, the Institute for Research and Urban Planning and ProDesign>pr.

Centro Brasil Design is a hub that fosters design throughout Brazil. Its headquarters is in Curitiba. The hub organizes the event "D Week" that aims to strengthen the networking, interaction and sharing of information regarding design, among the UCCN city-members. It develops strategic projects for the design industry on regional and national level.

The Institute for Research and Urban Planning of Curitiba (IPPUC) is a department of the Municipality of Curitiba. The department aims to research, evaluate, plan and monitor the management of the urban environment, locally and regionally, by elaborating and coordinating plans and projects. Moreover, IPPUC was responsible for the candidacy procedure for the UNESCO Creative Cities Network.

ProDesign>pr refers to the Association of Companies and Design Professionals of Paraná. It is one of the most active design associations in the country, developing several initiatives that have as objectives the sharing of good practices, the stimulation of business generation and the promotion of the excellence of the Design of Paraná in Brazil and worldwide (PRODESIGNPR).

The local universities are also not left aside. The University Centre of Curitiba offers specialization in innovation design and creative economy, among other creative fields

(UNICURITIBA, 2019). Moreover, the Design and Sustainability Centre at the Federal University of Parana runs integrated research between the academia and the market.

In 2014, the Municipality of Curitiba submitted the formal candidacy for membership at the UCCN. In its application for candidacy, the applicant team distributed the budget in the following manner: stuff- 99.260.00 US dollars, equipment- 1.100.00 US dollars, communication – 1.332.00 US dollars, services- 17.360.00 US dollars resulting in 59.312.582 US dollars spending on average per year during the 2014-2017 period (SILVA, 2014). Interestingly enough, there is no budget allocation for meetings. After the acceptance as a member, there is a constant lack of resources regarding international meetings (SILVA, 2019).

Upon acceptance by UNESCO, the Municipality of Curitiba published a Decree to align the local public policies with the mission and objectives of UNESCO Creative Cities Network. In the decree, it is stated that:

“considering the need to organize the municipal innovation policy from the perspective of design and investment in creativity as a propulsion for urban development, sustainable development, social inclusion and the diffusion of culture, to fulfil the mission of the city of Curitiba as a member of UNESCO's Creative Cities Network; considering the importance of planning the development of design, in order to stimulate cooperation between government, private initiative and other sectors of society in the consolidation of the sectors related to the creative economy.” (2018, p.87, personal translation).

Following the monitoring and evaluation requirements of UCCN, Curitiba has undergone specific policies and programs to implement the UCCN mission and objectives. In sequence are few actions towards the implementation of the Network's global management, major initiatives by the Municipality of Curitiba towards implementing the objectives of UCCN, major actions initiated through inter-city cooperation, and Curitiba's four-year action plans.

In order to argue for the eligibility of the title as UNESCO City of Design, the applicant team listed programs and policies which are in line with the UCCN mission and objectives. Some relevant programs are Tuboteca, large number of festivals (Oficina da Musica, Curitiba Theatre Festival, Paraná Business Collection, Corrente Cultural, D Week, etc.), the Citizen

Streets¹⁰³ (Ruas da Cidadania), implementation of Design Project totems dedicated to Curitiba's Sister Cities around the world, etc. (Curitiba, 2013).

One of UCCN requirements is the involvement of multiple stakeholders. Even though in the application for candidacy, the Curitiba applicant team stated that the initiative was open to participation of other actors via an event called "Icarus Session" on 22nd of June, 2013 in order to identify "the main protagonists and design initiative in the city of Curitiba" (2013, p.3), their involvement was very superficial. An interviewee that wanted to remain anonymous mentioned that all pre-candidacy research and the writing of the application were done by limited number of people. The meetings with important figures from the design world of Curitiba might not have contributed to the candidacy process as much as they could have, however it served as productive marketing event.

The Agency of Development and Innovation also has numerous projects including Vale do Pinhão and the program Curitiba Tecnoparque which were implemented in 2017. Both of these programs are important to mention due to their size. Vale do Pinhão unites entrepreneurs, start-ups, public institutions, universities, businesses and social movements operating in the creative economy sector, to further foster it. It aims to revitalize public spaces around the state (mostly regionally, around the Capital) and make more efficient the public bureaucracy through innovation and culture (VALE DO PINHÃO, 2019). Curitiba Tecnoparque is a result of law¹⁰⁴ aimed to promote the development of enterprises through technology, innovation, science and culture. The project merges 84 enterprises with reduced tax on services from 5% to 2% (AGENCIA CURITIBA, 2019).

A distinguished policy is Vale Cultura in Curitiba. It is a result of the federal law that carries the same name. The law holds that certain workers have right to around 25 US dollars per month to spend on any cultural good (tickets to the cinema, theatre, books, CDs, etc.). The program aims to democratise access to culture. The companies that implement this law and offer this voucher to their employees get a tax deduction.

¹⁰³Citizens streets are public spaces aimed at leisure. The aim is to diminish the traffic in various parts of Curitiba and encourage more creative usage of public space. Moreover, they are spaces where the public administration is present in an attempt to bridge the gap between the public sector and the citizens (CURITIBA, 2019).

¹⁰⁴Lei Complementar nº 64/2007 of the Decreto nº 310/2008(altered through the Lei Complementar nº 87/2012).

In the 2018 UCCN Monitoring Report, the local team further lists the following events that build towards achieving UCCN's objectives: "Design and the New Cities', in 2016, 'Design for a Better World', and the 'Smart City Expo Curitiba,' have gathered design experts from several UCCN Cities of Design, such as Helsinki, Puebla, Buenos Aires, and Brasilia. As the first city in Brazil to officially host a 2030 HUB for Sustainable Development Goals' implementation, Curitiba is further exploring possibilities for linking design activities with the SDGs" (CURITIBA, 2018, p.2).

In the application, specific attention is given to intercity cooperation where Curitiba shows large interests in (2013, p.17). However, in practice, there aren't any specific programs or projects that proved that. In the 2018 Monitoring Report, there are three instances of inter-city cooperation mentioned. The first one is the ECriativa¹⁰⁵ meeting of Brazilian UCCN member cities in João Pessoa. The second one is the participation at the Brazilian Creative Industries Market (MICBR) held in 2018 in Sao Paulo. The third is the 10th Friendly Cultures Fair in Mexico City in 2018 where Curitiba presented an exhibition of good practices and urban design (CURITIBA, 2018).

In its application for candidacy, Curitiba states that will encourage private-public partnerships and guidelines for public investment in previously mapped creative territories to brand the city as a city of business. Moreover, Curitiba wants to also be an environmental and design-friendly city through lightning projects, improvement of public spaces (SILVA, 2014, p. 16).

However, its contribution to UCCN and global management remains low. Besides the compulsory attendance to the UCCN annual meetings, Curitiba remains largely inactive in the UNESCO Creative Cities Network and its sub-networks. Curitiba hasn't participated in the last three annual meetings of the network. It hasn't taken part in the Steering group yet, nor has it participated in the evaluation of applications. Moreover, Curitiba is not a member of the UNESCO Creative Cities of Design¹⁰⁶ and has not participated as even an external partner (DESIGN CITIES, 2019). Membership in the sub-network is quite important because cities

¹⁰⁵ECriativa is the network of Brazilian cities members at the UCCN. Tulio Filho (2019) argues that Curitiba has contributed greatly to this network because the other cities are following the social media communication method.

¹⁰⁶ Its membership is voluntary and by now, the member cities are the following: Bandung, Bilbao, Detroit, Geelong, Graz, Helsinki, Istanbul, Kaunas, Kobe, Kortrijk, Montréal, Nagoya, Puebla, Saint-Étienne, Seoul, Shenzhen, Singapore, Torino, Wuhan

organize joint agendas and projects and thus, they not only share practices but strengthen their competence on the international level. ProDesign>pr claims that the city's inaction is due to the governmental changes that have occurred in the last two years (FILHO, 2019; WERNECK, 2017).

Due to Curitiba's inaction, the UCCN has sent the first alert verbally of the Municipality of Curitiba by asking for submission of the Monitoring Report. After a little delay, the team provided it (FILHO, 2019).

In an interview with Mr Guilherme Zucetti, Officer of International Affairs at the Municipality of Curitiba and reference person for the UNESCO City of Design title says that Curitiba's participation at the UCCN will improve. His administration pretends to participate in the next annual meeting in Fabriano in July 2019 (ZUCETTI, 2019).

Individual

The main initiator for the bid for candidacy was Thiago Alves. He states that in 2011 and 2012 he was in Montreal which is UNESCO City of Design since 2006. He participated at the events, learned about the UNESCO Creative Cities Network and when he came back to Curitiba in 2013, with the help of other local designers, he took the initiative to apply for membership (ALVES, 2019). They presented the idea to Mr Sergio Povia Pires, who was the president at the Institute for Research and Urban Planning of Curitiba (IPPUC) and the most active public bureaucrat pushing for the candidacy (Ibid, SILVA, 2019). As a result, an applicant team was formed at IPPUC, made by representatives of the public sector (through IPPUC), the private sector (ProDesign>pr) and the civil society (students of design, Centro Brasil Design) (ALVES, 2019). The application for Curitiba UNESCO City of Design started from 2012 and was taken by Bruno Volpi (UCCN consultant), Thiago Alves (independent consultant), Juliana Mayumi Ogawa (Centro Brasil Design/consulter), Sergio Pires (President of IPPUC), Daniele Moraes (External Relations Officer at the IPPUC), Luisiana Paganelli Silva (External Relations Advisor) and José Merege (Design Advisor at the presidency of IPPUC). Thiago and Bruno asked for institutional help from Paraná Agency for Development, the Institute for Research and Urban Planning (IPPUC), ABEDESIGN, Centro Brasil Design, the Association of Graphic Designers in Brazil and ProDesign>PR, as well as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to apply for the title. The entire process was coordinated by the Foreign Office of the Municipality of Curitiba (BAUER, 2014).

In its application, the applicant team needed to attach: a formal letter of presentation of the candidature by the city's Mayor, a formal letter of endorsement to the candidature by the National Commission for UNESCO in Brazil, formal support letters from at least five UNESCO Creative Cities and formal support of the national association of design. The UCCN members that supported Curitiba's candidacy were Saint-Etienne, France; Montreal, Canada; Santa Fe, USA; Kobe, Japan; Peking, China; Berlin, Germany and Seoul, South Korea.

The role of Bruno Vopli¹⁰⁷ was crucial because he was the Coordinator of the City of Design Committee at the UCCN. He was one of the responsible for the election of members of the design cities in 2014 (Dundee, Turin, Bilbao and Helsinki). He played a special role in Curitiba's case because he was co-responsible for partnerships between the Curitiba City Hall and industry representatives, and also assisted the development of the application document sent through the International Affairs Ministry (LinkedIn, 2019).

Lusiana Silva from IPPUC informs that Mr Sergio's figure was very dominant and it was difficult to bring through suggestions for the candidacy (SILVA, 2019). Silva was responsible for writing and submitting the candidacy. Information flow was very restricted and the applicant team needed to meet the ends of the existing events organized mostly by the private sector and civil society, to justify the city's eligibility as UNESCO City of Design. The information necessary to write and maintain the candidacy lied in the private and civil society sector. The Municipality did not have access to resources related to design and it hasn't even organized events in the field before (SILVA, 2019).

The students of design at the time were professionally active, working or being associated with Centro Brasil Design and Pro>Design.pr. They were the ones that had expert knowledge on the subject and guided IPPUC through the formulation of the application and the implementation plan. Thus, these experts transferred the attitudes and cultural values (such as accessibility, sustainability, citizenship), taking into consideration the local structures, cultures, values and design-specific needs (ALVES, 2019).

Other actors that were mentioned in the application as part of the cultural ecosystem linked to the SDA were associations, other private companies and public institutions,

¹⁰⁷Unfortunately, Mr Volpi wasn't available for an interview and for those reasons there is limited information on his participation in the process.

however, they weren't necessarily engaged in the process of formulating the implementation plan of a creative city policy model. The following table (Table 9) lists the primary and secondary actors and their role in the creative city policy model:

Table 9: List of actors that participated in Curitiba's UCCN candidacy and membership.

Institution	Type of institutional domain	Role	O-I-T
Main actors			
Institute for Research and Urban Planning of Curitiba	Public (municipal tier) Department of the Municipality of Curitiba	Led the bid and coordinated the implementation plan	Intermediary
Centro Brasil Design	Non-governmental organization (national level)	Organized civil society from the design sector	Intermediary
ProDesign>pr	Association (state tier)	Organized private companies from the design sector	Intermediary
Thiago Alves	Independent consultant	Initiated the bid for candidacy	Intermediary
Steering Committee for the title Curitiba UNESCO Creative City of Design	Hybrid (composed of civil society, public officials and private companies)	Coordinates the Creative City of Design plan since 2018	Intermediary
Other actors			
Cultural Foundation of Curitiba	Public (municipal tier)	Promote the culture-incentive law	Intermediary
Association of the Graphic Designers in Brazil	Civil society (federal tier)	Organized civil society and private companies from the design sector	Intermediary
Agency for Development and Innovation in Curitiba	Public (Municipal tier)	Entrepreneurship, new technologies and innovation	Intermediary
Parana Development Agency	Public- private partnership	Information, communication and technology	Intermediary
The Federal Government	Public (federal tier)	Implements laws and national programs, strategies and targets for culture, economy and sustainability	Target
UNESCO National Commission in Brasil	International	Expertise/consultant	Orchestrator
UNESCO Creative Cities Network	International	Expertise/consultant	Orchestrator

Source: Personal elaboration

At the time of the candidacy, the mayor was Mr Gustavo Bonato Fruet (2013-2016) and he strongly supported the candidacy. He was open to the suggestions of the experts and the planned initiatives (FILHO, 2019). The current mayor is Rafael Greca (2017- present). In an interview with Tulio Filho (2019), he stressed that the change of administration in 2017 caused stagnation of Curitiba's participation at UCCN. There were no resources or political

will for active participation in the Network. In order not to lose the title by UNESCO, the civil society pushed for the creation of a Steering Committee for the title UNESCO Creative City of Design, which was officialised in October 2018. The Steering Committee marked a major shift in the management of the activities related to the UCCN where decision-making power shifted from the public sector to multiple stakeholders.

Alves (2019) informs that among the professionals of design, there wasn't anyone who opposed the candidacy or who wasn't actively engaged in maintaining the title. Filho (2019) informs that it was almost natural to apply and get the membership due to the city history and contemporary engagement with design. He further claims that communication via social media, Facebook in particular, and the usage of day-to-day language to communicate with the general public made the title closer to the people. At this stage, people started to question the title arguing for other public priorities, such as better infrastructure, lack of sensibility to diversity, etc (TULIO, 2019; FILHO, 2019).

Ogawa (2019) and Alves (2019) inform that Centro Brasil Design and Pro>Design.pt gained a lot of national and international visibility, after Curitiba's membership at UCCN. This is due to the design-related activities they organize throughout the year. In other words, the private sector and the civil society are the sole actors in implementing the plan for the Curitiba Creative City of Design. In 2018 Centro Brasil Design took part in the UN initiative called Network Brazil Global Compact. The Association of Companies and Design Professionals of Paraná (Pro>Design.pt) is the second most beneficial from its participation in the Network by expanding the list of national and international participants at the festivals it hosts.

There are many intermediaries taking part of the implementation of the annual plans for the Curitiba Creative City of Design, all coordinated under the umbrella of the Municipality of Curitiba, particularly the Institute for Research and Urban Planning of Curitiba and the Steering Committee for the title UNESCO Creative City of Design. Their participation further deepens the implementation of ideas, policies and practices derived from the Sustainable Development Agenda and Goals and Targets.

It is also important to mention the Parana Development Agency because it is dedicated to implementing the SDGs. It is a private-public partnership and a suitable intermediary because through the Municipal Program for Investment Attraction assists municipalities and companies to create sustainable solutions. With that, it influences the behaviour of municipal,

state and federal projects for development. Moreover, the Agency for Development and Innovation in Curitiba which is a sub-sector of the Municipality of Curitiba responsible for assisting social entrepreneurship of small and medium-size mostly, shifted its focus to start-ups aimed at creativity, innovation and new technology from 2017 onwards (AGENCIA CURITIBA DE DESENVOLVIMENTO, 2019).

The role of the Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs Aloysio Nunes in relation with UNESCO Creative Cities Network is mostly ceremonial. There have been only official statements about the acceptance of Brazilian cities to the Network. The role of Brazilian Permanent Delegate to UNESCO Mrs Maria Edileuza Fontenele Reis is also not part of the decision-making process for UCCN membership but lobbying and promotion of national interests at UNESCO. The Chief of the Division of Cultural and Multilateral Agreements at the Brazilian National Commission of UNESCO is chaired by Mr Paulo Vassily Chuc, but the practical implementation of UNESCO projects and programs is managed by the staff members.

Bureaucratic

UNESCO coordinates the UNESCO Creative Cities Network from its headquarters in Paris. On needs-bases, the UNESCO Creative Cities Network employees cooperate with their colleagues from the National Commission in Brazil regarding the UCCN application process, the overseeing of the implementation plan and providing information and technical assistance (ROBERT, 2019).

UNESCO National Commission links UNESCO and the Brazilian federal government. The Chief of the Commission's Division of Cultural and Multilateral Agreements is Mr Paulo Vassily Chuc. The National Commission is semi-governmental institution situated at the Division for Promotion of Brazilian Culture at the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Relations in Brasilia. Due to the semi-governmental nature of the institution, the role of Mr Vassily Chuc is to represent both, the interests of UNESCO and the national interest (hasn't responded on the interview request).

UNESCO Field Office for Latin America and the Caribbean is also situated in Brasilia. The coordinator of UNESCO Filed Office for culture in Brazil is Ms Isabel de Paula. The objective of the field office to support the creation and implementation of public policies that are following the strategies set by the UNESCO Member States. The Office assists in the

implementation of the policies and strategies via technical cooperation and partnerships towards contributing to sustainable development. Concerning the UCCN, it promotes the Network, but it is not involved in any stages of the program.

UCCN office in Curitiba is part of the Municipal Institute for Research and Urban Planning of Curitiba (IPPUC). At the time of applying for membership, Mr Sergio Povia Pires, who was the president at the Institute for Research and Urban Planning of Curitiba (IPPUC) was coordinating the application process.

In its application for candidacy, the applicant team presented a plan for the realization of the Curitiba City of Design model from 2014-2017. During these years there were limited actions specifically created for meeting the UCCN objectives. In an interview, Thiago Alves informs that he was disappointed by the lack of support from the Municipality regarding the membership (ALVES, 2019). Only in 2018, the Municipality of Curitiba created a decree, officially implementing the UNESCO City of Design title in the public administration. The programs, policies and actions of the private and civil sector were only used by the Municipality to justify its eligibility, but an actual action from the public sector was lacking (ALVES, 2019). He states that: “the Curitiba City of Design is much more a result of a well-organized civil society and private sector, rather than an action by the public sector. They still haven’t appointed a person exclusively responsible for the title” (ALVES, 2019).

In the 2018 UCCN Monitoring Membership Report, Curitiba proposes Action Plan for the forthcoming Mid-Term Period of four years where the local UCCN team aims to improve the already existing events and introduce new ones, among which the 2030 Local Hub. The 2030 Local Hub is a centre for convergence of multi-sectoral actions aimed at meeting the Sustainable Development Goals, with Curitiba as its headquarters in Brazil. Its goal is to monitor and create a database of good practices to be reported to the country and the UN - and from there, developing a series of actions to promote the SDGs. The goal is that the Local Hub will promote, in a partnership between the public, private and academic sectors, the recognition of innovative projects, becoming a dynamic centre of connection and alignment between the actors (CURITIBA, 2018). Most importantly, the activities of the UNESCO Title since 2019 will be managed by a specially appointed committee called Steering Committee of the Seal Curitiba City of Design which is linked to the Advisory Board and the International Relations Office of the Mayor’s Office (Ibid).

Inter-organizational

The jointly established inter-organizational institution between Brazil and UNESCO is the UNESCO National Commission. UNESCO National Commission links UNESCO and the Brazilian federal government. The National Commission is semi-governmental institution situated at the Division for Promotion of Brazilian Culture at the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Relations in Brasilia. Due to the semi-governmental nature of the institution, the role of Mr Vassily Chuc is to represent both, the interests of UNESCO and the national interest (unfortunately, Mr Chuc was not available for an interview). Moreover, the National Commission is the one that approves the city's candidacy before submitting it formally to UNESCO. The city passes the first eligibility test through the National Commissions and by receiving the letter of support it later continues the candidacy process on the next level.

UCCN Steering Group is the UCCN most important body. As member at it, the city can have greater networking and decision-making power, as well as position itself better in the international arena as a creative city. Curitiba would take a decision-making position and the UNESCO Creative Cities Network if it were to take part in the UCCN Steering Group. It would be able to decide upon the membership of candidate cities. However, as it hasn't taken part until this moment, the relationship between the two actors remains more distant.

Conclusion

On national level, the role of the federal government is a central agent for conditioning the policies on development and the creative economy. Even since the 1930s when the discourse on development entered Brazilian policymaking, the federal government is at the centre of shaping the types of development. Since 1930s until present, ideas about development have changed, mostly due to change of political parties and their different ideologies, and currently the trend of creativity and innovation is at the heart of it. Besides the centralized role of the federal government, the role of sub-national governments is not to be undermined. Combining their political, administrative and fiscal decentralization, sub-national governments have the authority to innovate with local policy programs.

There is a clear path of the cultural public policies that draw directly from the norms and policies propagated by UNESCO. The targets and programs for culture and development are very specific. Consequently, regional and municipal governments have only space to be innovative with the programs they transfer or create on municipal level.

By identifying the actors and their position in the O-I-T framework, we can identify their motivations which helps us explain where information is concentrated and how is it used by

the actors. From UNESCO's reports and Curitiba's application for candidacy, we notice that the ideological information concerning values and beliefs that shape the policy programs are directly drawn from the Sustainable Development Agenda and from UCCN's Reports and website. The application of the creative city policy model was an adaptation of foreign information in Curitiba by adapting the existing design-related events to the foreign information and guidelines. As Silva (2019) explained, as a bureaucrat she was more involved with the transfer model and the detailed operations than the public representatives.

Dublin - UNESCO Creative City of Literature

Ireland's unitary nation-state model and decentralization and delegation to actors

The island of Ireland is divided between the Republic of Ireland (officially named Ireland), which covers five-sixths of the island, and Northern Ireland, which is part of the United Kingdom. Both sides share an open border and are part of the Common Travel Area.

The Republic of Ireland (here forth Ireland) is unitary parliamentary democracy. Its president has mainly ceremonial powers and the government is headed by the Prime Minister (Taoiseach) who is appointed by the President. Members of the government are chosen from the Upper House of Parliament (Dail) and the Senate (Seanad) located in the capital, Dublin. Ireland is composed of municipalities (towns and boroughs), counties and cities, and regions. The 4 historic provinces of Leinster, Munster, Connacht and Ulster are significant only in symbolic, cultural and sporting matters (WINSTANLEY, 1984) (Image 10).

Image 10: The four historic provinces of Leinster, Munster, Connacht and Ulster composing the Republic of Ireland.



Source: "NZ History: British and Irish Immigration 1840-1914"¹⁰⁸

Currently, there are 31 local authorities (City and County Councils) in Ireland providing a range of policies in housing, transport, waste management, education, health and culture. They are governed by series of Local Government Acts (1898; 2001; 2014) and coordinated

¹⁰⁸Availabe at : <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/culture/home-away-from-home/the-irish>. Accessed: 03/04/2019

through Regional Assemblies. The Regional Assemblies are crucial actors in the translation of the SDA into practical policies on the local level (GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND, 2018). There are 26 County Councils (the County of Dublin is divided into three council areas); 3 City Councils (Dublin, Cork and Galway) and 2 City and County Councils (Limerick and Waterford). The 2014 reform introduced the Municipal Districts which are part of the city councils, enjoying decision-making responsibilities on matters relevant to the local communities, such as planning, economic and enterprise development in arts and culture on the local level, thus controlling the budget and the administration of the local policies (Ibid). The Local Community Development Committees, Strategic Policy Committees as well as through development plans and local economic and community plans which set the future local and community development priorities for each city and county, local authorities are well placed to integrate high-level SDG objectives and targets into their various plans and programmes (Ibid).

Currently, local government spending in Ireland mostly includes social protection policies (23.6%), economic affairs (21.7%) and only 5.4% of the total budget was spent on culture, recreation and religion (FORMEZ; FORMEZ, 2005). County councils, county borough corporations, borough corporations, urban district councils, and town commissioners are responsible for most locally administered services, among which library and other cultural and creative infrastructures (FORMEZ; FORMEZ, 2005).

Besides its centralizing nature, by the 2000s, Ireland has adopted the international trend of decentralization in specific areas such as sustainability, culture and the environment. However, the political, administrative and fiscal processes remain highly centralized. Irish national ministries and governmental agencies clearly dominate implementation in almost any policy area (COLLINS; QUINLIVAN, 2005).

Regarding fiscal decentralization, Irish sub-national levels do not have their own tax competences at all and suffer from an overall lack of resources (O'BROIN; WATERS, 2007, p.31). The overall budget and budget allocations are set on national level (ROCHE, 1998). Besides passing through a 'modernization agenda' which was supposedly going to bring structural changes in the country, no changes were actually made (Ibid; HARDIMAN, 2010).

In terms of administrative decentralization, the central government continues to have strong control over policy implementation and information flow. Delegation to local administration and the civil service is very low. As a response to new demands or issues, such

as sustainability and cultural policies, the central government's solution was the creation of new institutions or agencies. Creation of new agencies further weakened the civil service their agency was not straightened, but further centralized (HARDIMAN, 2010). There was a rapid rise in the number of agencies in Ireland, providing regulatory or advisory services, with a focus on customer service (Ibid). Some might argue that the creation of the agency is a result of decentralization because they transfer responsibilities to local governments, particularly for policies related to culture. However, the operation of these agencies is overseen by the central government.

Ireland has a centralized administrative service and recruitment process. The standardized exam is given by each local government authority. These authorities are called Urban District Councils (UDC), Town Corporations or County Councils, depending on the size of the local authority¹⁰⁹ (FORMEZ; FORMEZ, 2005; HARDIMAN, 2010). Consequently, the Irish local administration as a weak agency and faces structural problems due to over-centralization and poor coordination among the national departments and the agencies (BIELA et al., 2012).

In terms of political decentralization, due to the over-centralized nature of the territorial state organization, accountability of the local politicians remained symbolic, besides the constant increase of salary and bonuses of the local politicians (HARDIMAN, 2010). The political institutions in Ireland were created from the Westminster model¹¹⁰ and thus were conditioned to political centralization (COLLINS; HASSLAM, 2007). The central government decides upon the local political issues and sub-national interests are informally promoted by members of the national parliament who are responsive to their constituencies (BLOM-HANSEN, 1999; GALLAGHER; KOMITO, 2005). Decentralization in Irish terms, thus, means for provincial town, for example, opening of a new government office that the province might benefit economically from, but it does not mean local political representation and delegation.

¹⁰⁹The smallest are the UDC's, while the largest 12 cities/towns in Ireland have their own "Corporations" and County Councils oversee every thing else.

¹¹⁰ The Westminster model of governance refers to the British institutional rule and their jurisdiction of the colonies. From its independence from Britain, Ireland inherited the institutional system, complementing it with new institutions such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which before the independence was handled by Britain only (COLLINS; HASSLAM, 2007).

Background Information on Dublin UNESCO Creative City of Literature

Dublin is located on the east coast of Ireland in the province of Leinster. Since the 18th century it has been a centre of cultural, economic and social fusion and prosperity. From 1854 until 1952, Dublin was affected by the Great Famine where the failure of the potato crop on which most of the population depended caused death or emigration of 1.5 million Irish. This event is still strongly present and remembered by Dubliners (KILLEEN, 2003).

Image 11: Situating Dublin on the map.



Source: Central Intelligence Agency, 2019¹¹¹

Dublin City is the administrative and political capital of Ireland and home of many of Ireland's national cultural institutions such as the National Library, Archives, Gallery and Museums. Dublin is governed by a democratically elected body – Dublin City Council (here forth referred as the Council). Dublin City Council area is approximately 115 square kilometres, with a population of approximately 1.173.179 inhabitants as of 2016 (CSO, 2017) (see Image 11). Headed by an annually elected Lord Mayor, the Council is the largest local authority in the country. Besides its obligations regarding housing, infrastructure and local services, the City Council also provides services to citizens and businesses, including public libraries, city archives, and art galleries and arts offices. At their website it is stated that Dublin City Council aims to “ensure that the city is at the centre of a creative economic

¹¹¹Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ei.html> Accessed 04/04/2019

region, attracting, retaining and developing creative talent – and harnessing the city’s cultural assets and capabilities” (DUBLIN CITY, 2019). The Council is committed to fostering a culturally rich city where diversity is acknowledged and celebrated. At its website it is stated:

“Dublin City Council, the democratically elected body which governs the city, aims to ensure that Dublin is at the centre of a creative economic region – one which will continue to attract, retain and develop creative talent, harnessing all of its assets and capabilities. Dublin is a culturally rich, vibrant and tolerant city where diversity is acknowledged and celebrated and where new communities, represented by over 100 nationalities, form 15% of its population. Literature in particular is developing as a force for cultural inclusivity, giving voice to those new communities – and bringing new energy and ideas to the life of the city.” (DUBLIN CITY, 2019)

The creative and cultural industries contribute greatly to Dublin’s local economy, particularly to cultural tourism. Only in Dublin, 27% of the national total are workers within the tourism industry. 33% of tourism is for cultural purposes and cultural tourists spend on average 25% more than other tourists (DUBLIN UNESCO CITY OF LITERATURE, 2017).

Image 12: Dublin City Council Area.

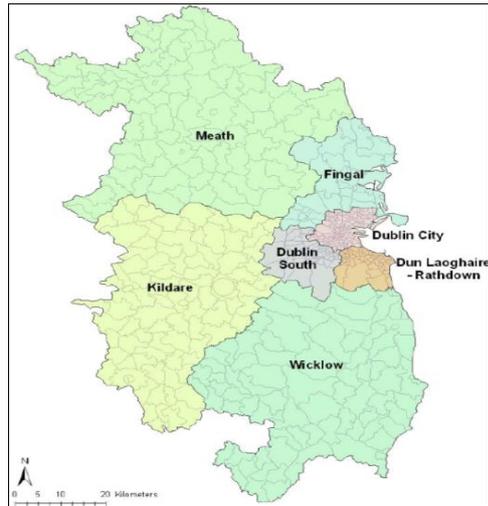


Source: Dublin City Council, 2019¹¹²

On regional level, Dublin expands through the counties of Dublin (including Dublin City, South Dublin, Dún Laoghaire–Rathdown and Fingal), Meath, Kildare, and Wicklow (Image 12) what is referred to as the Greater Dublin Area. The city’s metropolitan region is not a formal political unit, but the increasing interdependency among the municipalities resulted in the need for joint policies on specific areas. This area is inhabited by a population of 1,904,806 (BRINKHOFF, 2019).

Image 13: Map of the Greater Dublin Area.

¹¹²Available at: <https://www.dublincycling.com/cycling/our-work-dublin-city-council-area>. Accessed 04/04/2019.



Source: CAULFIELD, 2011¹¹³

There is a smaller area administrated by the Dublin Regional Authority (DRA) which covers the four local authority areas of Dublin City Council, Fingal, South Dublin and Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown County Councils. Its role is to prepare and implement the Regional Planning Guidelines together with the Regional Authority for the Greater Dublin Area; and to promote co-ordination in the provision of public services in the region, which includes promoting co-operation and joint action between local authorities, public authorities and other bodies (DUBLIN CITY, 2009).

Image 14: Map of Dublin City Council and the neighbouring councils.



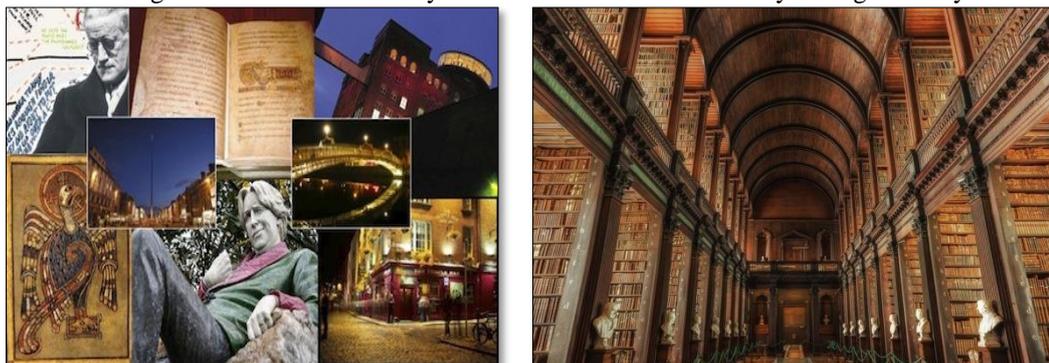
Source: Dublin, 2013¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/266489225_Measuring_the_Failure_of_Planning_and_Its_Impact_on_Sustainable_Travel_in_Dublin_Ireland/figures?lo=1 Accessed 20/06/2019

¹¹⁴ Available at: http://www.urban-agriculture-europe.org/mediawiki/index.php/Dublin,_Ireland Accessed 20/06/2019

Dublin has a long history of literature. It hosts numerous book festivals, it is home of four Nobel Prize winners (George Bernard Shaw, poets W.B. Yeats and Seamus Heaney and Samuel Beckett) and endorses the internationally prestigious International Dublin Literary Award. Poetry Ireland, the national organisation for poetry, was among the main actors in the bid aimed to fostering poetry and language as key part of the literacy industry.

Images 15 and 16: Dublin City of Literature and Dublin Trinity College Library



Source: Trinity College Dublin¹¹⁵

Dublin was the only City of Literature to be accepted to the UNESCO Creative Cities Network in 2010. Until 2015, there are 19 Cities of Literature including: Edinburgh (Scotland, 2004), Melbourne (Australia, 2008), Iowa City (United States, 2008), Reykjavík (Iceland, 2011), Norwich (England, 2012), Krakow (Poland, 2013), Heidelberg (Germany, 2014), Dunedin (New Zealand, 2014), Granada (Spain, 2014), Prague (Czech Republic, 2014), Baghdad (Iraq, 2015), Barcelona (Spain, 2015), Ljubljana (Slovenia, 2015), Lviv (Ukraine, 2015), Montevideo (Uruguay, 2015), Nottingham (England, 2015), Óbidos (Portugal in 2015), Tartu (Estonia, 2015), Ulyanovsk (Russia, 2015)¹¹⁶.

Image 17: UNESCO Creative Cities of Literature

¹¹⁵Available at: <https://www.tcd.ie/library/> Accessed 11/04/2019.

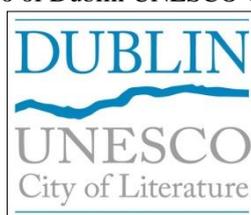
¹¹⁶ In 2017 the following cities were admitted to the Network : Bucheon (South Korea), Durban (South Africa), Lillehammer (Norway), Manchester (England), Milan (Italy), Québec City, (Canada) Seattle, (United States), and Utrecht (Netherlands), completing 28 Cities of Literature in total.



Source: UNESCO, 2018¹¹⁷

In the bid, the applicant team stresses its focus on cultural tourism as the main aim for membership. In 2008 the market for book sales in Dublin was worth an estimated €60 million a year, showing the strength of the local market and its potential growth (DUBLIN CITY, 2009). Moreover, they state that they will use the bid to promote the city internally, nationally and internationally by engaging with other literacy cities within and outside the UNESCO Creative Cities Network. All costs related to the application process before and after the title were undertaken by the Dublin City Public Libraries.

Image 18: Logo of Dublin UNESCO City of Literature



Source: Dublin City of Literature¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ Available at <http://www.dublincityofliterature.ie/wp-content/uploads/Press-Pack-2018.pdf> Accessed 11/04/2019.

¹¹⁸ Available at: <http://www.dublincityofliterature.ie/> Accessed 11/04/2019.

Inter-organizational relations between Dublin UNESCO Creative City of Literature, Ireland and UNESCO

This section analyses the inter-organizational relations between UNESCO, the Municipality of Dublin and the Irish government. Their relations are studied on the international, national, regional, individual, bureaucratic and inter-institutional levels (Table 10).

Table 10: Inter-organizational relations between UNESCO, the Municipality of Dublin and the Irish government

Level of interaction	Orchestrator – UNESCO	Intermediary- Dublin	Target – Ireland
International	UNESCO cooperation with other IOs and Networks	Dublin City International Relations Unit, twinning, cooperation agreements, UCLG StartUp Commissioner and the International Development Association	Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Department of Communication, Climate Action and Environment, Culture Ireland
Regional	New Urban Agenda for Culture	Eurocities, CEMR, Horizon 2020 and Regional Planning Guidelines for the Greater Dublin Area	Enterprise Ireland; Creative Europe Program Desk Ireland
National	UNESCO capacity building programs	Culture and Creative Strategies	Creative Ireland Program, DAHG, Project Ireland 20140, Arts Council
Municipal	UNESCO assistance in municipal plans for development/sustainability and the candidacy and membership at UCCN	Dublin City Council Culture Strategy; Dublin City Council Arts Office and International Relation and Research Office; Economic Development and Local Enterprise Office, UCCN candidacy/membership	Guidelines for Local Authorities; Creative Dublin Alliance; Dublin Tourism; Tourism Ireland
Individual	UNESCO National Commission staff	Deirdre Ellis-King (Dublin City Librarian); Management and Steering Group; Alison Lyons (current Dublin City Librarian); Emer Costerllo (mayor)	Vincent Landers (National Commission for UNESCO); Leslie Carberry (the Sustainable Development Unit at the Department of Communications, Climate Action and Environment)
Bureaucratic	UCCN administration in Paris	UCCN Title office managed by the Dublin City Public Libraries	UCCN administration; Dublin City Public Libraries
Inter-institutional	UNESCO National Commission in Ireland	UCCN Steering Group	UNESCO National Commission staff at the Department of Education and Skills at the Ministry of Education

Source: personal elaboration

International inter-organizational interaction

Ireland is UNESCO's member since 1961 (See Appendix II for detailed development of the national cultural policies and their link with UNESCO). Ireland was active participant at the negotiations of the SDA. Mr David Donoghue, who was Irish representative at the UN

and was an important actor during the Anglo-Irish division, was co-facilitator and consultant at the negotiations for the SDA (KAMAU; CHASEK; O'CONNOR, 2018). Ireland ratified the UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions in December 2006. The Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht is the lead government department on this Convention. As a result of the Convention, Ireland created the major programme "Literature Across Frontiers".

Since then, Ireland has been an active promoter of the SDGs and the SDA nationally and internationally. For national coordination of the implementation of the SDGs, the Government of Ireland Department of Communications, Climate Action and Environment that has published the Sustainable Development Goals National Implementation Plan 2018 – 2020. It is a direct response to the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and provides a whole-of-government approach to implement the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) nationally and internationally. The Plan draws four priorities for implementation: awareness, participation, support and policy alignment. Moreover, with the Plan Ireland commits to be a leader on international and national level for implementation of the goals through policy layering and mapping of existing national policies (IRELAND DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATIONS, CLIMATE ACTION AND ENVIRONMENT, 2018). For instance, it commits to implementing Goal 9 and Goal 11 via the national policies Building on Recovery: Infrastructure and Capital Investment 2016-2021, Innovation 2020, One World, One Future, The Global Island, Capital Investment Plan 2016- 2021 & Transport Strategy for the Greater Dublin Area 2016-2035, Project Ireland 2040: National Planning Framework, National Biodiversity Action Plan 2017-2021, and People, Place and Policy: Growing Tourism to 2025 (Ibid). The overall monitoring of the implementation of the Goals is done via Voluntary National Review that Ireland has submitted in 2018¹¹⁹.

The Sustainable Development Agenda is also implemented on the national level via the participation at the UNESCO Creative Cities Network. Two Irish cities take part in the UNESCO Creative Cities Network – Dublin as Creative City of Literature and Galway as Creative City of Film (UCCN, 2019). Moreover, according to the EU Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor four Irish cities Dublin, Cork, Galway, Limerick and Waterford have

¹¹⁹ The full report is available at:
https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/19382Ireland_Voluntary_National_Review_2018.pdf

performed substantially better than their other European counterparts (CREATIVE EUROPE CULTURE, 2017).

The main culture-related foreign activities are coordinated by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade which is involved in a broad range of cultural activities, aiming to raise awareness of Ireland overseas. Their most common practice is the use of cultural diplomacy via the Irish network of embassies. Other institutions with similar objective are Culture Ireland – a national agency that promotes Irish arts and artists at strategic international art events, the Arts and Culture Enhancement Support Scheme and Department of Tourism, Culture and Sport.

On a global scale, Dublin has been ranked quite high. It is a world-class city-region ranking 25th in the world for quality of living, 17th for personal safety and it is also recognised as the 31st most influential business centre in the world by the MasterCard Centres of Commerce Index (2008). Dublin ranked 7th just behind New York under the category “ease of doing business”, while it ranked top in the Cushman and Wakefield European Cities Monitor survey (2008) for the climate that the government creates to do business (MERCER, 1996).

Dublin was the European Capital of Culture in 1991. The title rejuvenated the city and was followed by an economic boom which brought huge improvements to the city – increased trade, investment and the addition of new housing on an unprecedented scale. After the 2008 crisis, Dublin invested more in sports. It was the European Capital of Sport 2010. In 2011 it hosted the Europa League (UEFA Cup 2011) and the Four Nations Football Tournament, and in 2012 the Tall Ships. In 2011 Dublin City was formally inaugurated as an Intercultural City by the Council of Europe. In 2012 Dublin was designated European City of Science.

The city’s paradiplomay is quite active. It has established an International Relations Unit in 2007 to promote the international relations of the city globally, to attract investment, to expand business opportunities, attract students and researchers, tourists and business conferences, extend its cultural ties and reach and ensure influence on major environmental, justice and social challenges facing the city. As result of these objectives, Dublin has engaged in city relationships through twinning. It is currently twinned with San José (1986), Liverpool (1997), Barcelona (1998, Addendum in 2009 for 2 years), and Beijing (2011). It has engaged in cooperation agreements with: Tbilisi, Georgia (10th December 2014 to 10th December 2017); Mexico City (in 2014 for 4 years); Guadalajara, Mexico (22nd March 2013 – no time

limit); Moscow, Russia (20th March 2009 – no time limit but now proposing a new Co-Operation Agenda for 2017 to 2019); St. Petersburg, Russia (28th September 2010 – no time limit but now proposing a new Road Map for 2017 to 2020) and Wuhan, China (5th September 2016 for 3 years).

Moreover, Dublin City is part of United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG), it engages in economic partnerships such as StartUp Commissioner¹²⁰ and the International Development Association¹²¹ (DUBLIN CITYc, 2019).

Regional

UNESCO and the European Union's work in culture-related areas are overlapping on various occasions (Chapter IV). The latest development is the New European Agenda for Culture (2018) which merges the SDGs and the SDA. The New European Agenda for Culture pays special attention to cities and regions in the implementation of the SDGs and thus has created the Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor whose objective is to:

“help national, regional and municipal policy makers identify local strengths and opportunities and benchmark their cities against peers based on similar population, income and employment rate, using both quantitative and qualitative data. Its principal value added is thus in fostering exchange and learning between cities, while researchers will be able to explore a large pool of comparable data to assess the role of culture and creativity in cities' social and economic wellbeing” (EUROPEAN COMMISSION, 2018, p.9).

Dublin is part of few European city networks among which Eurocities, the Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR) and it also has access to EU project Funds such as the Horizon 2020 for city regeneration, smart cities and the implementation of information and communication technologies in everyday life, etc¹²², (DUBLIN CITYc, 2019).

The City of Dublin has enjoyed direct funding from the EU, particularly for programs on development and culture. From 2014 to 2020, the EU structural funding focuses mainly on areas such as research, technology and innovation supporting small, medium enterprises, Information and Communication Technology, energy efficiency and education and training (EUROPEAN COMMISSION, n.d.). The Municipality of Dublin as also had strong regional

¹²⁰Available at: <https://www.thedigitalhub.com/bsa/office-of-the-dublin-commissioner-for-startups/>. Accessed 10/04/2019.

¹²¹Available at: <http://ida.worldbank.org/> Accessed 10/04/2019.

¹²²Available at: <http://ida.worldbank.org/> Accessed 10/04/2019.

planning via the Regional Planning Guidelines for the Greater Dublin Area 2010 – 2022. They are policy documents prepared by the Regional Planning Guidelines Office that draw from the City and County Development Plans and the Economic Action Plan. The aim is to increase Dublin's competitiveness on an international level by strategically investing in skills development and enterprise creation on a regional level¹²³. In the Greater Dublin Area, the creative industries employ over 77,000 people or 59% of the national total, or 10% of the total regional employment. Employment in the creative industries is also clustered around the Greater Dublin Area, exceeding the employment levels from other Irish cities. Moreover, employment in the Greater Dublin Area is split between service industries and manufacturing, with approximately 80% of the workforce engaged in the former and 20% the latter (CURRAN; EGERAAT, 2010).

On the national level also, the role of culture towards development is addressed by separate organs and development plans, mostly due to the focus on cultural policies on the European Union level¹²⁴. The first Irish initiative in these lines was in 2008 with the publishing of the policy document entitled "Building Ireland's Smart Economy" (SDGs, 2008). The policy highlighted the plan for sustainable economic development over the period from 2009 until 2014 and emphasised the role of creativity and innovation in gaining competitive industrial advantage on a global scale. This policy involved creating Ireland as an island of innovation through intersectional collaboration between the arts, culture and the creative sectors and the business community¹²⁵ (CURRAN; EGERAAT, 2010).

As in the case of the sub-national unit of Dublin, most of the Irish budget for development comes from European Union structural funds. They are monitored on a regional level through the Regional Assemblies and Local Authorities which also coordinate the implementation of the EU strategies, manage the EU cultural programs and assist with the attainment of other EU funds (EUROPEAN COMMISSION, n.d.). Enterprise Ireland is such an example. It is a governmental organization which fosters the growth of the Irish creative enterprises in the world market. It is a development agency that supports regional development by assisting local enterprises to make better use of European funds and projects, such as the EU research

¹²³ The Economic Development Subcommittee ensures the connectivity between their locally agreed work plan and the Economic Action Plan for the Dublin City Region.

¹²⁴ This might be a result of the EU Lisbon Strategy, which identifies creativity and innovation as a means to enhance competitiveness through quality and differentiation.

¹²⁵ The action area identifies intellectual property protection and commercialisation as top priorities and advocates a policy supporting research and development investment in the human and creative capital.

program Horizon 2020, Creative Europe and others (ENTERPRISE IRELAND, 2018). Through its work, we can notice the embeddedness of European policies on the national and local level for their development.

A culture-specific EU-Irish institution is Creative Europe Program Desk Ireland (also referred to as Creative Ireland Desk). The program provides funding to organisations that work in the arts, craft, design and heritage sectors and cooperates with European networks, platform or projects (CREATIVE EUROPE CULTURE, 2019).

National

UNESCO has provided capacity-building and training programs of interdisciplinary nature to raise awareness and capacitate Irish professionals to implement the SDGs and the SDA. Even though most of the training are specific to education, they elaborate on topics of culture, innovation, entrepreneurship and creativity for the attainment of sustainable development (UNESCO Ireland, 2016).

The implementation of the Framework Policy for Culture is done via cross-sectoral plan via the Creative Europe Programme Desk in Ireland. Particular programs from the cross-sectorial plan are the policy project for Cultural and Creative Spaces and Cities¹²⁶, loans for cultural enterprises, funds for issue-specific cultural projects¹²⁷ and others (UNESCO, 2017). Besides the funds from the Creative Europe Programme, the Creative Europe Ireland has reserved funds from the National Development Plan that invests in renovation and redevelopment of urban and rural heritage. Creative Ireland Programme is a five-year government initiative (from 2017 to 2022) which implements projects on creativity for citizen wellbeing. It is an all-of-government initiative which places creativity at the centre of public policy. The programme is based on five pillars: “Enabling the Creative Potential of Children and Young People; Enabling Creativity in Every Community; Investing in our Creative and Cultural Infrastructure; Ireland as a Centre for Creative Excellence; and Global Reputation: a Creative and Cultural Nation”, which are aimed to be achieved via multi-stakeholder and collaborative governance (Image 19) (CREATIVE IRELAND PROGRAM, 2017, p 1). The

¹²⁶ This policy project addresses creative hubs, drawing policy lessons from European Network of Creative Hubs, Culture for Cities and Regions, the Trans-Europe Halles Network, the European Network of Cultural Centre and the European Capitals of Culture.

¹²⁷ Examples of issue-specific cultural projects are refugee integration, social inclusion, etc.

projects aimed at this program have an innovative and interdisciplinary approach dedicated to creativity, industry, arts, design technology and cultural and creative entrepreneurship (Ibid).

Image 19: Collaborative governance- “developing collaborative leadership”



Source: Dublin City, 2009, p.17¹²⁸

Interestingly enough, the Irish constitution makes no specific reference to culture. The only legal reference to culture is at the Arts Act from 2003 which establishes the legislative framework for cultural policymaking in Ireland. This Act defines the arts, sets out the role and functions of the Minister of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht, local authorities and the Arts Council and prescribes the membership and procedures of the latter. The Act re-endorses the autonomy of the Arts Council in funding decisions while preserving the overarching role of the Minister in policy matters. Provision is made for the appointment of special committees by the Minister to advise the Arts Council and the Act also provides for local authority arts planning under Section 31 of the Local Government Act from 1994 (HARDIMAN, 2010; FITZGIBBON, 2015).

The appropriate resource, policy and legislative framework for culture thus are provided by the Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht (DAHG)¹²⁹. The general mission of

¹²⁸ Available at:

https://www.dublincity.ie/sites/default/files/content/YourCouncil/CouncilPublications/Documents/Dublin_Regio_n_Economic_Action_Plan_-_Lo_Res.pdf. Accessed 20/06/2019

¹²⁹ The DAHG defines culture referring to the report on World Commission on Culture and Development (1997): The term ‘culture’ is used in a ‘wide variety of contexts to mean many different things, sometimes rigorously defined, frequently not’ (Throsby, 1999, p.5). Throsby suggests a two-pronged interpretation of culture. The first sees culture as a specific set of activities, however they may be defined, and as such the cultural ‘sector’ consists of this set of activities... The second view of culture is what might be termed an anthropological

DAHG is to “promote and protect Ireland’s heritage and culture; to advance the use of the Irish language; to promote the sustainable development of the island; and to promote cultural tourism” (DAHG, 2019). DAHG is responsible for the formulation, development, implementation and evaluation of cultural policies in Ireland (DAHG, 2019). The DAHG determines policy for public libraries and has responsibility for the Heritage Council and the environment. The Council of National Cultural Institutions, part of the DAHG, provides a forum where experience, expertise, talent and vision is pooled, thus it furthers the national cultural interest. Working cooperatively, this Council provides information and policy recommendations on cultural matters to the relevant government minister.

From the Statements of Strategy which the DAHG publishes annually, one can notice that there have been changes in the objectives of the DAHG to keep track of the trends. Besides the constant objective to promote Ireland as “hub of cultural and artistic excellence”, as a touristic destination through cultural tourism and implement EU’s and international policies and programs, the DAHG invests in policies for urban, rural and regional sustainable development (DAHG, 2016). In 2016 the DAGH for the first time published a Framework Policy for Culture to be implemented by 2025. In it, fostering creativity, digitalization, engage in international cultural cooperation and putting culture at the spotlight of all national policies is the paradigmatic change of previous policymaking for a culture which was separated from other sectors and did not have coherent policymaking and implementation framework. Moreover, still suffering the consequences from the 2008 financial crisis, the DAGH looks for alternative ways for funding the arts, via creating a culture of risk-taking, innovation and creativity (Ibid)¹³⁰.

The Project Ireland 2040 which is part of the National Planning Framework and the National Development Plan stresses the importance of creativity in local communities and financially incentivises the engagement of local authorities to develop a Culture and Creativity Plan. The Culture and Creativity Strategies, also part of the Creative Ireland Desk, have been an initiative from the 31 Local Authorities which join experts in the two areas to develop a network of consultants (artists, cultural and heritage organizations, community

or sociological view, where ‘culture is seen as a set of attitudes, practices and beliefs that are fundamental to the function of different societies’ (Throsby, 1999: 6)” (DAHG, 2019).

¹³⁰ The public funds for DAGH are guaranteed via the National Development Plan (Project Ireland 2040) through which the DAGH received €1.2 billion for investment in National Cultural Institutions Investment Programme (€460 million), Culture and Creativity investment programme (€265 million), Heritage Investment Programme (€285 million), the Gaeltacht and the Islands (€178 million) (FALVEY, 2018).

groups, creative industries and education centres) to develop cultural plans for each Local Government. However, the participation of local governments in the arts is significantly less than in other EU countries, for instance, because the policies, programs and funds are concentrated in the Arts Council, an arms-length body of the government. The institutional change that the DAGH adopted incentivises local governments participating in the local cultural project has resulted in the development of art infrastructure, employment of expert personnel and has enhanced the role of the arts and culture in the local government agenda (FITZGIBBON, 2015).

It is the Arts Council's role to also assess the economic impact of the arts on the overall economy. In 2011, employment in the arts sector estimated 12,972 people, from which the film industry numbering more than 600 companies, employed most of the art workers (CURRAN; EGERAAT, 2010). A comparison across Irish cities of the total number of employees in the subset of the creative industries indicates that Dublin far exceeds other Irish cities, in terms of employment, in these sectors. Dublin's employment in the creative industries in 2006 was over 12% of its total employment, with Cork and Galway being the next largest (8.41% and 7.37%) (CURRAN; EGERAAT, 2010).

Besides the attempts to decentralize, Ireland remains quite a centralized structure. The national embeddedness of the SDGs and the SDA, however, open opportunities for sub-national governments to use the creative industries and implement cultural policies in a more decentralized manner. This is mostly because the Irish government does not have enough resources and expertise to implement the SDGs on local levels, thus mobilization of sub-national resources and the IOs expertise, is a convenient strategy.

Municipal

Since the first initiatives to develop arts plans on city level until now, the plans are overseen by the central government. The National Arts Council publishes Guidelines for Local Authorities in which it makes program recommendations based on best practices from the country or from abroad. The team that implements the program recommendations is approved by the Arts Council, which has led to the consolidation of professional administration and management of the arts in local government. As a result, now there is a network whose development needs have begun to be acknowledged and addressed by the Arts Council (ARTS COUNCIL, 1999).

Dublin City Council developed a Culture Strategy (2016-2021) in 2016 where it adopts UNESCO's definition of culture¹³¹. The strategy's priorities are to: "(1) position culture, creativity and creative industries as central to Dublin's global competitiveness and reputation as a modern European city; (2) Increase cultural participation and practice through partnerships in formal and informal education, and planning and delivering improved cultural infrastructure in the City and its neighbourhoods; (3) Continue to increase the resources available to cultural expression through public and private investment, as part of social, economic and tourism development." (DUBLIN CITY COUNCIL, 2016; DUBLIN'S CULTURE CONNECTS, 2018).

The Dublin City Council has created a separate organ, the Arts Office of Dublin City Council as special service for the strategic investment in the arts. The Arts Office of Dublin City Council is located at the Lab which is a municipal arts hub formed by galleries, rehearsal and incubation spaces for various artistic purposes. The Arts Office has published an Arts Plan for the period between 2014 and 2018 which stresses specific programs that the City Council is committed to achieving among which programs in line with the abovementioned Culture Strategy and re-establishing the role of the Arts Office in the same lines (DUBLIN CITY COUNCIL, 2014).

The Dublin City Council together with the International Relation and the Research Office has published the first report on valuating the local creative industry entitled "Defining and Valuating Dublin's Creative Industries" (CURRAN; EGERAAT, 2010). There hasn't been a second edition of the report, yet. In it, the Dublin City states that aims to create Dublin a vibrant city by fully attaining the local cultural and creative industries (CURRAN; EGERAAT, 2010). In a similar publication entitled "Economic Development Action Plan for the Dublin City Region" (DUBLIN CITY COUNCIL, 2009), published by the Economic Development and Local Enterprise Office, the same objectives are stated.

Dublin City has also published a Development Plan for the period from 2016 until 2022 in which it provides an integrated special framework towards an inclusive city which would promote a better quality of life and more attractive touristic places (DUBLIN CITY, 2016).

¹³¹ UNESCO defines culture as "the set of spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group that encompasses not only art and literature, but lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs" (UNESCO, 2001).

This plan is linked to it is the Dublin City Local Economic and Community Plan (2016 – 2021) aimed to straighten local development.

In 2018, Dublin City published the Dublin City Culture and Creativity Strategy 2018 – 2022 which broadens the policy scope to the creative industries. The strategy includes the Development Plan for Dublin City Public Libraries 2012 – 2016 and the Dublin City's Integration Strategy 2016 – 2022 which aim to maximise opportunities through providing access to ideas, learning, literature, information and heritage resources supported by cultural programming. Moreover, there is the Arts, Education and Learning Policy 2017 which seeks to increase investment in provision for lifelong learning in arts, education and learning. The Dublin City Culture and Creativity Strategy is part of the initiative Creative Ireland programme for which reason created the Creative Dublin City Team (DUBLIN CITY, 2018). The strategy is based on five pillars: “enabling the creative potential of every child; enabling creativity in every community; investing in our creative and cultural infrastructure and the creative industries and unifying our global reputation” (Ibid, p.10). The Creative Dublin City Team supports the collaboration of local partners and chooses the actors via open calls, as well as it assists the actors with the usage of other European funds related to culture.

One of the most important networks emerging from the Creative Ireland program is the Creative Dublin Alliance. It is a network of Dublin's local government, state agencies for industry, education and commerce, Dublin's university and the civil society. The Alliance's initiatives are the ones shaping Dublin's economy and creating the creativity current, ultimately aiming to create Ireland the island of innovation (CURRAN; EGERAAT, 2010). Moreover, there are Innovation and Business Incubation Centres which are distributed across the city region. They range from centres administered by Enterprise Boards to campus centres (such as NovaUCD, DIT Hothouse, Trinity Technology and Enterprise Campus, ITT Synergy Centre, IADT Media Cube and DCU Invent) to clusters such as the Digital Hub and the Guinness Enterprise Centre which have added value to the creativity and innovation of the city.

Dublin's tourism is the most developed creative industry drawing mostly from the literacy sector which is among the most developed in Dublin due to the strong historic ties with literature and consequently the UNESCO Creative City Title of Literature. The tourism sector has straightened the city's potential for attracting literature-related tourism by setting up specific travel tours (FÁILTE IRELAND, 2019). Tourism Ireland has created Dublin literacy

pubs trails which pass through pubs at which local writers have been inspired or frequented. Tourism Ireland works closely with Dublin Tourism. It is also a state-sponsored agency with a membership of over 1,300 businesses which supports Dublin's literary life. The agency funds some of the city's most popular literary attractions: the Dublin Writers' Museum, the James Joyce Tower and the George Bernard Shaw Museum.

Dublin hosts the Dublin Writers' Festival, the Franco-Irish Literacy Festival, the Spanish Irish, Dublin's Theatre Festival, and the Dublin Book Festival which also projects the city internationally. Moreover, the International Dublin Literature Award is the world's richest prize for fiction, administered by the city council's library service. It allocates 25% of its €100,000 prize money to the translator of a winning entry first written in a language other than English. The award attracts entries from over 150 cities worldwide (CITY OF DUBLIN, 2009).

The City of Dublin hosts number of other cultural events among which Bloomsday festival¹³²; the Festival of Curiosity¹³³, and Dublin Fringe Festival¹³⁴, among many others and they continue to create new festivals such as the New Year's Festival Dublin, which seek to position Dublin as an attractive and vibrant global tourist destination.

Dublin applied for membership in 2009 so its bid was more flexible because UNESCO still hadn't introduced the strict application guidelines. In comparison with Curitiba, Dublin didn't have to attach supporting documents such as formal letters of endorsement to the candidature by the National Commission for UNESCO in Ireland, formal support letters from at least five UNESCO Creative Cities and formal support of the national associations of literature.

As a result of the membership at the UCCN, Dublin City Council and the Public Library Service set the Strategic Plan and developmental framework for the realisation of Dublin UNESCO City of Literature Title for the period 2016 – 2018 (DUBLIN CITY COUNCIL, 2016). The document also guides the activities, partnerships and programmes

¹³² Bloomsday festival occurs every June since 1965. The festival is in honour of celebrating the literary figures of "Ulysses" by James Joyce; there is the Dublin Dance festival happening since 2002 which fuses dance with diversity, gender equality and integrity. Available at : <https://www.dublindancefestival.ie/about>.

¹³³ Available at: <https://festivalofcuriosity.ie/about-us/>. Accessed 10/04/2019

¹³⁴ Available at: <http://fringefest.com/festival/overview>. Accessed 10/04/2019

of the office and commits to working towards the UN Sustainable Development Goals in all of their initiatives, especially goals number 3, 4, 5, 8, 10, 11, 16 and 17.

In the application process Dublin needed to prove the quality, quantity and diversity of publishing; educational programs; the importance of literature, drama and poetry that play in the city; the number of events and festivals related to literature that hosts annually as well as existence of infrastructure such as libraries, bookstores and public and private cultural centres that promote and preserve domestic and foreign literature (CITY OF DUBLIN, 2009). In its application for candidacy, Dublin presents itself as a leader in sustainability and cultural tourism. The Dublin Public Libraries staff that submitted the application for membership and manage the Title, number the following events, initiatives and exchange programs in the application and the Annual Reports to argue for the eligibility of the title.

To justify its eligibility for the City of Literature, the applicant team numbered a list of policies, programs and activities linked to the literacy sector that is in line with the UCCN mission and objectives. Among them, the larger is “Dublin: One City, One Book” and the Dublin Book Festival. The primer is a Dublin City Council initiative since 2006, led by Dublin City Public Libraries, which encourages everyone to read a particular book connected with the capital city during April. The latter is initiative since 2006 which supports the publishing and promotion of Irish literature.

Other major initiatives implemented at local level to achieve the objectives of UCCN are numbered. Some of them are:

-“Readers in Residence” programme is a local initiative for which three readers are selected to lead book-based activities in libraries, youth clubs and primary and secondary schools.

-“Words on the Street” is an initiative celebrating European literature. Its aim is to encourage translation of European literature in English and Irish. In partnership with local and international cultural institutions and embassies, the event includes visual broadcasting on buildings.

-“Citywide reading for children” campaign is created to encourage reading for pleasure among children aged 7 to 9.

-“Dublin: A Year in Words Dublin” are short videos of poetry done throughout the year from local poets, filmed across the 12 bookshops in Dublin.

- “Dublin in the Coming Times Running” is a programme for local creative writers writing about their vision of the future of their city.

- “Dublin Writer in Residence Programme” is a program that through open calls selects Irish writers to take part of a residency.

-“National Emerging Writers Programme” This programme aims to encourage new writing talent.

Then there is the Ireland Literature Exchange organization aimed to promote internationally the Irish literature in English and Irish by offering translation grants to international publishers, residencies and other events.

As a result of previous paradiplomatic activities and their expansion as part of the UCCN, the City of Dublin as partnered with other cities through literacy programs:

-iBby Ireland has twinned with iBby Zimbabwe in order to work on cooperative projects in the area of children’s literature.

-The program “Finnegan’s Wake” was created in order to mark the 75th anniversary of the publication of James Joyce’s *Finnegan's Wake*. For that occasion, 7 UNESCO Cities of Literature each took one of the short stories from the book and filmed them.

-The International Dublin Literary Award is given to national and foreign authors and local and foreign literature has been translated in more than six languages.

-“Town Stitched by River” is a project in cooperation with Iowa City. It is a limited-edition book with original contributions by Irish writers who have taken part in the International Writing program in Iowa.

-“Icelandic Writer/Battle of Clontarf” is a project with Reykjavik Icelandic writer Vilborg Vidarsdottir, who specialises in books about the Icelandic sagas for children. (DUBLIN UNESCO CITY OF LITERATURE, 2012).

There are a series of events that straightened Dublin’s paradiplomatic activities as a member of UCCN. There is a memorandum of understanding with the city of Beijing to promote their literary heritage through writer exchanges and participation in literary festivals. The city of Colorado has promoted Dublin as a top touristic destination for literature at the Rocky Mountain Irish Festival. Moreover, the Lord Mayor of Dublin has been invited to attend and participate in international conferences (in Canberra, Shanghai, Edinburgh, Bologna, Hamamatsu, Krakow, Melbourne, etc.) peer-review journals (in Canberra) and accompany business investors abroad (DUBLIN UNESCO CITY OF LITERATURE, 2012).

Moreover, there are third-level education exchange initiatives in literature established with between Trinity College Dublin and University of Melbourne, University of Tokyo and Iowa City (Ibid).

Dublin is an active member of the UCCN and contributes to the global management of UCCN. It has taken part in all Annual Meetings, it has chaired the Steering Group and it is an active member of the UCCN sub-group for Cities of Literature. Dublin hosted the Literature sub-Network meeting in 2016, where representatives from 17¹³⁵ Literature cities gathered to share experiences and best practices (UCCN, 2016).

Dublin has had an active role in evaluating the new membership applications to UNESCO's Creative Cities of Literature cluster. Ms Lyons has acted as a deputy representative to the selection process. The process involved reading the applications, scoring them under specific criteria, justifying the score and presenting them to UNESCO which takes the final decision. (DUBLIN UNESCO CITY OF LITERATURE, 2017).

Ms Lyons further stated that the city benefits by the fact that "our city council and central government both provide funds (approx. €170k per annum for programming) to the City of Literature office which is then used for projects such as you will see on our website" (LYONS, 2019). She also argued that Dublin already had quite a reputation as a literary city, so they don't spend large amounts on advertising abroad, but also the UNESCO Creative City Title in itself adds credibility (Ibid). She also adds that the City of Literature office is pleased to be state-run and "don't wish to turn to private industry for our funding as this might unduly influence our strategies and aims" (LYONS, 2019).

Individual

The bid for candidacy was initiated by Deirdre Ellis-King, a Dublin City Librarian, in 2009. As Head of the Libraries management, Ellis-King could lobby for the bid, as well as prepare and apply. As part of the Network, the objective was to establish the office and team for Dublin City of Literature and incorporate it in the Dublin Culture Plan Arts, the Cultural Strategy 2009-2017 and the Dublin City Libraries, Information and City Archives Strategic

¹³⁵ Barcelona (Spain), Dublin (Ireland), Edinburgh (Scotland), Granada (Spain), Heidelberg (Germany), Iowa City (United States), Krakow (Poland), Ljubljana (Slovenia), Lviv (Ukraine), Melbourne (Australia), Norwich (UK), Nottingham (UK), Obidos (Portugal), Prague (Czech Republic), Reykjavik (Iceland) Tartu (Estonia) and Ulyanovsk (Russia).

Policy Framework 2009-2011. The incentive behind the bid and the Cultural Strategy were to recognize culture as essential to the city's economy and gain from the increasing cultural tourism (ELLIS-KING, 2019).

The application for Dublin's candidacy at UCCN was not planned. Mrs Ellis-King intended to start the bid for UNESCO World Book Capital when she was contacted by UNESCO National Commission with the suggestion to consider applying for UNESCO Creative City of Literature instead¹³⁶. She decided to follow the advice because she saw a strategic advantage for Dublin as a member of the Network. Due to that, the office of the Dublin UNESCO City of Literature is within the Dublin City Public Libraries. As a member, Dublin City of Literature has been an active participant at the UCCN Steering Group in 2016 by organizing and coordinating the UCCN Annual Meeting as well as being part of the committee that selected the batch of cities of Literature in 2017.

At the initial stage of the bid for candidacy, there were three people directly involved: Deirde Ellis-King, the Public Librarian; Jane Alger, the point person to communicate with UNESCO and Alastair Smeato, a divisional librarian whose responsibilities were to gather the previous literature-linked initiatives in Dublin. Mrs Ellis-King (2019) explains that the working team was not financially compensated for the extra working time and responsibilities that were put to apply for the membership and later oversee it, however, because they believed in Dublin's uniqueness as a city, they didn't mind. Later, a management group was formed, chaired by Mrs Ellis-King and key actors in the different areas of literature (libraries, publishers, book stores, the Head of Literature from the Arts Council, etc). Moreover, a Steering Group was formed (Annex 4) in line with UNESCO criteria for application requiring the participation of various social actors active in the particular creative sector (ELLIS-KING, 2019).

In an interview, Ellis-King stated that the team needed to clarify and explain the UNESCO criteria in order to suit the context of Dublin (ELLIS-KING, 2019). She explains that this process included organizing strategic and operational fronts and involvement of the "Executive and Administrative management within the City Council, Local Politician"¹³⁷ selected to Dublin City Council, Central Government Department Officials, Tourism interests

¹³⁶ The World Book Capital is one year title, whereas the UNESCO Creative Cities Network- City of Literature is a permanent title.

¹³⁷ She wouldn't specify which politician was involved.

in Dublin City, Cultural Sector Organisations in Dublin City, Relevant Commercial Interests in Dublin City and The General Public”. It seems that there was limited participation from the general public because Ellis-King addressed the book lovers at Irish Book Festival held in Dublin City Hall in early 2009 announcing the bid. Workshops or open discussions involving the shape and form of the application weren’t conducted with the general public.

After the successful admission to the Network, the same team remained responsible for implementing the plan. The entire process also continued to rely on the resources of the Dublin City Public Library (ELLIS-KING, 2019). After Ellis-King’s resigning in 2010, Alison Lyons takes over her responsibilities.

The objectives of Dublin as the City of Literature, as member at the UCCN, were translated into the mission of the Dublin City Public Libraries via annual Business Plans and updated strategy-driven plans (ELLIS-KING, 2019).

Other actors that involved in Dublin’s candidacy and later membership at the UCCN are listed in Table 11.

Table 11: List of actors that participated in Dublin’s UCCN candidacy and membership.

Institution	Type of institutional domain	Role	O-I-T
Main actors			
Dublin City Public Libraries	Public (municipal tier)	Runs Dublin UNESCO City of Literature, led the bid and coordinated the implementation plan	Intermediary
Dublin City Council Arts Office	Public (municipal tier)	Develops and implements municipal plans for culture and development	Intermediary
Department of Art, Culture and the Gaeltacht	Public (national tier)	Develops and implements national plans for culture and development	Intermediary /Target
The Arts Council	Public (national tier)	National agency for funding and promotion of national arts	Intermediary /Target
Ministry of Education	Public (national tier)	Promotion of the SDA	Intermediary /Target
Department of Communication, Climate Action and Environment	Public (national tier)	Management and promotion of the SDA	Intermediary /Target
Other actors			
The Irish Industrial Development Agency	Public (national tier)	Indirectly involved, aligned with the national development plans	Intermediary /Target
Dublin Tourism	State-sponsored	Takes part of the implementation of UCCN’s objectives	Intermediary
Publishing Ireland	State-sponsored	Takes part of the implementation of UCCN’s objectives	Intermediary
Poetry Ireland	State-sponsored	Takes part of the implementation of UCCN’s objectives	Intermediary

Irish Writers' Centre	State-sponsored	Takes part of the implementation of UCCN's objectives	Intermediary
UNESCO National Commission in Ireland	International	Expertise/consultant	Orchestrator
UNESCO Creative Cities Network	International	Expertise/consultant	Orchestrator

Source: Personal elaboration

At the time of the candidacy, the mayor was Emer Costerllo. The City of Dublin elects the mayors on annual basis and his or her role is mainly ceremonial. Since the initiation of the bid, there have been 10 different Lord Mayors. Lord Mayor Montague (2012) argues that probably the most important job for the Lord Mayor is to promote investment and tourism into the city, as well as “The Lord Mayor acts as a cheerleader in chief for much of the great community and voluntary work that goes on in our city.” (MONTAGUE, 2012). With that role of the Mayor in mind, Ellis-King (2019) argued that the Mayors and the City of Dublin were always supportive of the city’s membership at the UCCN, but the entire process for UCCN is run by bureaucrats who have learned the detailed operations of the Network.

There are many intermediaries taking part in the implementation of the annual plans for Dublin Creative City of Literature, all coordinated under the umbrella of the City of Dublin. The Irish Industrial Development Agency, Dublin Tourism, Publishing Ireland, Poetry Ireland, Irish Writers' Centre are just among the most active institutions linked to the UNESCO City of Literature umbrella. All institutions have their own funds, budget and resources’, but cooperate among each other because their missions have changed towards the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals and creation of a sustainable environment for tourism and culture. As Ellis-King explains: “For the sake of clarity, I should note that all participating organisations that co-operate under the Umbrella Brand of Dublin UNESCO City of Literature, have their own independent sources of income. This expended on their independently organised activity programmes. They may simply brand their activities as being under that ‘umbrella. It is open to organisations to apply to external sources of funding for monies which may be applied to relevant activities and promoted under the City of Literature brand.” (2019).

In an interview, Alison Lyons said that besides that role, she also sits on the board of Literature Ireland, the Dublin Book Festival and Dublin’s City of Literature Management Group. Prior to that, she has been on the steering committee of the Bram Stoker Festival and is regularly invited to consult with literary organisations and to be part of focus groups, such

as the Arts Council (LYONS, 2019). She has actively participated in the annual UCCN meetings. She said that “...in Krakow 2018 I was asked by UNESCO to present on a project that showcased best practice and I used my time allocation to discuss Dublin One City One Book and also The Bold Girls Reading Guide (both listed in 2017 annual report.)” (LYONS, 2019). Lyon thus is an expert in the area that diffuses the ideas by her active participation on various fronts.

The Chairperson of the Irish National Commission for UNESCO is Mr Vincent Landers. He is responsible for the overall management of the Commission, whereas the staff (nationals and internationals) are responsible for the day-to-day projects, organization of capacity-building workshops, partnerships with local organizations, etc. Furthermore, the Sustainable Development Goals and UNESCO’s agenda are nationally coordinated by the Sustainable Development Unit at the Department of Communications, Climate Action and Environment which is managed by Ms Leslie Carberry. As the case with the Chairperson of the National Commission, Ms Carberry manages the all-of-government approach of the Sustainable Development Goals.

The role of the Irish Minister of Foreign Affairs concerning the UNESCO Creative Cities Network is mostly ceremonial. There have been only official statements about the acceptance of Irish cities at the Network, but no other action has been taken beyond that. The Irish Permanent Delegate to UNESCO has the role to promote the national interests at the organization and lobby for the listing of Irish natural and heritage sites at UNESCO.

Bureaucratic

On bureaucratic level, UCCN administration is located with the UNESCO headquarters in Paris and its direct relation with Dublin is limited. The communication is led via national officials such as the Irish Permanent Representative at UNESCO and the local administration.

The UNESCO City of Literature Title is managed by a team at the Dublin City Public Libraries which is advised by a Management Group¹³⁸ and wider Steering Group¹³⁹ which includes representatives from the civil society, private sector and governmental organizations.

¹³⁸ Complete list of the management group can be found at the following link:
<http://www.dublincityofliterature.ie/wp-content/uploads/Management-Group-2019.pdf>

¹³⁹ Complete list of the Steering group can be found at the following link:
<http://www.dublincityofliterature.ie/wp-content/uploads/Steering-Group-1.pdf>

Inter-organizational

The Irish National Commission is located at the Department of Education and Skills at the Ministry of Education. Actually, the international sector of the Department manages the engagement with international partners: UNESCO, EU, the Council of Europe and OECD to enhance international policy coordination (INTERNATIONAL SERVICES, 2019). The staff of the Irish National Commission, besides being Irish nationals and representing the national interests, they are also committed to implementing the interests of UNESCO. The office is also composed of interdepartmental group representatives of different areas of UNESCO competence¹⁴⁰.

Conclusion

From this section, we have seen that as a result of the highly centralised nature of the Irish state, there are limited functions of local governments (relative to other European countries) and low funding base of local authorities. The development and cultural and creative plans of local governments draw from the national strategies and the nation-state's budget. Even the cultural and creative professionals operating on the local level are approved by the central state. The absorption of Creative Ireland and the Creative Dublin Alliance are examples of that.

There is a lack of institutional coherence because the SDGs on the national level are formally coordinated and managed by the Department of Communications, Climate Action and Environment and from the research, we have seen that the Dublin City Libraries do not have direct policy relation with this institution. However, because the SDA has a whole-of-government approach and Dublin is institutionally commitment to attain the goals, direct intra-institutional cooperation is not necessary.

Dublin, being the capital of Ireland, is a centre of capital and information accumulation. Besides the strong centralization of the Irish government, Dublin's Literature Office receives funds and assistance for implementing the SDGs and actively participates at the UNESCO Creative Cities Network. The Municipality of Dublin cooperates closely with the Irish government and effectively coordinates the top-down and whole-of-government approach of implementing the SDGs. Finally, through literature-related activities and membership at

¹⁴⁰ Upon request for an interview with Ms Roseann Gilligan who is the coordinator of the National Commission, she informed that the person who was involved with approving Dublin's application was no longer working at the office and refused to accommodate contact with that person.

UCCN, Dublin has straightened its paradiplomatic activities and continues to follow global trends.

Idanha-a-Nova - UNESCO Creative City of Music

Portugal's unitary state model and decentralization and delegation to local actors

Portugal is a semi-presidential representative democratic republic. It is a country with strongly established borders since the XIII century. The model of territorial governance and sub-national organization in Portuguese politics is mostly a debate on administrative organization, the proximity of decision-making and respect for local traditions.

Portugal is a unitary state. It had a strong centralist tradition that created and run the economic development programs for local and regional units. After the dictatorial regime, the Portuguese nation-state established a more decentralized nation. According to its Constitution, the political subdivisions of the Portuguese territory are the regions, the municipalities, and the civil parishes (freguesias). Proposals to set up regions, however, were defeated in a referendum in 1998. Thus, currently, the local unit (parish and district councils) and the national (central) unit are institutionalized. Following the EU's practice, however, the national unit established a new regional unit in 2000. Additionally, Portugal has two overseas autonomous regions¹⁴¹ (Azores and Madeira) which have specific status and legislative power, also recognised as outermost regions at European Union level (TAVARES et al., 2012).

Portugal is divided into five districts which are the most important first-level administrative subdivisions of mainland Portugal (Image 20). These are North, Centre, Lisbon and Tagus Valley, Alentejo and Algarve. These five districts are later divided into 18 districts where each has a separate jurisdiction and civil governor who acts as the local delegate of the central government (Image 21).

Image 20: Five first-level administrative sub-divisions of Portugal.

¹⁴¹ Autonomous regions' responsibilities are extensive, covering health and social welfare, education, roads and transport, economic development, environment, culture, regional planning, water, tourism, etc. They are also responsible for municipal affairs (organisation, financing and supervision) (TAVARES et al., 2012).



Source: Eurosurveillance¹⁴²

Image 21: 18 districts of Portugal



Source: Portugal map¹⁴³

¹⁴² Available at: <https://www.eurosurveillance.org/content/10.2807/1560-7917.ES.2018.23.28.1800328>
Accessed 17/06/2019

¹⁴³ Available at: <https://beportugal.com/portugal-map/> Accessed 17/06/2019

There are 308 municipalities (municípios) divided into 3,092 parishes or sub-municipalities (freguesias) on local level¹⁴⁴. The municipal assembly (Assembleia Municipal) is composed of the presidents of the parishes located within each municipality's jurisdiction and of members elected by direct universal suffrage for a four-year term. The municipal assembly is the municipality's deliberative body that also monitors the activities of the executive council. Its main competencies are in the policy area of education, energy, maintenance of roads and parks, social facilities for children, youth and seniors, culture and sports, the environment, local economic development, spatial planning and urban development, municipal police and civil protection, etc. (TAVARES et al., 2012).

Parishes are local entities inside the municipality's territories with competencies defined in the law and executive powers decentralized by the municipalities. The number of parishes is justified by historical, cultural and geographical reasons going from less than five in some municipalities to 89 in a municipality in the rural north of Portugal. Parishes receive financial transfers from the national budget as ruled in the law and from municipalities as decided in their own budgets. The Parish Assembly (Assembleia de Freguesia) is the deliberative body of the Parish and is composed of councillors elected by direct universal suffrage for four years via a system of proportional representation. The competences of these parishes are in the policy area of maintenance of roads and parks, culture and sports, and the environment (CABRITA, 2012; TAVARES et al., 2012).

The complex network of functions and inter-governmental tiers doesn't stop there. Municipalities can practice the clause of general competence¹⁴⁵ by delegating tasks to inter-municipal entities and freguesias and can also sign partnership agreements with the central government to exercise shared responsibilities. Moreover, the latest programme of decentralisation includes new transfers of responsibilities in sectors such as transport, education, healthcare, culture and social assistance and reinforce inter-municipal cooperation, including at metropolitan level (TAVARES et al., 2012, CABRITA, 2012).

Besides its unitary nature Portugal is quite decentralized. The Constitution, ratified in 1976, recognises the principle of local government and decentralisation. In Article 6, the Constitution states that the Portuguese nation-state is unitary, but it "respects in its

¹⁴⁴ Portugal is also divided into five mainland regions for administrative purposes, but authority is distributed through the Parishes. Until 2011 the country was also divided into 18 administrative districts sharing the main sub-national government's responsibilities.

¹⁴⁵ Applied through the legislation adopted in 2013 Local Government Reform.

organization and functioning the autonomous regional regime and the principles of a subsidiary, autonomy of local authorities and democratic decentralization of public administration” (Portugal, 1976 Constitution, personal translation).

After the accession of Portugal in the European Union (EU), the centralized decision-making process has changed, particularly with the country’s engagement with the EU regional policy (NANETTI; RATO; RODRIGUES, 2007). The influence of the EU regional policy has been paramount in Portugal’s adoption of institutional and administrative reforms to undertake programmes of regional development (PIRES, 2017). Portugal needed to “catch up” with the rest of the European countries to have access to resources and EU structural funds. The EU effectively obliged Portugal to create a complex and wide-ranging planning process, centred on the new Department of Planning and Regional Development of the Ministry of Planning and Territorial Administration. The main output of this process was the elaboration of the Major Planning Options for 1989–93, incorporating strategic guidelines for the Regional Development Plan (NANETTI; RATO; RODRIGUES, 2007). As a result, decentralization forces emerged in the Portuguese administrative and fiscal system, while still keeping a high degree of central control. Each sub-national level has its own agency with technical responsibilities for EU funds, but all were tied to the central government. Municipal authorities, local businesspeople and politicians and external consultants whose local matters were important to, were actively involved in plan preparation as official or unofficial participants of the process (Ibid, MARTINS, 2016; TAVARES et al., 2012).

EU’s monitoring reports over time have shown that there has been an impact of incremental improvements in the technical capacities of the local institutions. Besides the fact that Portugal is among the most centralized countries in the EU, Portugal’s governance structure relies mostly on local government institutions, allowing them to create managerial arrangements to keep improving the effectiveness and implementation of the regional programs (PRACE, 2006; SILVA; BABO; GUERRA, 2015).

The Portuguese administration has three levels: central administration, municipal administration and the autonomous regions of Azores and Madeira which, as explained above, have been granted their own special political-administrative status and political organs (CABRITA, 2012; MARTINS, 2016). The administration in Portugal was highly centralized, besides the guarantee of the principle of subsidiarity via the national Constitution (ROCHA;

ARAÚJO, 2007) until the EU structural funds came into effect (NICO, 2013; MARTINS, 2016).

As a result of administrative reform, new types of associations emerged which act as intermediaries between central and local administration. These associations can be inter-municipal communities and associations of municipalities of specific ends. These reforms established the framework of attributes and competencies of metropolitan areas and the functioning of their organs, admitting that the metropolitan areas can be of two types: a) Large metropolitan areas; b) Urban communities (NICO, 2013). The EU is in strong favour of this structure, however, Nico (2013) shows that this organizational structure presents conflicting and non-efficient outcomes for local and regional policymaking, except for the urban communities which can gain direct transferred power and competence from the central administration. These intermediary institutions facilitate administrative decentralization.

There is a direct change in the intergovernmental relationships because the negotiation between the central and the local administration needs to be done via the metropolitan municipalities of Lisbon or Porto or via corresponding municipalities of the specific region. The role of the intermediary between the municipalities and the central state is mainly for the formulation of regional policies. The organizational change, however, was not followed by alterations in resources or competencies resulting in limited capabilities of the intermediary municipalities as contributors to regional development (NICO, 2013).

In 1999, a framework for transfer of responsibilities of administrative decentralization and local government autonomy was created. This Law (159/99) also defines the limits for central and local government intervention. Culture-related administrative issues in this Law are addressed through the sector “heritage, culture and science”, which states that “1 – Municipal authorities are responsible for planning, managing and carrying out public investment in the following areas: a) Culture centres, science centres, libraries, museums and municipal theatres; b) Cultural, landscape and urban heritage in their district.” (Article 20 in GOMES, 2011; SILVA; BABO; GUERRA, 2015).

The administrative decentralization led to political decentralization. Local councils and culture departments define and implement local culture policy as part of their responsibilities in the cultural field (MARTINS, 2016).

The centralized nature of Portugal is reflected in the fiscal distribution as well. There is a wide inequality among municipalities. Lisbon and Porto centralized the economic and human resources leaving the rest of the country worse off in terms of budgetary distribution among municipalities. The economic inequality reflects the differences in regional resource capacities and human capital. The economic inequality joined with the centralized administration and unequal distribution of decision-making power in the country (BAUM; FRIEIRE, 2003).

The financial status of each municipality is defined in the Local Finance Law approved by the Assembly of Republic. Moreover, municipalities have their own taxes created by the Parliament and the right to share national taxes according to the Local Finances Law. Furthermore, they enjoy financial status which gives to the regions all the tax revenues collected there and the right to development compensation transfers from the national government (MARTINS, 2016). Parishes are the smallest level of government in the Portuguese local government system and the first access point of citizens to a public authority. Parishes are highly dependent on financial resources granted by the central government and municipalities. Central government grants to parishes are based on a fixed formula, but municipal grants to parishes are much more flexible and the result of discretionary power by municipal governments (TAVARES et al., 2012).

Culture-related expenditures are drawn from municipal financing, thus local authorities are central to local cultural dynamics (SILVA; BABO; GUERRA, 2015). Silva, Babo and Guerra (2015) show that on average, sub-national governments in Portugal spend mostly on general public services (26%), on education (16%), economic affairs and transport (15.8%) and culture and religion (9%).

Background Information on Idanha-a-Nova UNESCO Creative City of Music

The district of Castelo Branco has 11 municipalities, among which Idanha-a-Nova (Image 22).

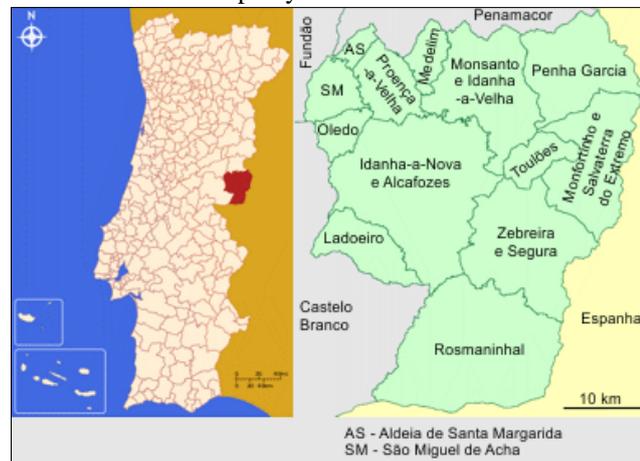
Image 22: Map of the District Castelo Branco and its 11 municipalities.



Source: Enciclopedia das Localidades Portuguesas¹⁴⁶

Idanha-a-Nova is one of the biggest Portuguese municipalities which has 13 parishes: Aldeia de Santa Margarida, Idanha-a-Nova and Alcafozes, Ladoeiro, Medelim, Monfortinho and Salvaterra do Extremo, Monsanto and Idanha-a-Velha, Oledo, Penha Garcia, Proença-a-Velha, Rosmaninhal, São Miguel de Acha, Toulões, Zebreira and Segura (Image 23). It stretches on territory around 14000 km² and has around 10.000 inhabitants (in 2011).

Image 23: Situating Idanha-a-Nova on the map: Map of municipalities of Portugal and detailed map of the Municipality Idanha-a-Nova



Source: Mapas de Portugal¹⁴⁷

The district of Idanha-a-Nova is a territory of historic significance, founded in 1st century b.c. and being governed by the Romans, the Germanic tribe, the Visigoths, the Muslims, the Christians, etc. The municipality organizes touristic tours around the remaining of the rich history and a walk in the rich nature which is the first Portuguese municipality to take part of the International Network of Bio Regions (HISTORY, 2018). Idanha-a-Nova is rich in

¹⁴⁶ Available at: <https://www.visitarportugal.pt/d-castelo-branco>. Accessed 17/06/2019

¹⁴⁷ Available at: <https://www.thujamessages.nl/mapa-de-portugal-idanha-a-nova.html>. Accessed 17/06/2019

material and immaterial cultural heritage and natural reserves such as the Biosphere Reserve of the International Tagus and the UNESCO Naturtejo Geopark. Idanha-a-Nova is also famous for the Cultural Center Raiano which is the biggest music venue in the region (Image 24).

Image 24: The Cultural Center Raiano



Source: Centro Cultural Raiano¹⁴⁸

Music has always been part of Idanha-a-Nova. Even the logo of the municipality is based on the local percussion instrument called Adufe, traditionally played by women (Image 25).

Image 25: Logo of the Municipality of Idanha-a-Nova



Source: Municipality of Idanha-a-Nova¹⁴⁹

Besides the rich history, the District has faced large migration towards the cities or abroad, where only the elderly population stayed. This demographic change caused social and economic stagnation in the district. The application for membership of the Municipality Idanha-a-Nova was partly motivated as a solution for the current problem and the re-branding of Idanha-a-Nova as a creative hub (SILVA; BABO; GUERRA, 2015). Idanha-a-Nova is

¹⁴⁸ Available at: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/ccdc/5888256930>. Accessed 17/06/2019

¹⁴⁹ Available at: <http://www.cm-idanhanova.pt/> Accessed 17/06/2019

UNESCO City of Music since 2015. That year, 47 cities from 33 countries joined the network, where Idanha-a-Nova was the first Portuguese city of music. In 2015, other cities of music taking part of the network were: Adelaide (Australia), Katowice (Poland), Kingston (Jamaica), Kinshasa (Democratic Republic of the Congo), Liverpool (UK), Medellín (Colombia), Salvador (Brazil), Tongyeong (Republic of Korea) and Varanasi (India). Currently, there are 26 cities of music which are sharing best practices via the UNESCO sub-network of Music (Image 27).

Image 26: Idanha-a-Nova's logo as UNESCO City of Music



Source: Cities of Music¹⁵⁰

Image 27: UNESCO Creative Cities of Music sub-network



Source: Cities of Music¹⁵¹

Inter-organizational relations between Idanha-a-Nova UNESCO Creative City of Literature, Portugal and UNESCO

This section analyses the inter-organizational relations between UNESCO, the Municipality of Idanha-a-Nova and Portugal. Their relations are studied on the international, national, regional, individual, bureaucratic and inter-institutional levels (Table 12).

¹⁵⁰ Available at: <http://cityofmusicen.cm-idanhanova.pt/> Accessed 17/06/2019

¹⁵¹ Available at: <http://citiesofmusic.net/>. Accessed 17/06/2019

Portuguese strategic priorities of meeting the SDA are policy developments of SDGs 4, 5, 9, 10, 13 and 14.

Table 12: Inter-organizational relations between UNESCO, the Municipality of Idanha-a-Nova and the Portuguese government

Inter-organizational level of interaction	Orchestrator – UNESCO	Intermediary- Idanha-a-Nova	Target – Portugal
International	UN Global Compact Network	National Association of Portuguese Municipalities; twinning; bilateral relations with Spain	Ministry of Foreign Affairs; The Interministerial Commission for Foreign Policy; Ministry of Planning and Infrastructures; Camões Institute
Regional	Education 2030 Framework for Action; Creative Europe	European Regional Development programs	Creative Europe; Strategy Europe 2020; Summer Academy on Cultural and Creative Industries and Local Development
National	15 UNESCO Sites; “United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development- Contributions to its implementation in Portugal”	CCI in Rural Spaces Program	Ministry of Culture; Regional Cultural Directories; Major Options for the Plan; National Strategy for SD
Municipal	Capacity-building programs in education and heritage.	Municipal Centre for Culture and Development	Whole of government approach of the SDGs on national level
Individual	Clara Cabral (UNESCO National Commission)	Paulo Longo dos Santos (Head of the Department of Culture, Municipality of Idanha); Armindo Jucinto (mayor)	Augusto Santos Silva (Minister of Foreign Affairs); António Nóvoa (permanent delegate); Jose Cabral (chairman National Commission)
Bureaucratic	UCCN administration in Paris	Department of Culture at the Municipality of Idanha-a-Nova, Commission Candidacy	UNESCO field office staff
Inter-institutional	UNESCO National Commission	UCCN Steering Group	UNESCO National Commission at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Source: personal elaboration

International

Portugal joined UNESCO in 1974 (see Appendix III for detailed development of the national cultural policies and their link with UNESCO). Portugal played an active role in drafting the document adopted at the UN Summit, including in the establishment of the common position to be taken by the European Union (EU), particularly in: i) recognizing the need to give more attention to issues of peace, security and good governance, with an

emphasis on the situation of fragile States; ii) promoting and advocating the conservation and sustainable use of the oceans, an issue of critical importance to Portugal; iii) integrating a strong human rights dimension that tackles inequalities, while paying particular attention to the gender equality issues; and iv) the need for the Agenda needs to be based on genuinely shared responsibilities between public and private actors, as well as between developed and developing countries, in addition to the traditional North-South approach (SDGs, 2017; KAMAU; CHASEK; O'CONNOR, 2018).

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was responsible for coordinating the national position for the drafting of the 2030 Agenda. However, its implementation at the national level brings new challenges which require some reshaping of institutional models to reflect and meet the inherent cross-sectorial coordination requirements. Accordingly, the Council of Ministers has adopted the first intra-governmental guidelines for the 2030 Agenda in 2016. The Inter-ministerial Commission for Foreign Policy acts as the headquarters and forum for inter-ministerial coordination, both for the implementation of the SDA and for the preparation of the reports that will support national, regional and global monitoring processes. The National Statistics Institute also plays a key role in monitoring the progress made in fulfilling Agenda 2030 by overseeing and producing the data for the monitoring progress. Considering the need for close alignment between the internal and external coordination, as well as the mandatory component of a structured dialogue with the United Nations bodies, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs took on a general coordination role, together with the Ministry of Planning and Infrastructures (SDGs, 2017). The Voluntary National report on the implementation of Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development was issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and presented at the United Nations High-Level Political Forum in 2017.

The internal implementation of the SDGs is further elaborated through the commissions responsible for the inter-ministerial coordination of foreign policy (internal dimension) and cooperation policy (foreign relations). In addition to the commissions, focal points for the SDGs from different government departments have been established. After mapping¹⁵² the national policies that could contribute to reaching the goals, the implementation began via governmental, non-governmental institutions and foundations, the Camões Institute for

¹⁵² The policy mapping was conducted by the National Statistical Institute and the Agency for Development and Cohesion (SDGs, 2017).

Cooperation and Language and the United Nations Regional Information Centre for Western Europe. Finally, the UN Global Compact Network Portugal coordinates the multi-stakeholder platform “Alliance SDGs Portugal” whose purpose is to raise awareness, inform, implement, monitor and evaluate the contribution of the private sector and other civil society partners to the SDGs at the national level. Its purpose includes building bridges for dialogue and cooperation, as advocated by Goal 17, and creating a sustainable basis for the development of partnerships, projects, programmes and actions within the framework of the 2030 Agenda (SDGs, 2017).

International cultural cooperation has mainly focused on the promotion of the Portuguese language and culture. Hence Portugal has had extensive cooperation with countries whose official language is Portuguese including Brazil, Angola, Mozambique, Cabo Verde, Guiné-Bissau, San Tomé and Príncipe and East Timor, through both the Camões Institute and international platforms such as the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries. Relatively, cooperation with these countries takes the form of technical assistance and capacity building for the creation of sustainable infrastructures, supporting the sectors of transports, education, engineering, and construction (REPUBLICA PORTUGUESA, 2014).

Portuguese municipalities are quite active in communicating among themselves and with municipalities and regions from other countries. The National Association of Portuguese Municipalities founded in 1984 facilitates these relations by promoting, defending and representing the Local Governments and Municipal Associations within the country and abroad. The institution represents the Portuguese municipalities at the Council of Europe and promotes the European Regional Development programs, decentralization and greater autonomy nationally (NAPM, 2019).

Lisbon has now climbed fourth in a global list of the best places to start a new business (according to freelance marketplace People Per Hour’s StartUp City Index), leaving a list of rivals that includes San Francisco and London. In fact, a report from Startup Europe Partnership found Portugal’s Startup ecosystem is now growing twice as fast, in line with the European average. Moreover, UNESCO has assisted local municipalities with their regional development by offering capacity-building programs in education and heritage. Portugal has 15 UNESCO-protected sites, from which 14 are cultural and one natural. The UNESCO Creative Cities Network is not widely spread in Portugal. Currently, there are five city-

members: Idanha-a-Nova (City of Music), Óbidos (City of Literature), Braga (City of Media Arts), Barcelos (City of Craft and Folk Arts) and Amarante (City of Music).

Idanha-a-Nova paradiplomacy has been most active since the last ten years. Idanha-a-Nova has created direct cultural activities through ‘twinning’ with Petres (Spain), Vert-le-Grand (France) and Condeixa-a-Nova (Portugal) (ASSOCIAÇÃO NACIONAL DE MUNICÍPIOS PORTUGUESES, 2019). Moreover, Idanha-a-Nova has cross national policies with Spain on projects related to sustainability and culture, including: Naturtejo Geo Park, Por Terras Rayanas, Oralities Common Heritage, Alliance of Euro-Meditaranian Cultural Cities (AVEC), Portuguese Historical Sites, etc. (MUNICÍPIO DE IDANHA-A-NOVA, 2019). In terms to infrastructure, it promotes regional cohesion via the integration of the Transeuropean Network of Transports (Ibid).

Idanha-a-Nova has won numerous international recognitions and awards. In 2018, Idanha-a-Nova won a second-place competing for the category “Place Brand of the Year” with Barcelona, Edinburgh and Tallinn. The award was given by the City/Nation/Place Awards, sponsored by the New York Times. At the same event, Idanha-a-Nova was given a special award by the city of Eindhoven recognizing the importance of the program “Restart in Idanha” (Recomeçar em Idanha) (CITY/NATION/PLACE AWARDS, 2018).

Regional

UNESCO also collaborates with the EU and OECD towards the attainment of the Goals (refer to Chapter IV for EU-UNESCO cooperation programs). Goal 4 which aims to ensure equitable and inclusive quality education for all is of utmost priority for OECD and it is the point of cooperation with UNESCO. For these reasons, both IOs have published the Education 2030 Framework for Action where they agree on general actions needed to be taken to achieve Goal 4 (OECD, 2017).

On the regional level, Portugal is actively involved with OECD and the European Union. With OECD, Portugal’s projects, reviews and programs are mostly turned towards education policies for sustainability. Only recently OECD has established a plan for the creative industries. As a result, it organizes the Summer Academy on Cultural and Creative Industries and Local Development (2018-2020) which is a three-year project which aims at stimulating knowledge-sharing and culture-driven social innovations (OECD, 2019). Portuguese universities and scholars studying the creative industries are actively involved. Portugal has

been an active member at OECD promoting the establishment of digitalized and online content development with a direct link to the creative and cultural industries (OECD, 2010). OECD is also committed to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals until 2030 and to assist developing countries in the implementation process of the SDGs.

Portugal's national policies are largely influenced by the European Union. Portugal takes part in the Culture Programme (2007-2013) and Creative Europe (2014-2020) which are offering funds and prizes related to heritage, the cultural and creative industries, and the arts. The Portuguese regional development is in line with the objectives of the Strategy Europe 2020, promoting inclusive, sustainable and intelligent growth¹⁵³. The "Portugal 2020- Reviving the Economy with EU's Help" is a project funded by the European Fund for Regional Development which informs the general public about European funds in the sectors of agriculture, culture, social inclusion, etc. The four-pillar program is based on smartness and competitiveness; sustainability and efficiency; inclusion and human capital; and place-based approach and governance (CAVACO et al., 2015) The main aim of Portugal 2020 is to encourage regional cooperation within and outside Portugal (PORTUGAL 2020, 2019).

Part of the European Regional Development Fund for about 15 years, the URBACT programme has been the European Territorial Cooperation programme aiming to foster sustainable integrated urban development in cities across Europe. It is an instrument of the Cohesion Policy, co-financed by the European Regional Development Fund. URBACT's mission is to enable cities to work together and develop integrated solutions to common urban challenges, by networking, learning from one another's experiences, drawing lessons and identifying good practices to improve urban policies (CAVACO et al., 2015).

Idanha-a-Nova also benefits from EU's material assistance for local development and implementation of the SDGs. The municipality has directly benefited from the EU Fund for Rural Development and EU's structural funds (REALTINHO, 2011). A project example that benefited from these funds is the Technological Park Vale do Tejo which joins professionals from different areas that contribute towards the development of the creative ecosystem,

¹⁵³ Portuguese government relies on European funds for regional development: (i) the European Structural and Investment Funds, which cover investment in infrastructure, energy, research and innovation and direct and indirect financing of small and medium-sized enterprises; (ii) the Investment Plan for Europe, which covers strategic investments in key areas such as infrastructure, energy, research, innovation and risk financing for small and medium-sized enterprises; (iii) the Connecting Europe Facility, to finance resilient networks and infrastructure in the transport, telecommunications and energy sectors; and (iv) Horizon 2020, which funds research and innovation for the implementation of all SDGs.

promotes cultural events and generate employment opportunities and positive impact on the regional economy.

Portuguese cities have organized themselves regionally via the Forum of Cities (Forum das Cidades) which is formed as part of the Strategy for Sustainable Cities 2020 to make cities more sustainable. To achieve this agenda, small and medium-sized cities have connected via the Strategic Program of the Creative Cities Network. This is a network of Portuguese self-declared creative cities, inspired by the UNESCO Creative Cities Network (REDE DE CIDADES CRIATIVAS, 2016). It aims to foster cooperation between local authorities for knowledge and experiences on innovative and good practices to improve the economic and social efficiency of municipalities (Ibid).

The Municipality of Idanha-a-Nova is the winner of the Municipality of the Year award - Portugal 2018, in the category “Center Region - Less than 20 thousand inhabitants”. The award is promoted by the University of Minho to distinguish best practices and projects from local power. It should be recalled that Idanha-a-Nova had previously won the Municipality of the Year award in 2014 with the “Rural Base Incubator” project. Moreover, it is the only Portuguese city to take part in the Strasbourg Club¹⁵⁴, chairing the Commission for Culture (MINISTÉRIO DOS NEGÓCIOS ESTRANGEIRO, 2017).

National

Portugal is part of the Executive Council of UNESCO. recently was re-elected to be a member till 2021. The Minister of Foreign Relations claims that Portugal earned this status due to the country’s contribution and active involvement in multilateralism and this status will further contribute towards the building of a good image internationally (SILVA, 2017). The Portuguese National Commission for UNESCO regularly organizes conferences in Portugal which serve as open debate and points for a further reference towards sustainability (PORTAL DIPLOMATICO, 2019). Moreover, the Portuguese National Commission has been active in offering capacity-building programs for Portuguese-speaking countries in Africa (UNESCO, 2016), as well as organizing seminars and workshops on sharing best practices for education, heritage, sustainability and culture (MÚNERA, 2015; PEDRO, 2019).

¹⁵⁴ The Strasbourg Club aims to facilitate the enlargement of the European Union to Central and Eastern Europe as well as to promote human rights and democracy.

The Ministry of Culture is the body which has the highest level of responsibility for defining and implementing cultural policy. The Ministry of Culture defines culture as “an indispensable element in developing intellectual capabilities and the quality of life, important as a factor in citizenship and a key instrument for a critical understanding and knowledge of the real world”. The Ministry of Culture relies on a centralized model of governance operating via so-called ‘peripheral services’ or Regional Cultural Directorates (North, Centre, Lisbon and Tagus Valley, Alentejo and Algarve. Besides the fact that the five directorates Regional Culture Directorates are administratively autonomous, they directly linked to the central state. The main mission of the five Regional Cultural Directorates is to “ensure public access to cultural resources, to monitor the activities of cultural producers funded by the Ministry of Culture, and to monitor heritage conservation measures” (GOMES; MARTINHO, 2012, online).

The National Council of Culture was created in 2007 as an advisory body to support the Government in cultural policy, with the task of issuing opinions and making recommendations. It is composed of several specialized sections, referring to areas such as books and libraries, museums, cinema and audio-visual, bullfighting and copyright. The respective councillors are appointed by the Minister of Culture (LUSA, 2016).

Although there is no formal definition of cultural and creative industries in Portugal, the study on The Cultural and Creative Sector in Portugal commissioned by the Ministry of Culture (2009) brought a new public awareness to this subject. The method adopted drew, with some variations, on international studies such as the 2006 KEA’s The Economy of Culture in Europe report for the European Commission and the 2008 UNCTAD’s Creative Economy Report, among others, retaining a three-fold distinction between the core cultural activities, cultural industries and creative activities sectors. Referring to 2006 data, the report states that the cultural and creative sector in Portugal is equivalent to 2.8% of GNP added value and 2.6% of employment (GOMES; MARTINHO, 2012).

From 2000 until 2009 there has been a gradual fall in the national expenditure in culture, representing less than 1% from the entire national budget. At the local level, we notice an increase in expenditure on culture. General priorities of the Ministry of Culture were the protection of heritage, promotion of reading and development of national networks of activities and facilities (GOMES; MARTINHO, 2012).

After the 2008 financial crises, the national government closed most of the cultural departments and suspended or delayed specific programs. Moreover, the responsibilities of the Ministry of Culture were absorbed by the Secretary of State, which resulted in a backwards turn for the Portuguese cultural policies. The cultural policies were then divided among different ministries. The Ministry of Economics took over the creative industries and tourism, the Ministry of Education took over book publishing and reading, the Ministry of Public Works took on heritage field, and the Foreign Affairs took over language-related policies. Greatest weight was given on the language policy (in the context of the Portuguese Speaking Countries Community¹⁵⁵), creative and cultural industries and international promotion of Portuguese artists and cultural institutions. Moreover, the Gulbenkian Foundation, the Serralves Foundation and the Luso-American Foundation were also important actors in undertaking cultural activities (GOMES, 2011).

There hasn't been a national plan for the cultural and creative industries until the 2014 research study undertaken by seven public universities and three private companies that served as a draft for the 2020 Culture Studies Plan for prospective support of culture by the government (GARCIA, 2014).

The implementation of the SDGs in Portugal is largely included in the Major Options of the Plan¹⁵⁶ (Grandes Opções do Plano- GOP). It blends the structures of national economic and social planning and underpins the strategic orientation of economic and social development policy. The Major Options of the Plan is also formulated by the example of the European Strategy of Sustainable Development and the National Strategy for Sustainable Development (RESENDE, 2018).

Portugal has a few development programs that refer to the sustainability and development of different sectors. There is the National Strategy for Sustainable Development, the National Strategy for Development Education, the National Program of Reforms. It summarizes the interinstitutional cooperation and effectiveness in the Voluntary National Review on the implementation of Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development.

¹⁵⁵ The Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries (Comunidade de Países de Língua Portuguesa – CPLP) fosters political, economic and cultural relations between member-states. An example of a cultural event organised by the CPLP is the "CPLP Cultural Week", which featured a schedule of events reflecting the diversity of lusophone culture.

¹⁵⁶ The Major Options of the Plan (GOP) is a document presented at the Assembly in a form of law and by the national budget.

The National Strategy for Sustainable Development and its implementation plan started in 2007, elaborated following the European Strategy for Sustainable Development as a guiding framework for the development of national policies for development. It aimed to establish a medium-term strategy for development up until 2015. Afterwards, there was a shift in the priorities for development towards education which gave result to the National Strategy for Development Education. The National Strategy for Development Education is initiative by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education whose guiding framework is the United Nations historic importance on intellectualism for “building peace in the mind of men”. The publication “United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development- Contributions to its implementation in Portugal” informed the actions of different interrelated areas committed to social change and sustainable development (IPAD, 2010).

The National Program of Reforms (2018-2022) defines the medium-term strategy of structural reforms towards the sustainability of public finances that are in line with the priorities identified at the European Commission's annual growth analysis for 2016. The strategy is built on six pillars, among which the innovation of processes, products and enterprises, the capitalization of enterprises, valorization of the territories, modernization of public services and eliminating inequalities.

Multistakeholder governance is implemented via the UN Global Compact Network Portugal which coordinates the “Alliance SDG Portugal”. The government also develops strategies and programs to support the initiatives of the private sector and the civil society in sectors such as infrastructure, innovation and the creative industries. As stated in the voluntary report, Portugal’s priorities are the implementation of the Goals 1,2,3,5,9,14 and 17. In other words, the promotion of policies that involve decent work, equal pay, entrepreneurship, creativity and innovation; incentivize the formalization and growth of micro, small and medium-sized enterprises; etc.

Regarding goal 9, that aims at fostering creativity and innovation by investing in scientific research and infrastructure, the Portuguese government launched few programs. The program Start-Up Portugal, part of the National Strategy for Entrepreneurship, seeks to make the creative ecosystem more dynamic. The program Capitalizar invests in innovation and the improvement of the management capacity of the Technological Interface Centers by offering technical and financial support for creative micro, small and medium-sized enterprises via the European Bank of Investment. In terms to the objective to renew the industrialization process

via capacity-building, there are few other initiatives among which: the program SEED that incentivises alternative means of finance with shared risks between the investor and the enterprises; the plan “Commitment to Knowledge and Science: Commitment to the Future (2016-2020)” and the internationalization policy of higher education in science and technology are supported by the Innovation Fund.

The 11th Goal from the Sustainable Development Agenda is implemented via the New Generation of Housing Policies and the Strategy for Sustainable Cities that are part of the National Program of Reforms, Portugal 2020 and the Plan of Major Options for 2016-2019. This policy draws from the mission and goals of the UN’s New Urban Agenda and the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda.

The plan for Sustainable Cities 2014-2020 is Portugal’s strategy for sustainable urban development. Focusing on cities and the critical role they play in structuring territories, development and cohesion, the Strategy serves as a guiding frame of reference for municipalities, inter-municipal entities and other urban agents. The guide points to medium and long-term objectives for integrated territorial development in the economic, social, environmental, cultural and governance dimensions. The plan contributes to the promotion of the necessary conditions for competitiveness, sustainability and national cohesion. The programs to implement the plans are the following: Financial Instrument for Urban Rehabilitation and Revitalization, the National Fund for the Rehabilitation of Buildings and Efficient Homes, Rehabilitate for Lease, focusing in the financing of rehabilitation operations of older buildings and social housing.

Portugal has a specific plan for the Arts that is integrated into the National Plan of Literature and the National Plan for Cinema. The focus in these plans falls on artistic education. In general, there are no national resources for investment in the creative industries. The biggest research about the impact of the creative industry on the national economy was undertaken by the National Institute for Statistics for the period between 2002 and 2012. The overall findings are that the creative sector was increasing while the overall economy was shrinking. The creative industries contributed 1.7% to the overall economy and 2% to the total employment (INE, 2015). Moreover, the culture relative weight is higher than branches like agriculture, manufacture or food products.

Few development agencies have also committed to implementing the SDA. INTELI is a centre of innovation that promotes the new model of sustainable development based on

knowledge and innovation. Moreover, there is the Business Council for Sustainable Development that aggregates and represents companies that are committed to sustainability and is one of the national enablers of the transition to a low-carbon economy that values ecosystems and that generates well-being in society. With broad sector representation, the BCSD has more than 90 companies that give direct employment to more than 270 thousand people. The sales volume of non-financial BCSD members represents 38% of national GDP, which translates into more than € 65 billion in turnover. The BCSD also created a website¹⁵⁷ dedicated to SDGs where it promotes educational material for companies and encourages them to also adopt the SDA as their whole of an enterprise approach. BCSD's activity is supported by WBCSD's global network, the largest international business organization dedicated to sustainable development.

What is unique for Portugal is the focus of the territorial development plan on rural development. The launch of the project Cultural and Creative Industries in Rural Spaces is a project part of the Program National Rural Network whose objective is to incentivise cultural and creative entrepreneurship in rural spaces. The project helped produce reliable data and map best practices from the region, as well as promote the touristic attractiveness of the rural regions which hasn't been done before (ADRIDMINHO, 2019).

Due to the mostly rural geographical setting of Portugal, municipalities adopt the national development plans and programs on local levels. The municipalities later coordinate the local plans and policies with the regional parishes.

Municipal

The Municipal Centre for Culture and Development of Idanha-a-Nova coordinates the cultural activities. It is a non-profit Local Development Association founded in 1992. Its objective is to contribute to the integrated development of the municipality and sustainability of the territory. To this end, it focuses on training and qualification of the population, supporting entrepreneurship and promoting citizenship, social cohesion and equal opportunities.

¹⁵⁷ Available at: <https://www.ods.pt/>. Accessed 18/06/2019

Since 2015, most of the cultural activities are joined under the UNESCO City of Music title, which includes the projects: Idanha Green Valley¹⁵⁸, Idanha Experimenta, Idanha Vive and Idanha Made In. The program RESTART (RECOMECAR) is a mid-term strategy (2015-2025) which includes all the projects and the initiative to apply for membership at the UCCN. RESTART is a program of city-branding and regional development, formulated together with the consultancy agency International Bloom Consulting and 52 local stakeholders. It aims to attract people who seek alternative and more sustainable lifestyle to move to or open their business in Idanha-a-Nova, as well as to encourage the return of the diaspora (MUNICIPIO DE IDANHA, 2019). An evaluation study of the strategy conducted in 2018 shows that 348 business projects were initiated that resulted in 312 new working spaces and a direct investment of 30 million Euros.

The municipality of Idanha-a-Nova publishes its mid-term strategy and budget allocation in the Plan of Major Options. In 2018, this plan stated that sustainable development, the attraction of creative talent and investment in the cultural industries is in the top priority (CÂMARA MUNICIPAL, 2018). In the latest publication from 2019, the municipality has further narrowed its focus on the investment in heritage, culture and science, favouring easier access to culture, entertainment and leisure. The key guidelines of the plan try to bring a balance between urbanization of the region and preservation of the natural environment via policies of a circular economy, low level of commercialization, water-based energy, investment in agriculture and promotion of biological products.

Idanha-a-Nova invests in city-branding, cultural tourism via gastronomic, natural and heritage sites and for those reasons has established the following programs: the Commercial Centre of Idanha-a-Nova, Support Pavilion for small and medium enterprises, Rural Incubator, Creative Industries Incubator, and i-Danha Food Lab (CÂMARA MUNICIPAL, 2019).

The application for membership at the UCCN was conducted by the Municipality of Idanha-a-Nova. The application built upon previous cultural activities and creative initiatives, which after the admission to the Network were straightened and complemented with other

¹⁵⁸ Idanha Green Valley is a project linked to knowledge and innovation in rural areas and to its global positioning; Idanha Made In supports everything that is produced locally; Idanha Experimenta allows interested parties to get to know and experience the municipality of Idanha-a-Nova; Idanha Vive provides conditions of quality of life for those who live or intend to live in Idanha-a-Nova.

initiatives. The municipality of Idanha-a-Nova has used its traditional relation with music and the numerous music events to construct the argument. As a member of the Network, Idanha-a-Nova's objective is to brand the city and invest in increasing audiences and further investing in music education through building infrastructures and offering entrepreneurial support.

The following initiatives to achieve the UCCN objectives were implemented:

- In 2013 the municipality established the Idanha Incubator of Creative Industries aimed to train and assist in the business development of cultural and sustainability-based enterprises (WITTMANN, 2019).

- The centre for Orchestra without Borders in Idanha-a-Nova. Orchestra without Borders is a project aimed at young talents from the interior of Portugal to travel and participate in exchange programs.

- Since 2013, the Municipality offers International Courses in Ancient Music that brings national and international musicians of the specific music branch (WITTMANN, 2019).

- There is also the Early Music International Festival called Fora do Lugar (Out of Place) which attracts musicians enjoying traditional and modern early days music.

- Events related to sustainability and rural development, among which the Fair Raiana and the Ecofestival Salva a Terra. The Fair Raiana is a bianual fair promoting healthy diet and sustainable agricultural development. The fair brings more than 80.000 visitors from Portugal and Spain mostly. The festival Salva a Terra (Save the Planet) hosts international and national music shows and with the money aims to finance the Wildlife Recovery Center, which has been operating in Castelo Branco for almost 20 years (Ibid).

- One of the most massive events occurring in Idanha-a-Nova is Boom Festival. It is a biannual festival happening since 2002. The festival attracts around 40.000 participants from 150 countries to see the performances of more than local and international 800 artists. Boom Festival has big socio-economic impact (CITIES OF MUSIC, 2019)

After becoming part of the Network, the Municipality created new initiatives in the music sector. In an interview, the mayor Paulo Longo numbers the following projects (cite):

- The music educational programs for seniors and the Music academy Catarina Chitas that are promoted by the local philharmonic and the local municipality.

- Increased investment in the international courses on ancient music.
- New School of the Rural World, an educational program for music in kindergartens.
- Master classes in Ancient music, as part of the festival Fora do Lugar.
- The project Easter in Idanha is an initiative to safeguard and give value to the immaterial cultural heritage whose actions are done in cooperation with the neighbouring communities of Idanha-a-Nova.

Initiatives implemented through inter-city cooperation to achieve the objectives of the UCCN have not still undergone, besides the willingness of the coordination team (LONGO, 2019).

Idanha-a-Nova's contribution towards UCCN objectives is mostly through its inward-looking regional development plan. Idanha-a-Nova is the central parish composed of 13 parishes, all distinct in their culture and habits. As a City of Music, Idanha-a-Nova expands its projects to the local parishes and the other municipalities of Castelo Branco (composed of ten other municipalities). The development discourse of the Municipality of Idanha-a-Nova stressed the importance of rural development and the sustainability of traditional lifestyles and practices (LONGO, 2019). Besides the recent development music-related programs listed above, there isn't any data available regarding the economic and creative spill-over effects of Idanha-a-Nova in the regional parishes or municipalities.

Concerning the contribution to the UCCN Global Management, Idanha-a-Nova has taken part in all UCCN annual meetings. Paulo Longo (LONGO, 2019) stresses the importance of sharing of best practices for sustainable development among rural regions. Also, he stresses the important role small and medium cities play in the development process and considers them crucial stakeholders in the regional and global networks for development (LONGO, 2019). He quotes the cases of Boom Festival and Festival Save the Planet as the most significant best practices about sustainable development and creativity. However, Idanha-a-Nova has still not taken part of the Steering Group or has had active participation in the sub-group for Music.

Individual

The leading person for the coordination and management of the Idanha-a-Nova UNESCO Creative City of Music Title is Paulo Longo dos Santos. He is the head of the Department of

Culture at the Municipality of Idanha-a-Nova. In an interview with him, he didn't seem comfortable sharing the name and contacts of the team that supported the office, nor the team responsible for writing the candidacy. Longo (2019) mentioned that it was the Municipality's initiative to apply for membership at UCCN and that since 2015, they are seeing the benefits of the membership, but how, he didn't want to comment. Moreover, Longo argued that the application for candidacy is an internal document, and thus he wouldn't share it.

As the application for candidacy is not publicly available, there is no way of knowing the complete list of people involved. From newspaper articles and public statements, we can know the names of some of the people involved in the candidacy process, among which were the Director of the National Music Conservatory Ana Pernão, the ex-Ministers of Education Marçal Grilo and Guilherme de Oliveira Martins, the ex-minister of Culture Pedro Roseta, and the ex-President of the Republic Jorge Sampaio (LUSA, 2014). However, what was their specific involvement is difficult to know.

The leading applicant team was led by a consultancy, IPI Consulting Network, a private sector institution hired by the Municipality of Idanha-a-Nova. IPI Consulting Network holds know-how in various areas, heritage, culture, creative industries, regional and local development, micro-businesses and entrepreneurship, environmentalism, etc. It enjoys a wide range of clients, mostly local and regional Portuguese government institutions (IPI Consulting Network, 2019). Moreover, other actors indirectly involved with the achievement of UCCN objectives, but aligned with the municipal plan is The Municipal Centre for Culture and Development (Centro Municipal Cultura e Desenvolvimento). The association for local development supports start-ups and entrepreneurship in the sectors of culture and innovation for regional development by offering courses, project coordination and other services (CMCD, 2019) (see Table 13).

Table 13: List of actors that participated in Idanha-a-Nova's UCCN candidacy and membership.

Institution	Type of institutional domain	Role	O-I-T
Main actors			
Municipality of Idanha-a-Nova (Department of Culture)	Public (sub-national tier)	Runs Idanha-a-Nova UNESCO City of Music, led the bid and coordinates the implementation plan	Intermediary
IPI Consulting Network	Private consultancy company	Assisted the bid for membership	Intermediary

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Planning and Infrastructure	Public (national tier)	Develop and coordinate the implementation of the SDA in Portugal	Intermediary and Target
Ministry of Education	Public (national tier)	Develops and implements municipal plans for culture and development	Intermediary and Target
Ministry of Culture	Public (national tier)	Develops and implements national plans for culture and development	Intermediary and Target
Other actors			
Gulbenkian Foundation	State-sponsored	Indirectly involved, aligned with the national development plans	Target
Serralves Foundation	State-sponsored	Indirectly involved, aligned with the national development plans	Intermediary
Luso-American Foundation	State-sponsored	Indirectly involved, aligned with the national development plans	Intermediary
Centro Municipal Cultura e Desenvolvimento	Local development association (non-for profit municipal tier)	Indirectly involved, aligned with the municipal development plans	Intermediary
UNESCO Representation in Portugal	International	Expertise/consultant	Orchestrator
UNESCO Creative Cities Network	International	Expertise/consultant	Orchestrator

Source: Personal elaboration

At the time of the candidacy and currently, Mayor of Idanha-a-Nova is Mr Armindo Jucinto who has promoted the UNESCO Creative City Title nationally and internationally and has been the one that has received the culture and sustainability-related awards.

Minister of foreign affairs is Augusto Santos Silva and the permanent delegate at UNESCO is Antonio Novoa. Both officers' roles are to promote the national interests at UNESCO, but also UNESCO's objectives and programs nationally. In terms of the UCCN, the promotion of Idanha-a-Nova as UNESCO Creative City of Music by the Minister of Foreign Affairs has been mentioned as the Portuguese success story internationally (LUSA, 2015).

In an interview with Clara Bernard Cabral from the Culture Sector of the Portuguese National Commission for UNESCO, she informs that the candidacy of Idanha-a-Nova at UCCN was first one from a Portuguese city, so the Commission was very happy to endorse Idanha with a support letter. Besides the endorsement letter, the Portuguese National Commission did not offer any other ideational or material assistance (CABRAL, 2019).

The chairman of the National Commission is Jose Cabral and the Secretary-General is Ms Rita Brasil de Brito. Their role is the overall management of the Commission and presenting

the work of UNESCO with the local Portuguese partners in public speeches and events. The National Commission is part of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, which also hosts the UN Secretary of Embassy chaired by the Director-General for external Policy Mr Goncalo Motta. He is the contact person for SDGs' management nationally and internationally.

From the data sources I could not gather information in regard to UNESCO's involvement of any kind in the candidacy of Idanha-a-Nova for Creative City of Music.

Bureaucratic

The Municipality of Idanha-a-Nova formed a Commission Candidacy composed by a Consultancy Commission and a Work Group. The Consultancy Commission was formed by the IPI Consulting Network, the City Council of Idanha-a-Nova and national and international consultants from the music sector and the creative industries. The Work Group filled in the candidacy form, with inputs from the consultants. Entities that have supported Idanha-a-Nova's candidacy, besides the Portuguese government, were the Portuguese Association of Music Education, The Music Syndicate, the Professionals of Spectacles and Audio-visual, the Portuguese Commission for UNESCO and the UNESCO Cities of Music Mannheim, Bologna, Sevilha and Hamamatsu (LUSA, 2015; MUNICIPIO IDANHA-A-NOVA, 2015).

In an interview for a newspaper, the president of the City Hall of Idanha-a-Nova Armindo Jacinto, the Mayor of Idanha-a-Nova at the time, says that the application for UCCN membership was challenging because in Portugal there isn't much information of how to fill in the UCCN applications in Portugal (LAGOISA, 2015).

The UCCN administration in Paris didn't want to comment on the lack of support to Idanha-a-Nova by the National UNESCO Commission, thus further information on the reasons on this matter is lacking. Direct communication between Idanha-a-Nova and UNESCO offices in Paris does not occur because there are the other institutional means they cooperate through. However, the membership of Idanha-a-Nova at UCCN, according to Longo, will improve the situation by continuously gathering and systematizing the necessary data (LONGO, 2019).

The Idanha-a-Nova UNESCO City of Music Office is headed by the Department of Culture at the Municipality of Idanha-a-Nova. The management of the Title is coordinated by the municipal bureaucrats. After winning the membership, the bureaucratic staff did not

increase to accommodate the new needs of coordinating the UCCN objectives locally (LONGO, 2019).

Inter-organizational

Portuguese National Commission for UNESCO is part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In an interview, they state that they didn't act as consultants because they didn't accompany the application for candidacy, but just gave their letter of support. What is interesting is that all employees at the National Commission are part of the Portuguese bureaucracy and all are Portuguese nationals who need to oversee the implementation of UNESCO Conventions, programs, projects and ideas in Portugal. The National Commission thus is the joint body through which the direct interaction between UNESCO and Portugal occurs.

The UCCN Steering Group is the inter-organizational institution where interaction between Idanha-a-Nova and UNESCO occurs. However, since Idanha-a-Nova hasn't taken part of the Steering Group yet, and thus its global reach through UNESCO is still not exhausted.

Conclusion

Portugal is unitary, but decentralized nation-state with highly complex administrative and fiscal territorial divisions. As a result, the Municipality of Idanha-a-Nova acts as pole among the local parishes, by coordinating the regional development policies. Due to the municipality's relative independence from the central state, Idanha-a-Nova in cooperation with regional municipalities has established regional and rural development plans. These plans aim to achieve greater sustainability and to attract creative capital by offering a suitable environment for innovation, fostering of the arts and culture and promoting a healthy lifestyle. With this strategy, Idanha-a-Nova aims also to bridge the large economic inequality among Portuguese municipalities, where most of the resources are concentrated in Lisbon and Porto.

What is unique to Portugal's approach to sustainability and development is its focus on rural development and the blend of traditional knowledge with modern practices. Idanha-a-Nova's Reviver program is an example of an initiative that makes use of cultural and creative industries to attract the creative capital into Idanha-a-Nova, promote sustainable lifestyle and capitalize on its rich traditions.

Chapter VII- Data analysis: what do the cases tell us about the policy cycle of global cultural policies?

The case studies in Chapter VI display a pattern of the transfer. However, before exploring the pattern, we need to understand what exactly is being transferred, from where and how.

The following table (Table 14) presents the stretching of the policy cycle of culture-related policies. The first part of the policy cycle, the problem, is defined by UNESCO. At this stage, we recognize the link between urban and cultural policies to attain the SDGs. Cities and member-states are involved in the process, but they are behind the scenes where the promotion of national interest is restrained by the UNESCO bureaucracy (KAMAU; CHASEK; O'CONNOR, 2018).

The second part of this stage, the agenda-setting of the policy, is pushed by the cities and member states. By being members at the UCCN, cities are adapting or changing their policies by building upon old ones or introducing new programs towards sustainable development. The member-state also has a role in agenda-setting because due to the whole-of-government approach of the SDGs, the member-state allows for the agenda-setting and in some cases, it is open to adopting the best practices of cities as national policies. In the interview, Ms Ellis-King mentioned that she is happy they are managed by the state and that Ireland wants to encourage other cities to be members of the UCCN and use their creative title to promote national tourism. Moreover, in a public statement the previous Minister of Culture of Brazil, Juca Ferreira, followed the similar logic and even offered ideational assistance to cities that are interested in applying for UCCN membership.

Table 14: Global policy cycle for cultural policies specific to innovation and creativity orchestrated by UNESCO

Policy cycle	Actors		
	UNESCO	City	Member-state
Problem definition / agenda-setting	x	x	x
Formal decision-making / policy transfer	x	x	x
Policy implementation		x	x
Monitoring and evaluation	x		

Source: Personal elaboration

The formal decision-making to adopt the SDGs and SDA was done by all UN member-states and as an arms-length institution of the UN UNESCO has also committed to adopting the Agenda 2030. The creation of the UNESCO Creative Cities Network taken by UNESCO, however, the decision to adopt the SDA as part of the Mission was taken by the UCCN Steering Group, formed by city-members. The policy transfer and implementation are made by the cities and the member-states, who rely on assistance from UNESCO that offers guidelines, capacity building programs and seminars. Finally, the monitoring and evaluation are undergone by UNESCO through the Monitoring Reports.

Besides the clear link between the SDGs and the UCCN, it remains unclear what exactly is being transferred. The SDGs highlight several ideas that countries agree to attain collectively, but Goal 17 offers instructions on how those ideas can be implemented. To understand what exactly has been transferred in each case study, we make use of Dolowitz and Marsh's policy transfer model elaborated in Table 15.

In the three cases, Curitiba, Dublin and Idanha-a-Nova, the type of transfer is not very clear. At first sight, the transfer is voluntary because the municipalities voluntarily applied for membership at the UCCN. The lesson-drawing from other UCCN members triggered the will to do the same for their city. Brazil, Ireland and Portugal are dedicated members at the UN and vocal supporters of the Sustainable Development Agenda (SDA). The nation-states have institutionalized the implementation of the SDA via laws and national plans for culture and development (Appendix I, II and III). Even though UNESCO is using soft governance, through orchestration, its presence and overseeing of the process is a sign of coerciveness. In line with that, besides the voluntary application for membership at the UCCN, there are international and national pressures to present results of the agenda implementation. Membership at UCCN is a mean of doing so.

Another point is the countries' concern with its image and perceptions internationally (KAMAU; CHASEK; O'CONNOR, 2018). Positive image complying with international standards, such as diminishing racism via fostering cultural diversity, reshaping the cities towards sustainability, liveability and increased citizen participation via comfortable public spaces, creates local pressures for living up to those standards. Moreover, the transfer occurred at the time when municipalities needed to implement the SDGs and comply with the national (and state) plans for development and sustainability, thus the transfer of the creative city model was a quick solution. Lesson-drawing from other countries and cities and their

successful-looking models for sustainability were an attractive solution (ALVES, 2019). Furthermore, the model was used to justify the political agenda and to combat the perceptions of policy failure from previous programs (ZUCETTI, 2019; FILHO, 2019). As a result, a hybrid mean of transfer has taken place.

Who actually globalizes the local policies are not only public servants, be that political actors or technocrats, but also policy entrepreneurs and experts. The role of design experts operating in and outside Curitiba were the channels of the policy transfer. Their position adds to the complexly thin line between coercive and voluntary policy transfer. Resulting from transnational policy externalities and the interconnectedness between experts, policymakers and IOs, there is a more 'indirect coercive transfer' (DOLOWITZ; MARSH, 1996, p. 347–9, 2009). Moreover, when one official from one organization takes over another one, as in the case of Alyson Lyons, she brings up the knowledge from previous institutions and thus imports valuable knowledge to the new institution that fosters the close relations and collaboration among institutions.

The actors involved in the transfer were from multiple backgrounds, including elected officials (at UN, national and municipal level), bureaucrats, UCCN consultants and local experts. Due to the whole-of-government approach, the SDGs were firstly adopted on the Federal level (central state) officials and later through the national plans, adopted on other tiers of government as well as non-governmental organizations and the private sector. In Curitiba, the design-related knowledge was produced mostly in civil society and less in the private sector, whereas in Idanha-a-Nova the municipal applicant team relied almost completely on private consultancy network for writing the membership application. The case of Dublin is an exception because the administrative officers were the main actors holding the knowledge and management of the transfer. The independent initiative from the municipal to conduct the membership application is a result of administrative decentralization of the local municipalities.

Due to the different organizational nature of the countries, the centralization and decentralization forces are different in each case. In Curitiba decentralization and centralization forces coexist. Besides the decentralized authority of municipalities, they need to implement local policies or programs in line with the national and state plans for culture and development. The case of Dublin is similar because local municipalities are highly institutionally linked to the central government. The selection and work of local bureaucrats are

always overseen by the government. The case of Idanha-a-Nova is more flexible because Portugal is a unitary, but highly decentralized country. In the three cases though, the local cultural and creative policies and programs followed a top-down approach, drawing from the national plans for development or sustainability.

What has been transferred are goals, content, instruments, programs, ideology, ideas, attitudes and concepts (DOLOWITZ; MARSH, 2000, p. 349–50). There is no specific policy transfer per se, but a softer transfer of ideas and concepts, trends and global practices. Ideas refer to the general values of democracy, participation, values of social inclusion, safeguarding the environment, access to knowledge and information, etc. Ideologies refer to the market-based development where economic prosperity and neoliberal capital are fostered. From the programs, projects and events mentioned above we can see that what is actually transferred are programs in line with the 17th Goal of the Sustainable Development Agenda where implementation of the goals is divided in (1) capacity-building, (2) trade, (3) policy and institutional coherence, (4) and multi-stakeholder partnership (UN, 2015, p. 27).

Curitiba incentivises capacity-building programs on national and international levels. On a national level, it has implemented capacity-building programs as part of the national plan for culture and specifically, the sectorial plan for design (PMCC, 2016) and has hosted UNESCO-based capacity programs in academic institutions (Universidade Positivo). Through open calls and private-public grants, the Municipality of Curitiba diffuses knowledge-sharing and trains experts via seminars, programs or short-term events (Lei Rouanet). On an international level, Curitiba incentivises technological transfer to developing countries together with the Japanese International Cooperation Agency. Through this project, Japan and Brazil offer training and capacity-building programs for third countries that lack expertise in the area of environmentalism, innovation and technology (JICA, 2019). In Dublin, capacity-building and trade programs are implemented through the ‘One World, One Future’ and ‘The Global Island’ national policies. Moreover, Ireland supports capacity-building programs in developing countries. One of its targets in the National Implementation Plan for the Sustainable Development Agenda is to “Enhance international support for implementing effective and targeted capacity-building in developing countries to support national plans to implement all the sustainable development goals, including through North-South, South-South and triangular cooperation” (DUBLIN UNESCO CITY OF LITERATURE, 2017, p.22). Portugal organized capacity-building programs specifically for Portuguese speaking countries where it assists their development plans and trains local leaders in the area. Through

regional development programs, Portugal has straightened trade within Portuguese municipalities, cross-border municipalities and on an international level by attracting creative talent and offering a suitable environment for opening businesses.

The Curitiba UNESCO City of Design Title has straightened domestic and international finance by attracting professionals from the design sector, increasing the number of design-related enterprises and straightening the existing design firms and associations. Alvez (2019) and Ogawa (2019) mention that Pro>Desing.pt. benefited mostly out of the Title because it was the only oldest association operating in the area/ Its involvement from the beginning resulted in a large growth in terms of quality and quantity. Moreover, the Title put Curitiba on the world map of creative and sustainable cities which gave the city a competitive advantage on the global market. International trade with art and design-related products and services opened a new front for the development of the city and the region (OGAWA, 2019). Dublin has performed similar through open calls and private-public grants, the Municipality diffuses knowledge-sharing and trains experts via seminars, programs or short-term events from developing and less developed countries (ELLIS-KING, 2019). Idanha-a-Nova has been mostly active in capacity-building and knowledge sharing through cross-border collaboration with Spanish towns and regional cooperation with local, Portuguese towns. The collaboration methods are also via open calls, private-public partnerships and music scholarships (LONGO, 2019).

The discourse and policy programs related to the creative city policy program gave greater institutional coherence because the inter-institutional cooperation increased. Projects such as TechnoParque and Vale do Pinhão in Curitiba operate as joint ventures; they closed the technology gap by offering access to facility and infrastructure and encouraged the local social and human capital to compete on the global market, as the case of Pro>Desing.pt. Finally, the overall values and ideas of the creative city policy program reaffirm the ideals of freedom, human rights, national sovereignty, good governance and the rule of law, which are also referred to at the National and Municipal Plans for Culture. Finally, Curitiba has adopted a multi-stakeholder partnership through mobilization and sharing of knowledge, expertise, technology and financial resources through public-private partnerships, and the active involvement of public and civil society groups. In Dublin, multi-stakeholder governance is attained via the multi-stakeholder inclusion in the implementation of the Dublin UNESCO

City of Literature plan as well as through the national SDG Stakeholder Forum¹⁵⁹ which serves as information platform and mechanism of engagement of the multiple actors. There are policy and institutional coherence among all tiers of government in Portugal because of the inter-ministerial commissions and strategies for implementing the SDGs and their alignment with the national development plans. Finally, multi-stakeholder governance is achieved with the active involvement of all social actors, encouragement of public-private partnerships, and the involvement of consultancies. In Idanha-a-Nova private actors, universities and NGOs collaboration compose the multi-stakeholder governance of implementing the UCCN objectives.

In the three cases, the transfer occurred in the implementation phase. The content, ideas and policy frameworks from the Sustainable Development Agenda were already embedded on central government level through the national plans. The implementation of the SDA through UCCN only straightens the country's participation at the UN and UNESCO as an active member. To facilitate the implementation, there was a mild transformation of the old institutions. The two institutions related to the Municipality of Curitiba, the IPPUC and the Curitiba Agency for Development and Innovation changed their mission to creativity and innovation-based solutions to the urban, local problems. Moreover, the Municipality has created the Steering Committee for the Title, showing the administrative decentralization of the local municipality. As for the political decentralization, we notice that the Municipality of Curitiba didn't have to consult the federal government before applying for membership at UCCN, thus it had autonomy and political will at the application stage. In the case of Dublin, the UNESCO Creative City of Literature Office was created over the existing institution and the responsibilities fell over the already-employed bureaucrats. The same is the case of Idanha-a-Nova.

The policy transfer is cross-national, via the adoption of the SDGs from the UN, as well as national due to the national commitment to their implementation, considering the national policy priorities. The case of Idanha-a-Nova is interesting because besides the cross-national transfer to the town, as a result of the UCCN membership, Idanha-a-Nova has had a spill over effect in the local parishes and municipalities. As Cooper, Hughes and Lombaerde (2008)

¹⁵⁹ Minutes from the meetings can be found on the following link: <https://www.dccae.gov.ie/en-ie/environment/topics/sustainable-development/sustainable-development-goals/stakeholder-forum--/Pages/default.aspx>

argue city-regions with institutionalized frameworks play an important role in implementing international agendas because they can set the ground for their diffusion in the region. Besides the city's cooperation and competition with regional organizations and cities, it also causes triple-down-effect to the region around it by expanding its policy reach to the neighbouring municipalities. Salet et al. (2003) call this phenomena meso-government. The meso-government is coordinated by the municipality of Idanha-a-Nova. Dublin's creative programs also stretch to the metropolitan region, whereas Curitiba's metropolitan policies are more concerned with transport than culture and creativity.

The type of transfer here is *emulation* or transfer of the ideas behind the policy or program. The transfer is not an imitation, for instance, because it doesn't replicate a particular policy or program from another national or foreign place, but it replicates the worldview and policy framework. Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) argue that emulation is a result of the hard-coercive transfer due to conditions of the transferring entity, the UN in this case. The form of transfer is more subtle due to the universality of the Sustainable Development Agenda and its internationalization and globalization that involve different transfer agents.

Locally, the transfer draws from past policies on culture, giving greater attention to design, literature or music. The emulation process serves to link the existing policies, programs and events related to creativity, innovation, technology and design to create the discourse and plan for Creative Cities. Mrs Ellis-King explains this better by saying:

“It did not need UNESCO to make Dublin a City of Literature. What UNESCO designation did, was to bring that reality into a wider global context and provide Dublin with an ‘Umbrella Brand’, a promotional opportunity, managed by the Dublin City Public Libraries system, under which all those who are part of the circle of literary activity could work in co-operation to sustain, develop and build new audiences for Dublin’s literary talent and infrastructure.” (ELLIS-KING, 2019).

In the three cases, there weren't any complexities during the policy transfer. The contextual factors seem not to be an obstacle for Curitiba's, Dublin's and Idanha-a-Nova's application because they layered the policy programs over previous policies. There was political will, engagement of the private sector and the civil society. From the annual reports, we can notice that the Dublin City of Literature programs are very inclusive, addressing children, elderly and people with disabilities. In the case of Curitiba, after the city became a member at the UCCN, there were pressures from the general public because the bid did not dialogue with them, but exclusively with the design community (FILHO, 2019). Moreover,

people thought that greater public sensibility to infrastructure was needed, rather than membership at UCCN.

The transfer was communicated via various means. All institutions taking part in the Management Group and the Steering Committee are responsible for communicating the candidacy and the undergoing activities through their own channels of communication. The application for candidacy as well as the obtaining of the title was announced via media, official statements during meetings or visits (national mostly) and their monitoring and evaluation have been done via Reports. The transfer was demonstrated and communicated publicly via traditional media, the social media, reports and statements at meetings and visits. The Irish National broadcasting network, RTE, sponsored communication opportunities through positive promotion under a policy of ‘RTE – Supporting the Arts’ (ELLIS-KING, 2019). Membership at UCCN gave a lot of publicity for the Municipalities and the two most engaged actors, Pro>Design.pt and Centro Brasil Design in Curitiba and IPI Consultancy Group in Idanha-a-Nova. Moreover, there was communication via local media and other online portals, and the Municipalities’ social media sites (Facebook, Twiter and Youtube). The Mayor of Curitiba has promoted the Title at public speeches, such as at the Network Cities event of the World Design Capital meeting, invited by the Mayor of the City of Mexico, also a UCCN City of Design. Also, there is a continuous process of communication about the Titles. The local and international events, such as D week, Smart City Expo, Dublin Book events, Fora de Lugar, etc. are places of formal and informal nature that deliver the policy program by bringing together foreign and local experts. At these venues, experts such as Ana Carla de Fosenca (HAUS, 2019) share policy ideas and develop transnational policy networks.

Brazil Ireland and Portugal have submitted National Voluntary Reviews for the Implementation of the SDGs. Curitiba and Dublin have submitted their UCCN Monitoring Reports, and Idanha-a-Nova should submit its UCCN Monitoring report by the end of November 2019.

Finally, the transfer in the three cases was incomplete or inappropriate. In Curitiba, the change of administration in 2017, the lack of ideological compatibility with the SDGs and insufficient political and financial resources on Municipal level brought complexities by putting the transfer on standby. The municipal administration did not comply with the basic requirements of presenting Monitoring Report and participating in the annual meetings. The

municipality needed to justify its non-participation to the annual meetings due to lack of resources (ZUCETTI, 2019; FILHO, 2019).

The UNESCO Creative City Title of Design seems elitist due to the limited involvement of multiple actors beyond the design community and the failure to address issues such as poverty, cultural diversity and violence in Curitiba. The municipal programs are focused towards social and economic groups that are already well situated in society (have higher education and access to information) and additionally have not used creativity, innovation or entrepreneurship to address these problems. The backbone of the SDGs is the eradication of poverty, the creation of peaceful societies and the creation of inclusive cities, but Curitiba has not addressed these issues yet. The bid did not address the cultural diversity of Curitiba that is home of European migrants from diverse countries. The incomplete and inappropriate transfer of the SDGs, as part of the UCCN mission, puts in question Curitiba's purpose of the Title. Additionally, there is a lack of institutional cohesion and coordination of the local actors involved in the UCCN. The Municipality received the first monitoring alert by UCCN in late 2018. Moreover, the transfer is quite uninformed because only a few people were acting as consultants and experts. Even though there was an open event to discuss the candidacy, the application was finally done by municipal bureaucrats with little expertise in the area (SILVA, 2019).

In the case of Dublin, the transfer is incomplete because the Dublin City focuses on the fostering of cultural tourism above all, whereas the SDGs address local problems such as eradication of poverty, violence, hunger and creation of peaceful societies through culture and creativity. However, there is a current trend in Dublin that most of the Dubliners that migrated in search for a better life are coming back due to the increased job offers and need for creative talents (UNESCO CITY OF LITERATURE, 2017).

The inter-organizational relations between UNESCO, the cities and the member-states are very complex and intertwined.

The role of UNESCO National Commissions is very interesting because they are the physical spaces where UNESCO and the member-state merge. The member state holds the political power for UNESCO objectives to be implemented, thus the institutional embeddedness of the National Commissions in the local Ministries of Education or Foreign Relations facilitates the process. The design of the inter-organizational institutionalization also affects the relation between UNESCO and the member-states. However, this blurs the

position of the bureaucrats. Initially, they are nationals who know the local contexts but are also familiar with UNESCO and hold expertise in the area of competence. Even though the day-to-day management is conducted at the inter-organizational level, the member-states are key in giving actual effect to the inter-organizational relations, providing resources or blocking decisions. Competence among principals may arise, so the local UNESCO Committees' role is to provide appropriate balance among the competing values.

The inter-organizational 'actorness' of the National Commissions and their bureaucracies are equipped to deal with the normative level of UNESCO and the implementation of those norms via programs and projects due to the long term partnership established with the member-state and the sharing of ideational resources (from UNESCO to the member-state) and material resources (from the member-state to UNESCO projects) (KOOPS, 2017). Thus, the organizational capacity of the National Commissions operates via the legal mandates, resources, organs, rules and procedures of action and hold the operational experience via the institutional facility to undertake the actions nationally and locally.

From the three cases, we can also notice that there are numerous policy overlaps among the cities, member-states, regional organizations and UNESCO. Duplication and cooperation between UNESCO, EU, MERCOSUR and OECD exist, but also the involvement of the member-state in each IO further complicates the policy-overlaps and their coordination in the implementation process nationally. Peter Smithers (1979) argues that the central problem of inter-organizational relations is more about effective control of programs rather than their coordination by governments. He argues that it is up to the states to control the programs of IOs nationally by using their resources and veto power to coordinate the relations between IOs. However, governments not always have the necessary power, influence or information on an international level to act accordingly (Ibid). In the quest to attain a positive international image or pursue their interests, member-states do not engage actively in policy coordination. As a result, there is an overlap of programs on national levels.

Ultimately, the implementation of the SDGs depends on the national priorities and means as well as the coordinating institution. UNESCO National Commissions are nationally institutionalized in different Ministries (for Foreign Affairs or Education), but also the implementation of the SDGs can be overseen by a different institution (the Department of Communications, Climate Action & Environment as in the case of Ireland). Moreover, because the nation-state is not an actor with unitary interest, but it is composed of various

departments and individuals that pursue different interests, the inter-organization relations are subject to those relations (KOOPS, 2017; SMITHERS, 1979). The individual actors execute the actions and attend the official and unofficial interactions which IOs are made of.

The UCCN Title was legalized by being integrated in each country's national law. Brazil changed the law to accommodate the title. Ireland did not change the national law, but the change was done only on local level by changing the mission of the Dublin City Libraries. In the case of Idanha-a-Nova, the change was also only local by altering only the municipal mission. As commitments to the change, in all cases there were broad statements, such as technical follow up agreements, joint evaluations, lessons learned, action plans, etc. However, besides the fact that Goal 11 stresses the direct link between urbanization and cultural policies, in the three cases there hasn't been actual intersection among the Ministries. The Municipalities refer to urban development and urban regeneration of abandoned places, however inter-ministerial cooperation has not occurred.

Besides the influence of IOs over local policies, there is also the influence of regional organizations. As shown in the case of Ireland and Portugal, their membership in the European Union has drastically shaped the policy-creation on national and local levels. Through funds or regional development plans on the European level, EU member-states are obliged to act in a certain manner. However, when it comes to the implementation of the SDGs, the EU and UNESCO are on the same page, thus the EU enforces and eases the implementation of the Goals by providing development funds. In most cases, the nation-state share power with local and regional governments and transfers these funds to the different levels of government.

Discussion

The first hypothesis (H1) stated in Chapter IV that the role of cities in the implementation of the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals is one of a mechanism (intermediary) conducted through orchestration by UNESCO via the UNESCO Creative Cities Network in order to align the nation-state behaviour with the Sustainable Development Agenda.

The data presented in the previous chapters for the cases of Curitiba, Dublin and Idanha-a-Nova shows that cities act as intermediaries. Regardless of the size of the city and its rural or urban setting, they provide the institutional structure and resources for implementing the SDGs on local levels. The cities' goals were converged with UNESCO and the UCCN mission to implement the SDGs. The local municipalities built upon existing programs or

introduced new ones to align with the UCCN mission. As intermediaries, the cities access to use UNESCO's logo inherited UNESCO's credibility, efficiency and reliability in the sector internationally.

In the three cases, there was goal convergence between UNESCO and the target, the nation-states, which agreed on being 'managed' by working in collaboration with the municipalities to implement the SDGs. As UCCN members, cities did align the nation-state behaviour with the SDA, but they did it in collaboration with the nation-state¹⁶⁰. Curitiba received the support from the Federal government that proud itself to have more UNESCO Creative Cities members. In the case of Dublin was much easier because it is the capital of Ireland and territorially speaking, the central government institutions are located in the same space. The case of Dublin UNESCO Creative City of Literature is being actively promoted by the national government and government-related institutions (such as national tourism agencies) and the mayor of Dublin internationally. Similar is the case of Idanha-a-Nova. Besides the fact that it is not a Capital of Portugal, its role as a pole for rural sustainable development under the umbrella of UNESCO Creative City of Music has been widely cited internationally by the Mayor of Idanha-a-Nova and the Portuguese central government.

These results make the orchestration theory and H1 more nuanced than expected, because the nation-state's behaviour is changed by the IOs and the cities, from the international and municipal level, and the nation-state welcomes this change. IOs and cities provide the resources, expertise and local instruments to implement the Goals, without mobilizing the resources of the central-state. Even though the transfers in the three cases are incomplete or inappropriate, such as the failure to implement creative programs that tackle urban problems such as poverty and violence (the case of Curitiba), a transfer is still present. The incomplete or inappropriate transfer is a result of local management and the goals that that management aims to achieve with the transfer. Moreover, the implementation of the SDA needs to start with a change of people's behaviour and their increased consciousness about the collective good and the environment, thus it is expected this change to be gradual (NICKOLIC;

¹⁶⁰ This argument goes in line with Arretche's (2010) who argues that the central-local relations have a strong influence over the IO-intermediate-state governance and that the political priorities of sub-unitary governments depend on their relationship with the highest level of governance (what has been referred to here as the central-unit).

CHEOK, 2016). The implementation of the SDGs on the municipal level through UCCN is only one means of the Agenda implementation.

The second hypothesis (H2) stated that: the theory of orchestration assumes that international organization (IO) initiated orchestration occurs in cases where there is high goal divergence between IOs and nation-states, and loose state oversight (ABBOTT et al., 2015, p. 372). The assumption holds that IOs “take advantage” of the loose oversight by the nation-state to close the divergence between IO and nation-state-initiated goals. However, *if cities are taken as intermediaries by UNESCO and them themselves apply voluntarily to be part of the UNESCO Creative Cities Network than they must engage in city-initiated orchestration and there must exist low goal divergence (as in the intermediary availability hypothesis) and strong municipal oversight.*

From the data presented in Chapter VI, we can see that the second hypothesis is also partially true. In the cases of Curitiba and Idanha-a-Nova the civil society, the private sector and the municipality, have taken the initiative to apply for membership at the UCCN. However, the case of Dublin shows different. Mrs Ellis-King wanted to apply for the UNESCO World Book Capital Title when she was approached by a bureaucrat at the UNESCO Commission in Ireland suggesting applying for membership at UCCN instead. The argument was that membership at UCCN is permanent and at UNESCO World Book Capital is only one-year title, thus the primary would bring more benefits to Dublin. In this relationship, we can see that there is goal convergence between Dublin City Libraries and the UNESCO National Commission. However, besides the fact that Mrs Ellis-King applied, the UNESCO National Commission called the orchestration.

In the three case studies, there is low goal divergence between the cities and UNESCO because the cities’ municipal development or sustainability plans are already aligned with the SDA through the national plans. Moreover, in all cases, the cities had strong municipal oversight over the UCCN Title. The municipalities or particular department of the municipalities of Curitiba, Dublin and Idanha-a-Nova were active in writing the application for candidacy. Except for Curitiba which Title was saved by the initiatives organized by the civil society, the municipalities of Dublin and Idanha-a-Nova closely oversee the local actions towards the implementation of the UCCN missions. The Dublin City Libraries published voluntary annual reports, in addition to the UCCN Monitoring Report and is actively engaged in the UCCN through the Steering Group and chairing of the UCCN sub-group for Literature.

The differences among the cases show that in some places governments are the ones that push the Goals' implementation and in other it is the civil society or the private sector, but eventually, convergence occurs.

The third hypothesis (H3) addressed the UNESCO standardization method of practise and means to implement global public policies for culture universally in different structures. It states that the *different institutional settings of cities, as well as the state structure they are located in, must influence the way good practices and the transfer of global public policies are implemented on the local level.*

The data shows that the national institutional structure the cities are located in does not affect the success or failure of the city's membership at the UCCN. The different institutional settings (the unitary or federal model) and the delegation of authority via administrative, political and fiscal decentralization also do not have a great effect on the city's performance as UNESCO Creative City. What affects the city's performance is municipal oversight and political will.

In the case of Idanha-a-Nova, the initiation for the bid was due to the increased migration of young people from the town and the need for a new municipal strategy to attract social and creative capital. The budget Idanha-a-Nova received from the central state was not enough to create employment and attractive environment for young adults, thus the local municipal management decided to use UNESCO's Creative Cities Network prestige to achieve its local goals. The town-region of Idanha-a-Nova tackled a national problem of unequal development. In the case of Curitiba, while there was a supportive political will the candidacy and membership went smoothly, however, after the change of government, Curitiba was close to losing the Title. Dublin enjoyed continuous government support for the Title, maybe because the mayor does not hold as much decision-making powers as in the case of Idanha-a-Nova and Curitiba.

Besides the different institutional settings, standardized global policy transfer occurs. From the cases, we notice a uniformity of cultural policies for sustainable development that encourage entrepreneurship, innovation and interdisciplinary approach to social problems, such as cooperation between science and creativity. The transfer occurs by being translated into the local language and policy needs.

Oliveira and Pal (2018) consider the resistance to policy transfer and policy implementation by local actors. In the cases studied there wasn't any direct resistance to the transfer. However, independently of the will of the local actors, the relationship between UNESCO and the city is always a relationship of power. In the three cases the transfer was a mix of coercive and voluntary transfer. The blur between the relationships is also due to the informal inter-organizational relations because oftentimes they occur ad hoc between policy professionals across or between government levels (SALET et al, 2003).

Chapter VIII- Conclusions

The thesis takes an interdisciplinary approach, joining the literatures on global public policy and institutionalism, international relations and political science, and political and economic geography. The innovative methodology, the combination of inter-organizational relations, policy transfer framework and orchestration also add to the uniqueness of the theses. The methodology helps to explain how IOs can have an impact on national policy making and address transnational governance by analysing the relationships among actors and by showing how organizational complexities can empower intermediaries through specialization, pooling of resources and mutual learning.

The thesis does not go by without any weaknesses. Field research and in-person interviews might have straightened the data on individual level which could lead to better understanding of the inter-organizational relations. The case selection is very limited. We cannot draw generalized conclusions on the delegation of powers in unitary and federal systems based on two and one case respectively.

The thesis opens the floor for further research on few fronts. Firstly, the inequality gap between the global North and the global South needs to be addressed. There is a wide difference between the global cities from the Global North and the Global South, where the first are characterized with technological, informational and economic prosperity and the latter are characterized with poverty, pollution and overpopulation (POTTER AND LLOYD-EVANS, 1998). There is a lack of timely data in the Global South countries, but not only. Due to the great focus on large cities, there is a lack of timely and reliable data from rural towns in the Global North. UNESCO and UCCN have created internal divisions which reflect the geography of global inequality as a way to address those inequalities, however the divisional departments are very small and cannot deliver the work that needs to be done. From past experience UNESCO has seen that developed countries are more capacitated to formulate and apply for candidacy at UCCN than developing countries and because of that cities from more developed countries assist developing ones to apply for UNESCO Creative City Title. Studying the relationship between the two groups and the difference of policy transfer in developing countries would enrich the literature on the subject.

Secondly, the diffusion of global trends and the coproduction of best practices can create tensions between the UNESCO Creative Cities model and the national models of creative cities and networks. A comparison between continental networks and the UCCN might be

fruitful when thinking about what kind of cultural development models should be fostered on global governance. The African Arts Institute and the African Creative Cities are a very good example of that. In line with that, the new city-regionalism is seen by many to challenge the ideals and practices of citizenship, political representation, and democracy that have been bound up with the achievement of statehood as economic, cultural, social, and informational flows (HARRISSON, 2007). That statement needs to be further tested in the creative city models.

Thirdly, the intermediary-initiated hypothesis needs to be applied in other cases in order to test its application and relevance in international relations studies.

The transfer of ideas and norms in the three cases presents a pattern where the UNESCO Creative City becomes a policy model for development. Global policies on culture are not international phenomena ‘invented’ by UNESCO. They are a subject of the particular historical policy development in each member-state. However, the contemporary phenomenon of fast diffusion of creative cities and their similar cultural policies that combine innovation, technology and creativity to achieve sustainability, alert towards homogenization of cultural policies. The UNESCO Creative Cities Network is such a platform that allows for that homogenization to occur. The UNESCO Creative Cities Network is a pool of cultural policies, practices, programs and projects that is a result of the fusion of national and global public policies on culture.

The local structure remains the most important space when it comes to policy formation. Nevertheless, the increased participation of municipalities in international relations blurs the line between local and global policy ideas and increases the scope for implementation of global cultural policies on local levels. Transnational networks and actors transfer and diffuse the policy ideas through physical and virtual spaces which make local municipalities more exposed to the shaping of global policies. Similarly, best practices are a result of policy evolution through the connections among various actors. It is a process of learning and constant coproduction of knowledge resulting in hybrid forms, and not an absolute form of a “best practice” (PRINCE, 2010).

Koops (2017) argues that the most important variable for inter-organizational relations to occur is the international system. The structural conditions of inter-organizational relations lied in the 2008 crisis which caused the country’s turn towards the creative industries and thus the fostering of cultural policies for national development and the implantation of the

Sustainable Development Goals. UNESCO took advantage of the situation by promoting its policies and programs and the emergence of new ideas, norms, concepts and practices which were the shift to sustainable development and the integration of culture in the development agenda.

Inter-organizational relations are much diffused, occurring on vertical and horizontal, and formal and informal grounds via policymakers, professionals and experts that interact via institutions or informal spaces. They also blur the boundaries between the domestic-external separation of public policy and foreign policy (THAKUR; WEISS, 2009, 21-22). These separate views of policy (foreign and domestic) matter in light of who is carrying policy out, where and how. The UNESCO National Commissions are a very good example of that.

The global competition of a city lies in its policies for sustainability (MATOVIC et al., 2018). The more sustainable a city is, the more competitive it is internationally (Ibid). In terms of foreign relations, cities cannot act internationally bypassing the nation-state, nevertheless, their increasing role as international actors is rising high. Corango (2010) argues that paradiplomacy is normalized nowadays and the city's international relations are not foreign to local and national policymakers. However, from the case studies we can see that besides the cities' increased internationalization, they are embedded in the national setting which they do not challenge. The effectiveness of the idea or policy implementation remains dependent on local institutional conditions and resources. The cases also show that UNESCO directly changes the local policies and influences a change in national policies. The direct relationship between global and municipal policy processes proves that national public institutions are no longer at the centre of policymaking processes, but there are other actors, such as IOs and cities, alongside the nation-state actively participating in the policymaking process.

What we can see from the case studies is that in urban and rural places, sustainability takes different forms, it is adjusted to the local needs, but it manifested via the same discourse and structure via the UCCN application and expectations of a UNESCO Creative City. The “new” creative economy based on knowledge, creativity and information caused a shift to urban development (FLEW, 2002) and increasing number of cities at fast pace are applying this model of governance (UN, 2015). The blend between culture, tourism and innovation as type of local development add to cities' capacity for value creation by taking advantage of the profitability of intellectual property. They promote a type of development where individual

creativity and talent have the potential to create income and employment. The rise of creative cities and city-regions as global hubs has expanded their territoriality beyond their territory through the international engagement in global networks (DUCHACEK, 1990; PORTER, 1998; O'CONNOR; GU, 2013). The challenges for spatial development in metropolitan regions have to be addressed under these contradictory conditions.

Besides the existing explanation in the literature that the diffusion of the creative city model is due to the increasing capital interactions of the neoliberal system and the global shift to knowledge-based economy (see FLORIDA, 2002), the rapid diffusion of this policy model is also due to the increased interactions of transnational actors (experts, policymakers, researchers, activists, cultural entrepreneurs, consultants, panellists, etc.). This is the “new frontier” of policy transfer and diffusion (OLIVEIRA; PAL, 2018). Their importance to the diffusion of the creative city policy model recreates its homogeneity and heterogeneity, simultaneously. The experts reproduce the same, connected model embedded in specific values, ideas and best practices, but when they apply it in a specific context they adapt to the conditions of that context.

The participation of municipalities in global governance is a soft mechanism for the transfer of the creative city policy model. Through this process, UNESCO orchestrates cities to steer nation-state's behaviour. Besides the nation-state's moral commitment to the SDGs, UNESCO further embeds the goals via cities and city-regions. The application of the creative city model to a city results in the decentralization of the policy process because the city is an administrative locus which has been given ideational and material assistance to implement the SDGs within the institutional setting. Municipalities provide the necessary structure to develop a plan for cultural development with specific targets that: foster public and private incentives for creativity, clusters, collectives, scholarships, researchers, fiscal incentives for innovation, galleries, cafes as well as stimulating entrepreneurship which offers solutions for urban problems. These mechanisms for development are direct translation from the Sustainable Development Agenda which makes specific reference to the support of local cultural production (target 8.9) and the support of imports from developing countries at competitive costs (target 10.a), as well as the strengthening of the cultural industries as a condition of country to take part of the global markets (UN, 2015).

The UNESCO Creative City Network (UCCN) complements the orchestration theory by adding a new orchestration initiator - the city. The UCCN also shows that in practice

orchestration can be initiated by the intermediaries – the cities – in their quest for delegation and competency on the international level. Cities voluntarily apply for being intermediaries and by doing so, they are initiating UNESCO orchestration on the sub-national level. Besides playing the role of an intermediary and benefiting with the ideational and material assistance, the city is also the one that changes nation-state behaviour, implements UNESCO' global agenda and it is the one which called upon UNESCO to do so.

In contrast to the orchestration assumption that lack of nation-state oversight creates space for orchestration, the empirical evidence shows that even in cases of strong nation-state and municipal oversight UNESCO orchestration occurred and whole-of-government programs were implemented. Consequently, orchestration provides efficient results to UNESCO because serves to create and enforce common rules for the conduct of the state. The weakness of the theory comes is in terms of shifting nation-state's priorities because it is not an immediate goal, but a long-term process.

The reproduction of ideas, policies and programs via the UNESCO Creative Cities Network signals standardization. Besides UNESCO's acknowledgement of cultural diversity and the different practices and roles of cultural industries (UNESCO and UNDP, 2013), in practice, it sets the standards and the hegemonic discourse for cultural policies in sustainable development, as well as its production, circulation and consumption. The global creative economy discourse has only recently begun to take seriously the plurality of practices (UNESCO and UNDP, 2013). Besides the recognition of the plurality of practices, UNESCO still fails to translate the diversity of practices into a variety of policies and normative frameworks. It lacks an inward-looking approach to the policy debate because the imposition of innovation and design policies as competitive-advantage models do not satisfy the need for that diversity (DE BEUKELAER, 2012, pg. 156).

The objective of UCCN is a gradual change of thinking and behaviour that would "wake-up" the citizens, the creative class to work towards the direction of sustainability (NICKOLIC; CHEOK, 2016) and consequently, the nation-state would need to adjust its policies towards the needs of the citizens. The user-centred designed applications, objects, communication, space, interface or service based on innovation and technology contribute to the change of mindset towards the general good (NICKOLIC; CHEOK, 2016). Furthermore, from a broader perspective, the city and UCCN is just one intermediary and program, of UNESCO and the national mechanisms of implementing the SDA. During the last decades,

creative-based strategies have been implemented all over the world as key drivers for the revitalisation and development of small and medium-sized cities.

In conclusion, the research shows that ideas about development are very much top-down. This conclusion draws implications for global governance because even though it is not a straight line, national and municipal policies are being shaped by international trends. Besides the fact that member-states have been involved in the decision-making process, at the UN the role and function of those representatives are not confined within the nation-state. Those individuals present national interests, but also the interest of the UN. The fast travelling of the creative cities and cultural policies show the kind of policymaking structures in a globalized policy world where these structures facilitate the rapid transfer into diverse places (from the USA to China) which otherwise would have been completely sealed off (STONE, 2008). More importantly, the travelling of the creative city model has been able to align divergent political projects and motivations through a common institution - the UN. As a result, what are cities globalizing are cultural policies embedded in the UN approach to sustainability.

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Appendix

Appendix I: Brazil in the development continuum

In 1889 the Portuguese descents ruling the Kingdom of Brazil were replaced by a republic which lasted until 1930 when the country went under dictatorship by Getulio Vargas. The period from 1930 to 1945 is known as the Vargas era. Development meant industrialization, promotion of people`s welfare, increased national economic performance and economic autonomy from the international community and donors. The state assumed the role of the main actor delivering the objectives and providing a balance between state and market intervention (1991). Additionally, policies on included import substitution, protectionism and planned industrialization were encouraged (BIELSCHOWSKY, 1991).

Culture`s role was creating a national identity. Before Vargas, the cultural sector in Brazil was not institutionalized and had limited appearance in education through the French Artistic Mission that taught European classical art (BARBALHO, 2007). Vargas established the Ministry of Education and Health, responsible for cultural programmes, as well as the Department of Print and Propaganda, among others which addressed the new policy issues. The institutions were closely monitored by the regime which conducted censorship and shaped the national imagery internationally (BARBALHO, 2007; MOREIRA, n.d.).

Ideas about development strengthened after the Vargas era and the democratization period, from 1946 until 1964, also known as the Second Republic. This period was marked by the thinking of Celso Furtado who was in support of constant industrialization, national production, the substitution of imported goods and decrease of the unemployment rates and the poverty gap. The ideas propagated by Furtado, gained further reliability when he became part of the team of the United Nation Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (UNECLAC), a member of UNESCO`s World Commission on Culture and Development. His legacy continued as Minister of Culture under the presidency of Jose Sarney. Most importantly, Furtado is the first agent who formally introduced the idea of cultural development in Brazilian policy (KAY, 2005).

At this time, cultural policies were addressed via the Ministry of Education and Culture, funded in 1953. It was the first public institution to specifically address culture, but its policies were not significant on national level.

From 1964 until 1985, Brazil was governed by many military coups, which occurred as a suppressive response against emerging communist ideas in the country (SILVA, 2001). The dictatorships repressed political dialogue and as a consequence, many intellectuals fled the country. The Brazilian government encouraged dependent development on foreign relations and capital (BIELSCHOWSKY, 1991). The coups made a paradigm shift of the cultural policies (and the rest) - to neoliberal orthodoxy.

Culture followed industrial logic. Cultural policies were centralized to the federal administration for better control of cultural production. The state invested heavily in the audio-visual sector and propaganda and repressed free thought and criticism. Institutionally, important cultural organs were erected. In 1966, the Federal Council of Culture and documents elaborating National Policy for Culture (finished in 1975) followed the modernizing trend of massification and commodification of cultural goods, so Brazil could catch up with the rest of the developed world. The plan established a link between culture and development and manifested the presence of UNESCO's ideas in Brazil (RUBIM, 2007). Its aim was "a full realization of the Brazilian men as a person" and acknowledgement of the Brazilian cultural diversity (POLÍTICA NACIONAL DE CULTURA, 1975). The execution of this program followed global trends, incorporating the international debate on cultural development and acknowledgement of culture as a mean of growth, focusing on its expansion on the national and international market (SILVA, 2001).

Traditional culture was perceived as an obstacle to development, thus the policies referred mostly to cultural industries and high culture. The culturally tolerant narrative was not reflected in the policy implementation. The values of tolerance, solidarity, pacifism and benevolence listed in the National Policy of Culture were only conceptually used as a symbolic language to justify the policies (SILVA, 2001). The Ministry of Culture was created as a separate organ. Other institutions as the National Foundation of the Arts (FUNARTE), The Popular Centre of Culture, EMBRAFILME, were also created (LIMA, 2014). The creation of FUNARTE, particularly, was a step forward for the development of cultural policies because it distinguished between cultural and educational policies. Until then, each federal ministry would tackle cultural policies within its own department and FUNARTE created independent, more centralized debates about cultural policies (SILVA, 2001). Recording and publishing companies, as well as TV marketing, boomed at this time, due to the institutionalization of these ideas in institutions. Behind the development discourse, of course, was the centralized formulation and implementation of cultural policies. Thus, cultural

policies were a mean of institutionalization and modernization of culture, as well as for reproduction of patrimonialism.

The fall of the dictatorship regime in 1985 resulted in redefinition of competences among the governmental spheres and redistribution of competences, particularly social policies and programs were given to the municipal administrations (OECD, 2010). This period is known as the New Republic. In order to guarantee democratic values, intellectuals, businessmen and politicians gathered to create the Constitution of 1988 and re-establish democratic structure with clear divisions between the executive, legislative and judicial branches (OECD, 2010). The new Constitution brought progressive changes such as women`s rights, worker`s rights, minimal salaries for disabled, and it gave culture the status of a human right, giving the marginalized cultural groups, such as Indigenous and Afro-Brazilian cultures societal recognition. Cultural practices such as Capoeira or Candomblé¹⁶¹, which were punishable by law, became legal and free to practice (LIMA, 2014; MINISTERIO DA CULTURA, 2012). Moreover, an important influence to the Brazilian development thinking had the Washington Consensus (1989), which deepened the neoliberal policies (BESSER-PEREIRA, 2006).

Furtado`s ideas reclaimed attention in the democratization period. Furtado was the third Minister of Culture after the creation of the Ministry of Culture in 1985, under the presidency of Jose Sarney (KAY, 2006). Prominently, a highlight in the cultural policy is the fiscal Law Sarney, which was an incentive law for private firms to invest in cultural production in return to tax-relief. This law made private firms the main agents of cultural diffusion and development and it deepened the private investment in the national cultural market (BARBALHO, 2007; SARNEY, 2011). The Law Sarney was later slightly modified to Law Rouanet which still exists today and is a subject to heated debate¹⁶².

In the years to come, Brazilian cultural policies followed the development ideas from UNESCO`s report “Our Creative Diversity” which identified traditional culture as the missing puzzle for endogenous development (WCCD, 1996). Besides the national discursive commitment, practical policies safeguarding diversity were lacking (BARBALHO, 2007).

¹⁶¹Capoeira and Candomblé are traditional Afro-Brazilian practices and religion, respectively.

¹⁶² Law Rouanet is criticised by smaller cultural producers because private companies are less likely to support them due to their small reach of audience, or type of creative content. Generally, private companies tend to invest in cultural events that will give them visibility and cultural marketing. The following companies make extensive use of the Lei Rouanet: Banco Bradesco, Banco do Brasil, Electrobás, FIAT, Itaú Bank, Petrobras, Oi telecommunications, Telecomunicações SP and Vale do Rio Doce among others (SMITH, 2014).

In the 1990s, when globalization was at its stake, Brazilian economy was relatively closed. Coming out of a hyperinflation, the economic recovery plan included privatization of state businesses and state-run social reforms. The budget for culture had increased¹⁶³ because the responsibility for cultural production and consumption was transferred to the private sector, via the Law Rouanet and the role of the Ministry of Culture was to facilitate that process (CALABRE, 2007).

In the 2000s, there was a shift. Development policies were export-oriented, rejected protectionism and pressures from developed countries, and promoted the national interest. Suddenly, Brazil positioned itself on the global table and tried to catch up nationally via local development.

The Cultural Plan for Brazilian Development published in 2006, recognized culture as the missing puzzle of the process of *sustainable* development and used the world culture in the plural, embracing the country's diversity (KOZYMKA, 2014). It stated that cultural and economic development are interrelated and that cultural public policies should address that connection, so they can contribute to social inclusion, generate income and employment and affirm Brazil's position in the world¹⁶⁴ (CALABRE, 2007). There were also minor changes of Law Roanet and implementation of new policies which strengthened the role of the state in cultural affairs and actively involved the civil society in the process of sustainable policy-making (LIMA, 2014). These policies were directly translated from UNESCO's 2001 Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity and 2005 Convention of Protection and Promotion of Cultural Expressions which were institutionalized in the newly-opened Secretary of Citizenship and Cultural Diversity (SCDC) (MARAÑA, 2010; „Plano Nacional de Cultura“, 2014).

The main action of the Secretary was the policy “Cultura Viva”¹⁶⁵. This policy was an attempt to balance the dominant private funding of the cultural sectors (mainly conducted through Law Ruanet) with state funding. Additionally, the policy aimed involving civil society in the process of policy development through state and municipal Cultural Councils.

¹⁶³Particularly under the presidency of Fernando Henrique Cardoso.

¹⁶⁴ The role of the creative economy and the creative industries starts to gain momentum in Brazil after the XI UNCTAD Ministerial Conference which took place in Sao Paulo in 2004. The next year, the Brazilian Ministry of Culture in Partnership with UNCTAD organized the I International Forum of the Creative Industries in Salvador, Bahia.

¹⁶⁵Other programs were also implemented such as Mais Cultura (2007), Vale Cultura (2012) and Cinema Perto de Você (2012).

“Cultura Viva” was nominated as best practice by UNESCO and an initiative by the Secretary of Citizenship and Cultural Diversity was taken to replicate the policy in other Latin American countries such as Colombia, Mexico and the United Kingdom (KOZYMKA, 2014; UNESCO, 2000). Moreover, other institutions, as the International Centre of Creative Economy invested in video game production and other cultural industries which generated employment and revenue (RUBIM, 2007). Cultural production was central to creating a cultural democracy and overcoming social exclusion, and it was defined as a way to generate employment and attract investment in the country.

In 2010, the “National plan for Culture” and the 2011 “Plan of the Secretariat of the Creative Economy: Policies, Guidelines and Actions, 2011-2014”, embraced the principles of creative economy. The Secretariat of Creative Economy¹⁶⁶ (2012), in the same time published the plan “Brasil Criativo”, creating a new model for development. Ana Carla Fonseca Reis (2008) interprets this shift as Brazil’s acceptance of the new, global economic model embedded in the creative economy as basis for creating new social and economic relations. Sectors such as aeronautics, petro-chemical inventions, etc¹⁶⁷ are part of the innovative and internationally-competitive companies which were affected positively by the new cultural programs.

To put it in perspective, the media and entertainment industries (business and consumer expenditure on books, printed media, TV, radio, films, videogames, advertising, internet access and other media) in Brazil in 2013 generated US\$ 48 billion, compared with US\$ 42.5 billion the previous year (SMITH, 2014).

Currently, the Ministry of Culture adopts an international definition of the creative economy, departing from UNESCO, defined as a set of economic activities related to the creation, production, circulation, diffusion, consumption and access of goods, services and contents with cultural nature (SECRETARIA ESPECIAL DA CULTURA, N.D.). While creating the national plans and reports, among which the National Program for Creative

¹⁶⁶ On Federal level, the Brazilian government also began drafting a new strategy for ‘culture in external relations’ jointly prepared by the Ministry of Culture in cooperation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Development, Industry and Trade, the Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation, the Ministry of Tourism and the agencies for trade SEBRAE and APEX.

¹⁶⁷ The Ministry of Culture developed the program ‘Culture without borders’ in cooperation with the Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation under the objective of reaching social inclusion and sharing this best practice with other countries.

Economy (2016), the Brazilian government relies on technical consultancy by UNESCO, particularly to structure the programs, create methods aligned with strategic planning and build governance models for constructing the agenda for creative culture (Ibid).

Other than Ministry of Culture, banks and private companies are key players in the development of cultural policies. Banco do Brasil, Caixa Bank and Itau Bank are the most prominent ones, that have their own cultural centres which are among the most active ones (SMITH, 2014).

The focus on regional and municipal policies for development in Brazil is not as strong as its urban development statistics suggest. 84% of Brazilians live in urban areas, from which 66% live in municipalities with more than 50 million inhabitants (IBGE, 2010). The implementation of cultural policies and the fostering of the cultural and creative industries might be a path, but the federal government has not made this link formally, yet.

Appendix II: Ireland in the development continuum

Ireland gained its independence from the British Commonwealth in 1922, but only in 1949 it was formally declared a Republic. Its independence resulted in division of the island to Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland, which is still part of the United Kingdom. Main source of conflict in the region were religious tensions between Protestants and Catholics, which traces are present even today between the two major political parties Fine Gael¹⁶⁸ and Fianna Fáil¹⁶⁹.

During the first thirty years of independence, Ireland did not create any policies or instruments addressing cultural policies because the arts were seen as a luxury that a newly emerged state could not afford (FITZGIBBON, 2015). The first reference to the arts was made in 1951 with the establishment of the Arts Act and the creation of the Arts Council, arms-length institution to the Prime Minister's office (Taoiseach in Irish), which made provisions for elective funding for the arts by local governments. In terms of the artistic setting, there was hard censorship upon the creation of art.

The 1970s were marked by major economic reforms, including the admission to the European Economic Community (EEC), however, since the Irish largest percentage of exports went to the UK, it did not become part of EEC until 1973. Before becoming part of the EU, Ireland's economy was largely agricultural and dependent on the UK market as its main exporter. After three decades exposure to foreign direct investment, Ireland has succeeded to attract knowledge-based firms (computer, engineering, pharmaceutical and chemical sectors) to constitute sectorial clusters, by giving these enterprises tax breaks, grants and trained local work-force. This was partly due to EU membership norms at the time which urged industrial trade and international cooperation. These forces directed Ireland (and the rest of EU member states) towards a free-market economy. The Irish Industrial Development Agency (IDA) was created for those purposes (FITZGIBBON, 2015)

In 1975 the central government transferred all responsibilities to the Arts Council, making it the main institution for art. However, the Arts Council had limited founding which constrained it in developing policies which would address the current necessities. The funding

¹⁶⁸Fine Gael is a center-right, liberal-conservative, pro-European political party in Ireland.

¹⁶⁹[Fianna Fáil](#) is the center or center-right conservative, pro-European political party in Ireland.

problem was not addressed until 1987 when the National Lottery¹⁷⁰ poured funds to the institution, providing for 28% of the overall budget.

The 1980s were marked by ideas of endogenous development growth in Ireland, which followed a global trend. Besides technological change, as a key driver, it was complemented with national and economic growth measured with economic, social and political variables (GROSSMAN; HELPMAN, 1994). The easing of censorship from the 1970s onwards had a positive effect on Irish creative production (Ibid). This was enhanced by two important government initiatives, unique to Ireland. In 1981, the Taoiseach, (Prime Minister) Charles Haughey instigated a new scheme in support of creative artists, through the formation of Aosdána (Irish Association of Artists) which guaranteed a basic state income to its members. Haughey had earlier introduced a change in the law to allow artists exemption from taxation for income earned from their creative work. Both schemes made an enormous difference to the living conditions of artists in Ireland and still exist today.

During the 1990s, Ireland's economy was marked by the new ideas of the Washington Consensus (1997). Its growth strategy required further openness to international trade, macroeconomic stability and limited government involvement in the economy. The institutional changes shaping Ireland's outward-oriented economy were conducted by the central state and sealed throughout the years by being a reference, among European countries, for strong civil society and technical, scientific and business developments (ALEESE, 1997).

More serious consideration for cultural policies took place in 1993 with the establishment of the Department of Art, Culture and the Gaeltacht. It was the first time the government has formally institutionalized culture, embracing only a number of cultural initiatives such as broadcasting, heritage, films and the Irish language. In 1995, jointly with the Arts Council, the Department of Art, Culture and the Gaeltacht prepared the first national plan for the arts. Using European Union's structural funds¹⁷¹ as a complement to the national funds, numerous cultural centres were constructed around the country, such as the National Museum, the National Gallery, the National Concert Hall, Irish Museum of Modern Art, the National Library, Chester Beatty Library and Turlock Park House. As a result of the centralization,

¹⁷⁰ The apportionment of National Lottery funding is the responsibility of the Minister of Public Expenditure and Reform.

¹⁷¹ In general EU funding came in terms of capital funding, project grants or through training programmes.

since 2003 each local authority is required to develop a plan for the arts, following the central one (FITZGIBBON, 2015).

As a small country, Ireland is vulnerable to global events. The 2000s were marked by the great economic crisis of 2008 which led Ireland to request financial assistance from the European Commission, the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Ireland passed through the biggest bail-out of history for any country needing 25-26% of GDP. This resulted in a major financial and political crisis in the country. The 2008 economic crisis caused a rapid reversal of the funds for culture. The arts sector also went through centralization. The sustainability of the cultural facilities was put in danger because their fundraisers were cut (FITZGIBBON, 2015). In the meantime, the Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht had an active role in ratifying the UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, as well as it was an active member in European Union-based cultural programs.

Since 2014, Ireland has succeeded to get back on track with a strong economic growth which has gained the name “Celtic Phoenix”. Besides the overall economic growth, no significant investments in the cultural budget were made. The decentralization of cultural activities to local governments, though has facilitated regional advancements. As of 2010, there has been integration of the arts in other sectors, such as tourism, health and urban regeneration¹⁷² as an initiative to connect the arts with the emergence of the cultural industries and the creative economy¹⁷³. For instance, the Arts and Culture Enhancement Support Scheme (2009) created a link between the Department of Tourism, Culture and Sport and the local authorities.

Since 2015 there has been a shift in institutional behaviour towards institutionalizing innovation and creativity. The Irish Industrial Development Agency changes its focus to attracting foreign investment in the knowledge-based industries, information and communication technologies and bio technology (IDA Ireland, 2019). The Department of Arts, Heritage, Regional, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs¹⁷⁴ committed to publishing strategies

¹⁷²Institutionally, cultural development policies are implemented via several departments – Finance, Education and Skills, Environment, Community and Local Government, Foreign Affairs and Trade, Jobs, Enterprise and Innovation, Justice and Equality and Communications, Energy and Natural Resources, etc.

¹⁷³A number of economic organisations such as the Irish Business and Employers Confederation and Audiovisual Federation represent the interests of creative industry sub-sectors.

¹⁷⁴Shortly renamed due to the increased responsibilities to tackle the problem of high rural-urban migration, but then renamed again to the Department of Culture, Heritage and the Gaeltacht.

that would set out the actions of the department towards protection and promotion of culture and cultural policies (THE DEPARTMENT OF ARTS, HERITAGE, REGIONAL, RURAL AND GAELTACHT AFFAIRS, 2016). The Arts Council has also started to publish Strategic reviews since 2014 from which year has included the economic and social importance for development of the cultural and creative industries (Arts Council, 2014).

Appendix III: Portugal in the development continuum

In the 1920s Portugal was governed by a coup d'état which caused a series of economic problems. This coup formed the Second Republic and became the New State in 1933, led by a single-party regime headed by Antonio de Oliveira Salazar. This period is marked by milled political liberalization and formation of weak opposition and freedom of expression. Education levels were low and Portugal was still considered a developing country. After Salaza's death, in 1970, he was substituted by Marcelo Caetano who introduced harsher censorship and surveillance and introduced corporations-based and elite-dominated market economy. The regime also limited the cultural and artistic endeavour and did not follow the European cultural trends which at that time were investing in high arts. The structural transformation was introduced through emigration, trade, and tourism and foreign investment. At this time Portugal gained economic power and moved upwards in the development continuum towards the model of the developed West European countries.

In 1974 Portugal underwent through another regime, now left-wing military coup which installed the Third Republic. Series of democratic reforms were introduced, among which granting independence to the overseas provinces in Africa. From then on, the democratic government was installed. This regime invested in culture by promoting the democratisation of culture, or access to culture goods to all citizens. However, this political will was not followed by institutional reforms because the culture was not addressed with an independent ministry (GOMES; MARTINHO, 2011). Until 1976 the cultural affairs were managed by the Ministry of Education until the Secretary of State for Culture was created. The Secretary of State for Culture was under the jurisdiction of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers. The role of culture was taken as a successful mean of managing local public affairs. This can be noticed by the constantly increasing allocation of budget for culture on the local and national level (GOMES; MARTINHO, 2011). Moreover, there was an increase in the public-private partnerships and shared responsibilities between the central government and the local councils, such as developing networks of cultural facilities like the National Public Libraries Network (REDE NACIONAL DE BIBLIOTECAS PÚBLICAS) in 1987.

The 1980s were marked with economic expansions and privatization of many state-owned industries. In 1986 Portugal became part of the European Union which membership changed the course of the country's development. Portugal exported 73% of its goods to European countries and imported 77% from its total imports from Europe (BRUSSELS RESEARCH GROUP, 2019). As for culture, a number of foundations were created as means of aid

receiving¹⁷⁵. Between 1989 and 2000 the following foundations were actively operating: the Serralves Foundation, the Arpad Szènes-Vieira da Silva Foundation, the Centro Cultural de Belém Foundation, the Museu do Douro Foundation, the Contemporary and Modern Art Foundation – Berardo Collection (GOMES; MARTINHO, 2011).

The Ministry of Culture was officially established in 1995, made by separate sectors in charge of different policies: books and reading; heritage; creative work in the arts; decentralisation, and internationalisation. The initiatives of the Ministry mainly involve private-public partnerships, particularly in the setting up of cultural facilities (cinemas, theatres, libraries). Gradually, the Ministry's budget diminished, thus its functions was to allocate budgets and apply for European funds for investment in culture.

In 1999 Portugal adopted the Euro and enjoyed short economic stability until the 2008 crisis hit. As a result of the crisis, there were high unemployment rates and the shrinking of the economy until 2013. Besides the devastating economic situation of the country, cultural activities continued to thrive. In 2008, Portuguese government approved a Strategy for Recognition and Promotion of the Portuguese Language recognising the importance of the cultural, geo-strategic and economic value of the Portuguese language, as well as its fundamental role in education and training courses in the scope of development cooperation. The government created a special fund - The Portuguese Language Fund- and an Inter-ministerial Commission representing five ministries (Foreign Affairs; Education; Culture; Science, Technology and Higher Education; Parliamentary Affairs) was created to monitor the developments of the strategy (GOMES; MARTINHO, 2011).

In 2000 the Ministry of Culture launched the Portuguese Museums Network (Rede Portuguesa de Museus). Moreover, in 2008 Portugal started to adopt the idea of creativity and innovation as a means for achieving sustainable development. At first, the idea was specific to big cities such as Lisbon and Porto, but maybe seven years later, the idea diffuses in the rural areas, however still with small steps. An example is a national plan for the development of the creative sector of the Northern Region of Portugal. The first step was “Macroeconomic research for the development of clusters of creative industries in the Northern Region”, giving

¹⁷⁵ The 1986 legislation states that gifts made to foundations automatically reduce the amount due on taxable income, provided that the state, the Autonomous Regions or local authorities contribute at least 50% of the initial funding.

an overall image of the social, economic and cultural situation of the region using existing data. The next step was the creation of the Agency of the Development of the Creative Industries (ADDICT) which aim is to serve as a platform for knowledge, information and promotion and coordination of the creative industries to contribute towards the development of entrepreneurship and the creative economy in the Northern part of Portugal and latter for the entire country (FURTADO, ALVES, 2012). However, due to the limited financial resources of the Ministry of Culture and the limited cultural facilities around the country, there weren't any means to start acting towards implementing the ideas in practice. The role of ADDICT is still important, but without the European funds for culture, the initiative would be long gone. ADDICT is a non-profit association supporting the creative industries sector in Portugal. The main objective is to foster a favourable environment to promote creation, production and distribution in the creative industries while acting as an innovation and internationalization platform. It has joined the European Creative Hubs in 2014 and now it is completely financed by the EU. The Portuguese Ministry of Economy acts as local coordinator. ADDICT has 80 members and covers range of creative sectors such as research and development, universities, cultural NGOs, city councils, freelancers, youth associations, etc, that focus their work on territorial competitiveness and urban regeneration (UNESCO, 2016). ADDICT is just one of the attempts to decentralize cultural activities from Lisbon and Porto, where all the cultural foundations, funds and facilities are concentrated.

The contemporary Portuguese cultural policies have been influenced by the large legal migration of foreigners. Between 2000 and 2008 the number of foreigners doubled from 208.000 to 436.000 (SEF, 2008). Most of these migrants come from the former Portuguese colonies in the African continent and East Europe. For those reasons, the cultural foundations focus their funds on joint tangible and intangible heritage and research in culture with the former colonies (GULBENKIAN, 2019).

Appendix IV: Example of UCCN best practice

For instance, a good practice for the field of literature comes from Krakow called "ReadPL!" ("CzytajPL!"). The organizers are Krakow UNESCO Creative City of Literature, Krakow Festival Office and the Woblink.com, an e-book platform. It aims to address the low reading rate of all agents in Poland by using new technologies. Its first edition was in 2015 during the Conrad International Literature Festival where more than 300 bus stops in Krakow, Gdańsk, Katowice, Poznań, Warszawa and Wroclaw were turned into e-book libraries. People

needed to download the application of “Czytaj PL!” scan the QR code and choose the book they wish to borrow. By facilitating the book-rent, the municipalities estimated that 20,000 e-books were borrowed, as well as over 500 titles in national and local media. Since 2015, the project expanded in 16 other polish cities with a long-term goal to implement this program in the public schools. Moreover, due to strong partnerships between the private and the public sector, the list of books expanded and the application was offered for free (MATOVIC et al., 2018, p.36).

Annexes

Annex 1: The O-I-T model by ABBOTT et al., 2015 applied to the UNESCO-City-Nation-State model created by the author

Conditions for orchestration	Description of the condition	Applied in the UNESCO-City-State model
Orchestrator capabilities	Lack of capabilities of hard governance and insufficient regulatory competence to achieve objectives, thus the intermediary complements the missing capabilities in return to receiving material and ideational support.	UNESCO lacks hard governance force for the implementation of the conventions and recommendations for culture, thus the need to compensate its missing capabilities via intermediaries offering their expertise. UNESCO uses convening, agenda-setting, assistance, endorsement and coordination Orchestration techniques
Intermediary availability	Intermediaries with correlated goals and complementary capabilities.	Cities` goal convergence with the SDGs justifies their voluntary involvement and offering of their capabilities to UNESCO. Moreover, cities are multi-stakeholders, cooperating with NGOs, private enterprises and public-private partnerships making for attractive intermediaries.
Orchestrator focality	Governance actors focal in their relevant area	UNESCO is the focal international actor on culture acting as uncontested leader which gives it legitimacy to act on the subject.
Orchestrator entrepreneurship	Governance actors that collaborate and experiment new relationships with other actors are more likely to orchestrate than isolated actors.	Decentralized implementation of the SDGs through cooperation with multi-stakeholders allows for innovation and active involvement of municipalities, the civil sector, the private sector and individuals.
IOs-specific features	IOs can go against the member-states will, if their mandate allows	UNESCO is an agent to its member states that collectively are its principal, however due to UNESCO expertise in cultural policies and development,
Goal convergence/divergence	IOs are likely to orchestrate when there is goal divergence between the IO and the target	Due to the general goal convergence between the nation-state and UNESCO, orchestration is desirable by the state (TALLBERG, 2015). In that way, states meet the SDG without giving too much delegation to UNESCO and at a very low cost.
State oversight	Weak state institutional control	UNESCO authority and strong municipal

	mechanisms	oversight allow for the local implementation of the Goals.
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Source: personal elaboration

Annex 2: Database on case selection

The cases were selected by creating an Excel Sheet listing the (1) 116 cities, members of the UNESCO Creative Cities Network until 2015, (2) their UCCN category and year of membership, (3) their geographic size, (4) population size and (5) their country's state system (unitary or federal). The data for the two first rows was selected from [UNESCO Creative Cities Network website](#). The information regarding population¹⁷⁶ and area size was collected from the portal [City Population](#) which has proven to be the most updated and reliable site for such information, however, the information is an estimate of the real numbers because the latest data available was from 2014 until 2018 (Stage 1¹⁷⁷). After finding the biggest, medium and smallest values per population and area (stage 2), I then selected the three cases based on their state system (Stage 3). Besides the fact that Shanghai is the most populous city, I chose Curitiba (the 3rd option) because it shows better population-area size proportion and it is from a country with a federal system. The final result led to selection of Curitiba, Dublin and Idanha-a-Nova as case studies.

Stage 1- List of all UCCN city-members until 2015

City	Country	UCCN Category	Year Of UCCN
Adelaide	Australia	Music	2015
Al-Ahsa	Saudi Arabia	Crafts and Folk Art	2015
Aswan	Egypt	Crafts and Folk Art	2005
Austin	USA	Music	2015
Baghdad	Iran	Literature	2015
Bamiyan	Afghanistan	Crafts and Folk Art	2015
Bandung	Indonesia	Design	2015
Barcelona	Spain	Literature	2015
Beijing	China	Design	2012
Belem	Brazil	Gastronomy	2015
Bergen	Norway	Gastronomy	2015

¹⁷⁶ It is important to note that the number of inhabitants of each city refers to the metropolitan size of the city and not only the municipality at stake, because UCCN encourages inter-governmental cooperation on regional level as well as the involvement of the entire region with the cultural and creative policies of the central (capital) municipality of that certain region.

¹⁷⁷ Full database available on demand via email: julijana.nicha@gmail.com

Berlin	Germany	Design	2005
Bilbao	Spain	Design	2014
Bitola	Macedonia	Film	2015
Bogota	Colombia	Music	2012
Bologna	Italy	Music	2006
Bradford	UK	Film	2009
Brazzaville	Congo	Music	2013
Budapest	Hungary	Design	2015
Buenos Aires	Argentina	Design	2005
Burgos	Spain	Gastronomy	2015
Bussan	Korea	Film	2014
Chengdu	China	Gastronomy	2010
Curitiba	Brazil	Design	2014
Dakar	Senegal	Media Arts	2014
Denia	Spain	Gastronomy	2015
Detroit	USA	Design	2015
Dublin	Ireland	Literature	2010
Dundee	UK	Design	2014
Dunedin	New Zealand	Literature	2014
Duran	Ecuador	Crafts and Folk Art	2015
Edinburgh	UK	Literature	2004
Enghien-les-Bains	France	Media Arts	2013
Ensenada	Mexico	Gastronomy	2015
Fabriano	Italy	Crafts and Folk Art	2013
Florianopolis	Brazil	Gastronomy	2014
Galway	Ireland	Film	2014
Gaziantep	Turkey	Gastronomy	2015
Ghent	Belgium	Music	2009
Glasgow	UK	Music	2008
Granada	Spain	Literature	2014
Graz	Austria	Design	2011
Gwangju	Korea	Media Arts	2014
Hamamatsu	Japan	Music	2014
Hangzhou	China	Crafts and Folk Art	2012
Hannover	Germany	Music	2014
Heidelberg	Germany	Literature	2014
Helsinki	Finland	Design	2014
Icheon	Korea	Crafts and Folk Art	2010
Idanha-a-Nova	Portugal	Music	2015
Iowa City	USA	Literature	2008
Isfahan	Iran	Crafts and Folk Art	2015
Jacmel	Haiti	Crafts and Folk Art	2014
Jaipur	India	Crafts and Folk Art	2015
Jeonju	Korea	Gastronomy	2012

Jingdezhen	China	Crafts and Folk Art	2014
Kanazawa	Japan	Crafts and Folk Art	2009
Katowice	Poland	Music	2015
Kaunas	Lithuania	Design	2015
Kingston	Jamaica	Music	2015
Kinshasa	Congo	Music	2015
Kobe	Japan	Design	2008
Krakow	Poland	Literature	2013
Linz	Austria	Media Arts	2014
Liverpool	Uk	Music	2015
Ljubljana	Slovenia	Literature	2015
Lubumbashi	Congo	Crafts and Folk Art	2015
Lviv	Ukraine	Literature	2015
Lyon	France	Media Arts	2008
Mannheim	Germany	Music	2014
Medellin	Colombia	Music	2015
Melbourne	Australia	Literature	2008
Montevideo	Uruguay	Literature	2015
Montreal	Canada	Design	2006
Nagoya	Japan	Design	2008
Nassau	Bahamas	Crafts and Folk Art	2014
Norwich	UK	Literature	2012
Nottingham	UK	Literature	2015
Obidos	Portugal	Literature	2015
Ostersund	Sweden	Gastronomy	2010
Paducah	USA	Crafts and Folk Art	2013
Parma	Italy	Gastronomy	2015
Pekalongan	Indonesia	Crafts and Folk Art	2014
Phuket	Thailand	Gastronomy	2015
Popoyan	Colombia	Gastronomy	2005
Prague	Czech Republic	Literature	2014
Puebla	Mexico	Design	2015
Rashit	Iran	Gastronomy	2015
Reykjavik	Iceland	Literature	2011
Rome	Italy	Film	2015
Saint-Etienne	France	Design	2010
Salvador	Brazil	Music	2015
San Cristoval de las Casas	Mexico	Crafts and Folk Art	2015
Santa Fe	USA	Crafts and Folk Art	2005
Santos	Brazil	Film	2015
Sapporo	Japan	Media Arts	2013
Sasayama	Japan	Crafts and Folk Art	2015
Seoul	Korea	Design	2010
Seville	Spain	Music	2006

Shanghai	China	Design	2010
Shenzhen	China	Design	2008
Shunde	China	Gastronomy	2014
Singapore	Singapore	Design	2015
Sofia	Bulgaria	Film	2014
Suzhou	China	Crafts and Folk Art	2014
Sydney	Australia	Film	2010
Tartu	Estonia	Literature	2015
Tel Aviv-Yafo	Israel	Media Arts	2014
Tongyeong	Korea	Music	2015
Tsuruoka	Japan	Gastronomy	2014
Tuscon	USA	Gastronomy	2015
Turin	Italy	Design	2014
Ulyanovsk	Russian Federation	Literature	2015
Varanasi	India	Music	2015
York	UK	Media Arts	2014
Zhale	Lebanon	Gastronomy	2013

Stage 2- Database with the largest, medium and smallest city by population and area size

	City	Country	Year of UCCN	UCCN category	Population	Geographical size in km ²	Federal/unitary
Largest city by territory in km ²	Florianopolis (1 st)	Brazil	2014	Gastronomy	485,8380	672,042	Federal
	Curitiba (2 nd)	Brazil	2014	Design	1,908,359	435,036	Federal
	Aswan (3 rd)	Egypt	2005	Crafts and Folk Art	148,446	62,726	Unitary
Medium city by territory	Glasgow	UK	2008	Music	985,290	265	Unitary
Smallest city by territory in km ²	Idanha-a-Nova (1 st)	Portugal	2015	Music	9,716	1,416	Unitary
	Enghien-les-Bains (2 nd)	France	2013	Media Arts	11,188	1,77	Unitary
	Zahlé (3 rd)	Lebanon	2013	Gastronomy	140,032	8	Unitary
Largest city by population	Shanghai (1 st)	China	2010	Design	24,080,748	6340	Unitary
	Beijing (2 nd)	China	2012	Design	21,07	16,808	Unitary
Medium city by population	Dublin	Ireland	2010	Literature	553,165	117	Unitary
Smallest city by population	Idanha-a-Nova	Portugal	2015	Music	9,716	1,416	Unitary

Stage 3- Database with the cases selected

	City	Country	Year of UCCN	UCCN category	Population	Geographical size in km ²	Federal/unitary
Largest	Curitiba (2 nd)	Brazil	2014	Design	1,908,359	435,036	Federal
Medium	Dublin	Ireland	2010	Literature	553,165	117	Unitary
Smallest	Idanha-a-Nova	Portugal	2015	Music	9,716	1,416	Unitary

Annex 3: Document Analysis

The documents selection was based on the need to analyse the embeddedness of ideas of sustainability, development and urbanization, drawn from the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals into national plans for development or sustainability. The difficulty in choosing public documents was that each country has different national priorities and have chosen to implement different Goals locally. For that reason, I firstly conducted a keyword search on Google.com using the following keywords: “national plan for sustainability [country’s] name”, “national plan for sustainability [country’s] name”, “national plan for urbanization [country’s] name”, “creative industries in [country’s] name”. When the first search was unsuccessful (which rarely occurred) I went to the official websites of national governments and searched for the publication section. After creating a long list of documents, I then selected the ones which content was closest to the research objective i.e. which content was most related to the national plans, objectives, targets towards reaching the Sustainable Development Goals by creating policies or programs including the creative industries, culture, or changing the way urban plans or programs were traditionally made. I mostly used documents where the actors were firsthand witnesses of the sources (eg. The national government or the municipality created or participated in the creation of the document) (BOWEN, 2009). Moreover, I was attentive to the tone and agenda the document wants to convey, as well as the comprehension or selectivity of data (O’LEARY, 2014).

Annex 3.1.: Document analysis for case study I- Curitiba UNESCO Creative City of Design

Document name	Document type ¹⁷⁸	Document obtaining	Key words included
“Guiding Elements of the Brazilian Position”	public record	Publicly available online	"Sustainability", "sustainable development", "creative industries"
Plano Nacional de Cultura. Relatório 2017 de Acompanhamento das Metas. 1 ^ª edição	public record	Publicly available online	"Sustainability", "sustainable development", "creative industries", "territories", "innovation"
Metas do Plano Nacional da Cultura. 3 ^ª Edição.	public record	Publicly available online	"Sustainability", "sustainable development", "creative industries", "territories", "innovation"

¹⁷⁸ Public documents are those that are freely available and internal documents are confidential documents that are available upon request, or not available at all for the public.

Programa nacional de economia da cultura – PNEC	public record	Publicly available online	"creative economy", "development", "sustainable development", "innovation"
National Voluntary Review (2017)	public record	Publicly available online	"creative economy", "development", "sustainable development", "innovation"
“The Guide for Locating the Development Sustainable Goals in Brazilian Municipalities” (2016)	public record	Publicly available online	"creative economy", "development", "sustainable development", "sustainable urbanization", "innovation"
“Location Manual for Metropolitan Regions”	public record	Publicly available online	"creative economy", "development", "sustainable development", "sustainable urbanization", "innovation"
“Guidelines for Implementation of the SDA in the Brazilian Municipalities: 2018-2021”	public record	Publicly available online	"creative economy", "development", "sustainable development", "sustainable urbanization", "innovation"
State Plan for Culture of Paraná	public record	Publicly available online	"creative economy", "development", "sustainable development", "sustainable urbanization", "innovation"
State Plan for Tourism of Paraná	public record	Publicly available online	"creative economy", "development", "sustainable development", "sustainable urbanization", "innovation"
State Plan for Sustainability of Paraná	public record	Publicly available online	"creative economy", "development", "sustainable development", "sustainable urbanization", "innovation", "creativity"
State Plan for Regional Sustainable Development of Paraná	public record	Publicly available online	"creative economy", "development", "sustainable development", "sustainable urbanization", "innovation", "territories"
Municipal and Sectorial Plans for Culture	public record	Publicly available online	"creative economy", "development", "sustainable development", "sustainable urbanization", "innovation", "territories", "design"
Master Plan (Plano Diretor) of Curitiba	public record	Publicly available online	"creative economy", "development", "sustainable development", "sustainable urbanization", "innovation", "territories", "design"
2018 UCCN Monitoring Report- Curitiba Creative City of Design	Internal document	received upon request from the Municipal Department for Culture	"creative economy", "development", "sustainable development", "sustainable urbanization", "innovation", "territories", "design"
Curitiba UNESCO Creative Cities Network candidacy application	Internal document	received upon request from the Municipal Department for Culture	"creative economy", "development", "sustainable development", "sustainable urbanization", "innovation", "territories", "design", "smart city"

Annex 3.2.: Document analysis for case study II- Dublin UNESCO Creative City of Literature

Document name	Document type	Document obtaining	Key words included
Sustainable Development Goals National Implementation Plan 2018 – 2020	Public record	Publicly available online	"creative economy", "development", "sustainable development", "sustainable urbanization", "innovation", "tourism"
The New European Agenda for Culture	Public record	Publicly available online	"Sustainability", "sustainable development", "creative industries", "innovation", "territories", "creative cities", "creativity", "inclusion"
Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor	Public record	Publicly available online	"Sustainability", "sustainable development", "creative industries", "innovation", "territories", "creative cities", "creativity", "inclusion"
"Building Ireland's Smart Economy"	Public record	Publicly available online	"Sustainability", "sustainable development", "creative industries", "innovation", "territories", "creative cities", "creativity", "smart economy", "tourism"
Regional Planning Guidelines for the Greater Dublin Area 2010 – 2022	Public record	Publicly available online	"Sustainability", "sustainable development", "creative industries", "innovation", "territories", "creative cities", "creativity", "smart economy", "tourism"
City and County Development Plans	Public record	Publicly available online	"Sustainability", "sustainable development", "creative industries", "innovation", "territories", "creative cities", "creativity", "tourism"
The Economic Action Plan	Public record	Publicly available online	"Sustainability", "sustainable development", "economic development", "creative industries", "innovation", "territories", "creative cities", "creativity", "smart economy", "tourism"
National Development Plan	Public record	Publicly available online	"Sustainability", "sustainable development", "economic development", "creative industries", "innovation", "territories", "creative cities", "creativity", "smart economy", "tourism"
Creative Ireland Programme	Public record	Publicly available online	"Sustainability", "sustainable development", "economic development", "creative industries", "innovation", "territories", "creative cities", "creativity", "smart economy", "tourism", "creative cities"
Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltach Statement of Strategy	Public record	Publicly available online	"Sustainability", "sustainable development", "economic development", "creative industries", "innovation", "territories", "creative cities", "creativity", "smart economy", "tourism", "creative cities"
National Planning Framework	Public record	Publicly available online	"Sustainability", "sustainable development", "economic development", "creative industries", "innovation", "territories", "creative cities", "creativity", "smart economy", "tourism", "creative cities"

Project Ireland 2040	Public record	Publicly available online	"Sustainability", "sustainable development", "economic development", "creative industries", "innovation", "territories", "creative cities", "creativity", "smart economy", "tourism", "creative cities", "smart cities"
City of Dublin Culture and Creativity Plan and Strategy	Public record	Publicly available online	"Sustainability", "sustainable development", "economic development", "creative industries", "innovation", "territories", "creative cities", "creativity", "smart economy", "tourism", "creative cities"
"Defining and Valuating Dublin's Creative Industries" and "Economic Development Action Plan for the Dublin City Region"	Public record	Publicly available online	"Sustainability", "sustainable development", "economic development", "creative industries", "innovation", "territories", "creative cities", "creativity", "smart economy", "tourism", "creative cities", "literature"
Strategic plan and development framework for the bid Dublin UNESCO City of Literature Title 2016	Public record	Publicly available online	"Sustainability", "sustainable development", "economic development", "creative industries", "innovation", "territories", "creative cities", "creativity", "smart economy", "tourism", "creative cities", "literature"
Development Plan for Dublin City Public Libraries 2012 – 2016	Public record	Publicly available online	"Sustainability", "sustainable development", "economic development", "creative industries", "innovation", "territories", "creative cities", "creativity", "smart economy", "tourism", "creative cities", "literature"
Dublin City's Integration Strategy 2016 – 2022	Public record	Publicly available online	"Sustainability", "sustainable development", "economic development", "creative industries", "innovation", "territories", "creative cities", "creativity", "smart economy", "tourism", "creative cities", "literature"
Dublin UNESCO City of Literature Bid, 2009	Public record	Publicly available online	"Sustainability", "sustainable development", "economic development", "creative industries", "innovation", "territories", "creative cities", "creativity", "smart economy", "tourism", "creative cities", "literature", "inclusion", "diversity"
Dublin UNESCO City of Literature Reports	Public record	Publicly available online	"Sustainability", "sustainable development", "economic development", "creative industries", "innovation", "territories", "creative cities", "creativity", "smart economy", "tourism", "creative cities", "literature", "inclusion", "diversity"

Annex 3.3.: Document analysis for case study III- Idanha-a-Nova UNESCO Creative City of Music

Document name	Document type	Document obtaining	Key words included
Intra-governmental Guidelines for the 2030	Public record	Publicly available online	"Sustainability", "sustainable development", "economic development", "creative

Agenda			industries", "innovation", "territories", "creative cities", "creativity", "smart economy", "tourism", "creative cities", "inclusion", "diversity"
The Voluntary National Report on the Implementation of Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development	Public record	Publicly available online	"creative economy", "development", "sustainable development", "sustainable urbanization", "innovation", "territories", "rural development"
"Portugal 2020- Reviving the Economy with EU's Help"	Public record	Publicly available online	"cohesion", "intelligent cities", "creative economy", "development", "sustainable development", "sustainable urbanization", "innovation"
URBACT programme	Public record	Publicly available online	"cohesion", "creative economy", "development", "sustainable development", "sustainable urbanization", "innovation", "rural development", "territories"
Strategy for Sustainable Cities 2020	Public record	Publicly available online	"creative economy", "development", "sustainable development", "sustainable urbanization", "innovation"
"The Cultural and Creative Sector in Portugal"	Public record	Publicly available online	"creative economy", "development", "sustainable development", "sustainable urbanization", "innovation", "creative cities", "tourism", "territories"
2020 Culture Studies Plan	Public record	Publicly available online	"creative economy", "development", "sustainable development", "sustainable urbanization", "music"
Major Options of the Plan	Public record	Publicly available online	"creative economy", "development", "sustainable development", "sustainable urbanization", "innovation", "creative cities", "rural development", "urban development", "sustainability"
National Strategy for Sustainable Development and the Implementation Plan	Public record	Publicly available online	"creative economy", "development", "sustainable development", "sustainable urbanization", "innovation", "sustainability", "creative cities", "culture"
European Strategy of Sustainable Development	Public record	Publicly available online	"creative economy", "development", "sustainable development", "sustainable urbanization", "innovation", "creative cities", "culture", "rural development", "urban development", "entrepreneurship"
The National Strategy for Development Education	Public record	Publicly available online	"creative economy", "development", "sustainable development", "sustainable urbanization", "innovation", "creative cities", "culture", "rural development", "urban development", "education", "heritage"
United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development- Contributions to its implementation in Portugal"	Public record	Publicly available online	"creative economy", "development", "sustainable development", "sustainable urbanization", "innovation", "creative cities", "culture", "rural development", "urban development", "education", "heritage"

National Strategy for Entrepreneurship	Public record	Publicly available online	“entrepreneurship”, “innovation”, "creative economy", "development", "sustainable development", "sustainable urbanization", "innovation", “creative cities”, “culture”, “rural development”, “urban development”,
“Commitment to Knowledge and Science: Commitment to the Future (2016-2020)”	Public record	Publicly available online	"creative economy", "development", "sustainable development", "sustainable urbanization", "innovation", “creative cities”, “culture”, “rural development”, “urban development”, “education”, “entrepreneurship”, “science”
The Plan for Sustainable Cities 2014-2020	Public record	Publicly available online	“cohesion”, “revitalization”, "creative economy", "development", "sustainable development", "sustainable urbanization", "innovation", “creative cities”, “culture”, “rural development”, “urban development”, “sustainable cities”.
Program National Rural Network	Public record	Publicly available online	“rural development”, “sustainability”, “development”, “music”, "creative economy", "development", "sustainable development", "sustainable urbanization", "innovation", “creative cities”, “culture”
RESTART 2015-2025	Public record	Publicly available online	“cultural tourism”, “sustainability”, “gastronomy”, "creative economy", "development", "sustainable development", "sustainable urbanization", "innovation", “creative cities”, “culture”, “rural development”
Idanha-a-Nova Mid-term Strategy and Budget Allocation of the Plan of Major Options	Public record	Publicly available online	“preservation”, “circular economy”, “heritage”, “culture and science”, "creative economy", "development", "sustainable development", "sustainable urbanization", "innovation", “creative cities”, “culture”, “rural development”, “urban development”
Idanha-a-Nova UNESCO City of Music Report	Internal record	Available upon request from the Municipality of Idanha-a-Nova	“creative city”, “music”, "creative economy", "development", "sustainable development", "sustainable urbanization", "innovation", “creative cities”, “culture”, “rural development”

Annex 4: List of questions for the semi-structured interviews

I used high flexibility of the methods. I conducted a basic analysis after gathering data from each source and sometimes even during data gathering. In this way, I was able to control and modify the data gathering process to make the best use of unique but previously unknown characteristics of studied cases. Based on that, I followed up with additional interview questions in cases where further clarification was needed or I could not find the relevant data online.

Annex 4.1. List of questions for the municipal team formulating the city’s UCCN candidacy

During the period of applying for UCCN membership:

1) Did you approach or relied on the theories of any consultant such as Richard Florida or Charles Landry?

2) Did you have to adapt or translate the Creative City discourse on the local level considering the specific context of your city?

3) Can you provide me with a list of the actors which were directly involved in the process of writing the UCCN application and the creation of the creative city plan for the following years?

4) Were there any groups of local actors which opposed the application?

5) Did you create a separate institution/or a specialized group of professionals that handled this process?

After becoming a member

1) What are the specific cultural and creative programs that you implemented?

2) Did you as a city, once becoming part of the UNESCO CCN think you could steer the behaviour of the central state by influencing the formation of cultural policies on national level?

3) What were the specific policy changes that occurred? How were these policies coordinated with other national and local institutions? Is there any intra-institutional cooperation?

4) Did the municipality run through some opposition from the national government regarding the Creative City proposal or some specific programs that you wanted to implement?

5) At this stage, were there any actors resistant to certain programs of the creative city agenda? If yes, which actors?

6) How and what does the city benefited with by becoming a CCN member? Did the city become more financially independent from the central state? Did it perform better in the global economy? Did it gain international recognition?

7) In which sub-networks of UCCN Dublin/Curitiba/Idanha-a-Nova is a member? Is it part of the UNCCN Cities of Literature?

8) In which other creative cities networks Dublin/Curitiba/Idanha-a-Nova is a member (UCLG, Eurocities...?)

9) Did you participate in the 10th UCCN Annual Meeting in Ostmund? Did your city submit any best practice? Was it selected as such?

10) Which good practices have you transferred in your city?

11) Have you or your team participated in any international conference on the subject? If yes, please number which ones.

Annex 4.2. List of questions for the consultants taking part of the city`s UCCN candidacy and their role after the city`s membership

- 1) What was your role in coordinating the candidacy of Curitiba for UNESCO?
- 2) If possible, could you send me Curitiba`s final application, which was sent to UNESCO in 2013? Do you have any progress reports? (Only for the case of Curitiba, because these documents were not publicly available).
- 3) While writing the application, did the team refer to a national or international author (eg. Florida, Landry, Fosenca Reis, etc.)?
- 4) Did you participate in any international event representing or talking about Curitiba as a creative city of design?
- 5) Can you refer to some groups of local actors who opposed the application process?
- 6) What has changed since Curitiba became a Creative City of Design? Did the city gain more financial resources/international recognition? Has the creative class become more engaged in local public policy?
- 7) In your opinion, the municipality of Curitiba is complying with the programs and projects for design? Is implementing the sustainable policies in relation to culture and creativity it promised in the application form? What do you think can be further improved?