

Genius Loci: urbanisation and the imagination of civil society

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IMAGE 1

The community of Šančiai found numerous creative ways to protest against the new road project. Photo: Author

Key Words: Faro Convention, community art, public interest, self-government, urbanisation.

Abstract: A case study about creative public action taken by the Žemųjų Šančiai community in Kaunas, Lithuania to tackle aggressive urbanisation. This article sets out the historical context, defines key terms and outlines the approach used; it articulates how community arts became a catalyst for action and examines how creative approaches energise bottom-up and top-down activism. The principles of the *Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (FARO)* are used to understand how the community sought to safeguard its unique historic urban landscape and heritage. The action started out as a direct response to plans for a new road along the river but developed into a wider, public-interest and self-government campaign. The failure to achieve a result in terms of dialogue at municipality level became a driving force in the push for participation ‘with’ rather than power ‘over’ communities in urban planning.

1. Background¹

In April 2019, Kaunas Municipality published plans for a new road project (hereafter RP) in the Šančiai district (pop. 21,097) of Kaunas along the banks of the River Nemunas. The issue addressed in the case study is the reduction of what the Faro Convention calls the interaction

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between people and place through time to “considerations of market value, and the whims and visions of private and real estate developers” (Samalavičius, 2016, 103).

The Kaunas Municipality City Plan (2013, 3.4.3) recognises the importance of the urban heritage: specific historical urban structures typical of particular periods are marked as protected functional symbols of the city. The “shore” streets of Lower Šančiai (City Plan 2013, n.37, 43) are a case in point, with the Plan recommending that a blueprint be drawn up “for the urban and architectural formation of the Žemieji Šančiai district” (Kaunas City Plan 2013, n. 53).

Located close to the historic centre, the Šančiai neighbourhood (TLE, 1988, 156) began to develop in the second half of the 19th century. Between the world wars, newly established factories drew labourers from the countryside who in turn bought plots of land and built single-story wooden houses (Lukšionytė, 2011, 129-140). A distinctive feature of the neighbourhood is its unique layout, with twenty “shore” roads sloping downwards to the river.

The protagonist in the story is Žemųjų Šančių bendruomenė (hereafter ZSb), a grassroots association and civil society group, formed in 2014. In the course of a research study entitled City (Re)Searchers: Experiences of Publicness (2011-2014), creativity, art and culture became a central part of the association’s work. Community art also featured in another ZSb initiative entitled “Cabbage Field”, which was recognised as an example of good practice by peers from the international Award UCLG -Mexico City - Culture 21.²

Ranged against ZSb are Kaunas City Municipality and United Kaunas, which holds the majority of seats in the city council and is led by the mayor, V. Matijošaitis. United Kaunas is a centre right, liberal grouping that is “not a political party but driven by a vision to make Kaunas grow”³ (LRT interview, 2019-12-27). In 2018 its councillors were re-elected and in 2019 V. Matijošaitis won a second term as mayor.

2. Methodology and key terms

The approach taken in this case study is archival, charting the community’s battle with the Municipality over the period from April 2019 to August 2019. Documentation compiled includes: (i) community activity and member reports; (ii) film and photographic documentation; (iii) letters to/from Kaunas Municipality and (iv) press and TV coverage.

Four public actions are recounted: planning, community art, municipal response and campaigning. In the course of its activities, the community consulted the few opposition councillors in Kaunas (members of the Conservative Party) including J. Šiugždinienė and E. Gudišauskienė as well as G. Skaistė, a member of the Lithuanian parliament. The community also raised its concerns about the RP directly with the Prime Minister (2019-04-30), the Minister of the Environment (2019-05-08 and 2019-08-28), the Minister of Health (2019-05-02) and the Minister of Transport and Communications (2019-06-20).

² See United Cities Local Government case study, Cabbage Field, in 2017, which can be accessed here: http://www.agenda21culture.net/sites/default/files/files/good_practices/kaunas-def-eng.pdf

³ The rhetoric of city growth is a form of ‘copycat Westernism’ explored by Krastev and Holmes in chapter 1 of their book entitled *The Light that Failed: Why the West is Losing the Fight for Democracy* (2020). For a really useful treatment of political discourse in Central and Eastern Europe see T. Kavaliauskas (ed.) (2020) *Europe Thirty Years After 1989: Transformations of Values, Memory, and Identity*.

An email exchange in the form of a short questionnaire was sent to 15 active participants in the public actions. Eight participants provided feedback regarding (i) their motivation, (ii) their experience and (iii) the outcome of their participation in the public actions against the RP.

Two key terms are frequently repeated so a short explanation is in order:

- (1) *Genius Loci* is the idea of safeguarding the “resources inherited from the past with which people identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions” (Faro, Art. 2).
- (2) *Public action* describes an act of assembly and creation of participative democratic space in which the defence of public interest becomes necessary.

3. Planning cycle

Every month a group of more than twenty-five residents gathered in the public library. As roles and responsibilities became clearer, smaller action groups began to meet at more regular intervals. Meetings were open to the public, with a core organising group as well as others who dropped in and out of the process. Actions and tactics came about by talking things through. Community development and art takes time, to conceive, plan, organise and instigate actions in which others are invited to take part (Matarasso 2019, 57). The processes outlined below happened without funding. The community with its active residents, artists, architects and legal counsel invested time and energy – its cultural capital – to co-create these events.

Table 1
Planning Cycle

Date	Activity
18 April 2019	Impromptu gathering of neighbours
24 April 2019	ZSb association meeting to organise <i>Our Nemunas</i> and <i>Deliberation</i> ; RP becomes recurring monthly topic
25 April 2019	Workshops and logistics to deliver public actions
24 May 2019	Crafting the <i>Declaration of the Communities</i> and <i>Opinion of the Communities</i>
26 June 2019	Organising the <i>March for Democracy</i>
31 July 2019	Organising <i>Nemunas Unites Us</i> - Canoe trip along the Nemunas
15 Sept. 2019	Anti-road candidates put forward for the election of ward “Elders”

Source: ZSb activity report 2019

The above list of activities cannot fully capture a process which involved many meetings so that people could get to know each other and reach a consensus. It also entailed a great deal of follow-up work that was carried out individually, yet underpinned by a shared spirit of solidarity. Actively involving people to have their voices heard in the conception, contracting and completion of the whole process is what enables community art to contribute to social transformation (Matarasso 2019, 185). As is often the case in projects of this kind, the result is not known in advance (Matarasso 2019, 52-53). People’s motivations (email to members, April 9, 2020) were: (i) to be more active in local democracy; (ii) to protect the unique cultural and natural heritage; (iii) to safeguard the identity of the neighbourhood and (iv) to ensure that urbanisation benefits people. Art workshops helped to create scenarios, make the props, design the posters and prepare the ground; guerrilla actions like painting on pavements; tree planting and erecting barricades to block access to cars were all part of the process. Local resident R. Jančiauskienė recalled: “The self-organising done by the Ž. Šančiai community was impressive; all the planning meetings had advice from various professions

(architects, lawyers, cultural workers) who put forward rational arguments against the municipality's RP.”

To sum up, community art makes real the idea first proposed by the American urban writer Jane Jacobs (1961, 238) that “cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because, and only when, they are created by everybody”. Interestingly, she used the word ‘created’ which is associated with the faculty of imagination, one that was brought to bear by the community for its community arts practice.

4. Community art cycle

The case study zooms in on the community art features of the action. Other approaches discussed and taken by the community also merit further investigation beyond this paper, namely the procedural and legal routes taken in relation to the UNECE Convention on Access to Information, Public Participation in Decision-making and Access to Justice in Environmental Matters (commonly known as the Aarhus Convention). Community art complemented and animated these routes, adding a percolating, living culture and heritage formed through the imagination of “professional and non-professional artists, who come together as equals, and create processes, products and outcomes that are not prescribed in advance” (Matarasso 2019, 51). Table 2 outlines the Community Art Cycle, with a brief description of each activity.

Table 2
Community Art Cycle

Date	Activity
27 April 2019	#1 <i>Our Nemunas</i> : 700 people join hands in a symbolic act of protest
27 April 2019	#2 <i>Deliberation</i> : 200 people took part
30 April 2019	#3 <i>Protest</i> during the public presentation of the project in the Municipality
15 May 2019	#4 <i>Community Declaration</i> action and signing by 18 associations
23 May 2019	#5 Installation: <i>Opinion of the Public</i> International Neighbours Day 2019
18 June 2019	#6 Declaration - <i>Sustainable Urban Development and Involvement of Communities in Urban Planning</i> – presented to the Municipal Council
29 July 2019	#7 <i>March for Democracy</i> : led by Rhythms of Resistance collective.
15 August 2019	#8 <i>'Nemunas Unites Us'</i> a floating sculpture of 40 canoes with 70 people.

Source: ZSb activity report 2019

Various moving and still images referenced herein give a glimpse of what it was like to take part and, through their work, V. Gelūnienė, T. Kuriazovas, D. Batulevičius, D. Petrusis and others helped publicise the process.

#1 *Our Nemunas*: Seven hundred people gathered to demonstrate their collective opposition to the RP. The protesters created a one-kilometre social sculpture and joined hands. Afterwards, they added their signatures to a petition against the RP.

Watch: <https://vimeo.com/382375404>



IMAGE 2 INSERT
2019-04-28 #1 "Our Nemunas". Photo: Darius Petrusis

#2 Deliberation: Social sculpture helped stage the public deliberation too. A 4-metre high, brightly coloured Chair symbolising community power was assembled, displaying the architectural plans for the RP. For two hours, two hundred people discussed their different hopes for the riverbank. Watch: <https://vimeo.com/333296616>



IMAGE 3 INSERT
2019-04-28 #2 "Deliberation" Photo: Author



IMAGE 4 INSERT

2019-07-29. #3 Architect A. Karalius speaks at public meeting. Photo: Author

#3Protest: Community members, dressed in black, gathered and marched hand in hand into the Grand Hall, carrying placards. The exchanges were loud, vocal and boisterous during the public presentation. In addition, a small group met separately with the Prime Minister and mayor during an election campaign event.

Watch: <https://vimeo.com/389676330>



IMAGE 5 INSERT

2019-07-29. #4 "Declaration". Photo: Author

#4"Declaration": Protesters staged a performative action on Civil Resistance Day, a day of national commemoration. The Chair became a notice board for signing the Declaration, which was drawn up after consulting the Kaunas Communities Centre and also the Central and Lampėdžiai communities. "Excluded from the planning processes, their opinions are ignored, and their competence to self-manage is diminished" [Declaration extract].

IMAGE 7 INSERT

2019-06-18. #6 Declaration: Performance action. Photo: Marius Vizbaras

#6Declaration submitted: Artist Inga Galinytė and community member Vilma Ragauskienė showed off two community-made pleated skirts featuring extracts from the Aarhus Convention before leading the community into the Municipality chamber. They then approached each councillor individually, tore pleats from their skirts and handed over lines from the Convention.

Watch: <https://vimeo.com/343594455>



MAGE 8 INSERT

2019-07-29. #7 Rhythms of Resistance. Photo: Author

#7March for Democracy:

100 drummers from the international samba collective “Rhythms of Resistance” led the March for Democracy along a 3 kilometre stretch of the river Nemunas.

Watch: <https://vimeo.com/379585450>



IMAGE 9 INSERT

2019-08-15.#8 Nemunas Unites Us action E. Vanagaite INIT TV interview.

#8' Nemunas Unites Us involved an ecological trip with 40 canoes that drew attention to the public's right to a transparent and public process of decision making. Many community members used the canoes to display placards and wore swan hats to highlight the embankment's role as a winter feeding ground for swans and ducks.

Local resident R. Namikiene recalled: "What made the Nemunas road actions so memorable? Everyone living here said NO with all their hearts." R Jančiauskiene added that if the city went ahead with the RP, it would be "turning its back on the benefits that the river brings to its inhabitants." In June, the Kaunas Regional Chamber of Judges (Karalius, 2021) instructed Kaunas Municipality to review the general plan of the Kaunas territory. The mayor, however, reiterated his intention that work on the RP would start soon (Radio News, 2020-06-24). Despite the position taken by the mayor, the Department of Environment presented the community with the Genius Loci Award for the 'the best urban work of 2019', in acknowledgement of the national importance of Šančiai's urban heritage and direct access to the river front (2020-07-12).

5. Municipality cycle

Kaunas Municipality's response to the public actions is outlined in Table 3.

Table 3
Municipality Cycle

Date	Activity
30 April 2019	Public meeting about NRP and presentation by developer UAB Simper
1 May 2019?	20 warning notices posted adjacent to riverside properties
16 June 2019	Ad hoc meeting with the deputy mayor following submission of Declaration
30 June 2019	Mayor takes an impromptu walk along the river to view the route of the RP
13 November 2019	Invitation to meeting about RP from Kaunas City Management Dept.

Source: ZSb Activity report 2019

Significantly, instead of engaging in dialogue with the community, Kaunas city council's response was to falsely accuse community members of seizing land. The aggressive stance taken by the mayor was followed by the erection of 20 signs and threats of legal action even though jurisdiction in the matter lay with the State Land Agency, a public institution. Six months later, the Agency reported that no violations had occurred (Correspondence 2019-12-11).

At a press conference after the community submitted the *Declaration* to the Council, the deputy mayor R. Šnapštienė told press and TV reporters she wanted dialogue with communities. There and then, she invited representatives to meet with her. Phone numbers were exchanged and a follow-up meeting arranged with ZSb. In the event, however, no phone calls were made and no meetings took place. Ms Šnapštienė told reporters that she was in the process of meeting community groups across the city but no invitation was ever extended to ZSb. In December 2020, Ms Šnapštienė resigned from her position as deputy mayor.

In November 2019 ZSb received an unexpected call from the Municipality and its Management Department. The community was invited to a meeting about the RP in 2 days' time. Ten minutes before the meeting was due to start, just as three representatives of the community were about to enter the council building, they received a call to say that the meeting was cancelled. Four months later, Kaunas Municipality sent the following notification to ZSb (KM, 2020-03-10):

“(On) 12 April 2019 plans for the reconstruction of the Nemunas embankment were submitted for a public hearing... On 17 June the Municipality decided not to accept the plans based on its own analysis and evaluation of the comments and suggestions of interested parties received during the public hearing on the plan”.

After 9 months, therefore, during which it repeatedly ignored the community's letters requesting updates, even as it went through the motions of communicating with the public by spending vast sums on adverts in the local press, the Municipality finally acknowledged the reality of the situation on paper.

6. Campaigning cycle

Social change and cultural democracy also need campaigning to convince people and win hearts and minds. Community art helps animate a campaign for a “bottom-up, people centred approach” (Rome Charter, 3). It is what makes community art a renewable resource for communities “where people, not profits, are its central focus and purpose” (Matarasso, 2019, 74). The RP campaign attracted local people and captured the attention of the press and TV. Table 5 outlines the campaigning cycle:

Table 5
Campaigning Cycle

Date	Action
1 May 2019	Mobilising: Badges, stickers and placards for the RP campaign
9 June 2019	Advocacy: Posters displayed along the route of the Kaunas Marathon
13 July 2019	Advocacy: Press conference about community involvement in decision making held in the Lithuanian Seimas Conference Hall
3 August 2019	Mobilising: <i>Anti Road Project</i> poster displayed on Juozapavičiaus Avenue
28 August 2019	Advocacy: Meeting with the Environment Minister.
6 September 2019	Advocacy: Presentation at the national ‘Butent!’ festival <i>Do I have power in the affairs of my city?</i> Birštonas
20 September 2019	Mobilising: Nomination of candidates for eldership campaign
23 December 2019	Advocacy: 2020 calendar dedicated to RP actions published

Source: ZSb Activity report 2019

It is not necessary to go into the details of the “mobilising” efforts as these have already been covered above. In terms of advocacy, the campaign found broad support among local opposition and national politicians as well as environmental and community activists, but met with a hostile reception from the Municipality. In July 2019, a seminar with the Ministry of the Environment took place in the Lithuanian parliament, during which many communities and environmental groups spoke about a pattern of unsuccessful efforts to defend the public interest.

Campaigning, therefore, helped to broaden the narrative from a single community's problem to a self-management one that is familiar to communities across Lithuania. J. Šiugždinienė argued that Lithuanian municipalities do not have an established tradition of talking to and properly informing citizens, or a sincere desire to do so (Press conference-07-13). This is echoed by comments from various community members:

R. Jančiauskienė (email correspondence 2020-04-11):

“There is unfortunately no goodwill on the part of the Municipality and the opinion of the communities does not matter. The entire municipal apparatus serves business interests exclusively.”

V. Ragauskienė addressed her comments to the whole of Kaunas (Press interview, 2019-05-15):

“Democracy is the power of the people. We are only talking about listening to communities that represent citizens. The mayor and his team... are public servants.”

E. Vanaigaitė (Press conference, 2020-04-30) told reporters:

“We can't solve problems in a fragmented way; we have to make a fully detailed urban plan of Šančiai. What is required now is to start planning for a new phase of public action that sets out a community vision.”

Ž. Chlostauskas (email correspondence, 2020-04-11) looks to the future:

“What has changed I do not know yet, but I very much hope that things *will* change and that we will have democracy some day, and that all our efforts will not be in vain.”

J. Tuleityktė (facebook post, 2021-03-06) recalled that:

“The street project continues to be pushed by the Municipality despite
-5,000 signatures against the RP;
-two years of consistent civic actions urging Kaunas City Municipality to comply with the Aarhus Convention;
-a court case in which residents won against the municipality.”

R. Visocnik (Init TV report. 2020-08-28), a lawyer specialising in the principles of self-management suggested:

“The problem we have is that when the public is completely cut off from participating in city affairs, we end up with what is basically an autocracy; and that autocracy is only growing stronger in Kaunas.”

7. A way forward

What next after a 9-month struggle during which the two sides failed to move closer and radically conflicting views emerged on how to contribute to local development (Faro, art 7)? Is it enough that people's sense of belonging and shared responsibility for the environment in which they live has deepened? Carol Bebel, a co-founder of the Ashé Cultural Art Centre in New Orleans, sums up the difference between 'power over' and 'power with' as follows: “If you're not at the table, you might be on the menu”.⁴ Yes, local people were

⁴ See https://www.ensembletheaters.net/sites/default/files/files/StropnickynOLAPaper_Final.pdf She explains in another interview, “We've got to use our ability to be at tables, to make things happen. Some of it is education, some is advocacy,

galvanised, for a while, into a politically coherent community united in solidarity against the RP. Yes, a collective cultural action tapping into the power of the imagination made it possible to practise culture as a right. Yes, these actions drew on the creative capital of local people through do-it-together processes and helped to reveal more co-operative, unifying and democratic forms of citizen participation.

Community art engaging with public space had to confront “complicated conflicts and differences that lie within public life” (Gielen & Otte, 2018, 277). It is a process that has unravelled, unpicked and, as the Faro Convention Network highlights, made the invisible people, places and stories visible – but not necessarily real or permanent! It stands as a testimony from witnesses whose time might be out of joint, but whose fearless practice still haunts the present (Critchley, 1999, 156) by asserting the cultural right of a community to participate in making their own future. With the Chair, the social sculpture, the public deliberation and the Declaration, the capacity to be heard in public was effectively resuscitated. The community’s stance was also endorsed by Kaunas Regional Architectural Council which recommended that the RP should not proceed because the proposals lacked an architectural component and offered no scope for improving recreational areas (KRAC, 2019-06-19). Almost two years later, in March 2021, the Municipality announced a new, truncated road project.⁵

In piecing together the sequence of events, it can be helpful to draw on two theoretical perspectives that have emerged from within the Baltic Sea region. Specifically, the research examines the spectrum of participation, from community bonding to bridging with power holders, and to direct participation in city governance. Vilnius-based sociologist Jolanta Aidukaitė has examined grassroots mobilisation at the micro level in Vilnius. Her work looks beyond other interrogative studies which argue that mobilisation in urban areas does not take place because of:

- weaknesses in civil society and non-participatory culture (Trabucco, 2017, p.258);
- an excessively (party) politicised process, in which the local community only serves party interests (Jurga Bučaitė-Vilkė 2019. 139);
- community inertia – a consequence of totalitarian regimes;
- and
- passive participation as a result of the individualisation of Lithuanian society since the 1990s (Aidukaitė, 2018, 181-182).

Her findings suggest that, without bonding, i.e. local ties that bind people together *within* the community, the latter cannot act effectively together. She draws on the work of the American sociologist Mark Granovetter (Aidukaitė, 2017, 177-179) to argue further that communities also need to develop a capacity for bridging:

“Why do some communities organise for common goals easily and effectively, whereas others seem unable to mobilise resources, even against dire threats? *Because* the more local bridges (per person) there are in a community and the greater their degree, the more cohesive and capable a community is of acting in concert” (italics mine).

It is only by criss-crossing between its own members and institutions of representative power that social change can take effect and the community be sustained.

and some is being in people's faces. Some is giving people alternative paths when they don't know how else to be and where else to go.” See <https://public.imaginingamerica.org/journalcontent/2013/1/1/7/index.html>

⁵ The new cycle of public action can be followed on <https://sanciubendruomene.lt/en/genius-loci/>

A second perspective draws on the work of Lublin-based academic, Katarzyna Radzik-Maruszak, who has focused on the culture of the municipal administration and the slow-changing culture of the top-down approach. She highlights the need to bring about a shift from established procedural mechanisms towards a governance (steering) process.

“Citizens ... (are) a group that has a legitimate, institutionalised right to have a say in governance” (Radzik-Maruszak 2015, p.88).

From 2012 to 2015, some systemic attempts were made to enable participation planning in Lublin Municipality.

“Citizen involvement (...) is a means of enhancing the efficiency and effectiveness of public governance by tapping into the experiences, demands, and ideas of different user groups” (2013, 160).

“Too often, local governments regard participation as a one-way street, that is, they communicate their policies and decisions to their citizens rather than being attentive to bottom-up initiatives and opinions” (2015, p.99).

Visually, what can be drawn from these perspectives can be illustrated as a triptych in which the first *panel* of bottom-up mobilisation is connected to a third *panel* of top-down governance by a central *panel*, which is the responsibility of self-governance and the binding force of culture. Here community art is not about using culture *in* or *for* sustainable communities but enabling culture ‘as’ sustainable communities. (Deissin et al. 2015, p.29)

8. Conclusion

To conclude the case study, the community has now reached a point where it is able to articulate and work towards a set of future actions. Firstly, the absence of dialogue and any process of conflict mediation highlight that self-government is built on subsidiarity, because the closer people are to a political decision, the more responsibility they should take. For example, between the European Commission and Member States there is a subsidiarity control mechanism⁶ in place to deal with conflict. It is a three-card system: green (go) when a new decision is deemed ok, orange (warning) indicating where a problem may arise; and yellow (stop) when a decision should be stopped or reversed. Such an administrative mechanism could help greatly to resolve community conflicts with local authorities.

Secondly, the community’s new three-year plan (2020-2023) entitled “Genius Loci: urbanisation and civil society” seeks to resolve the local problem of uncoordinated and non-democratic urbanisation, creating conditions for direct participation of citizens in democratic processes, strengthening and enabling active citizenship for urban development. The objective is to deliver increased citizen participation in civic activities; stronger civil society capacity and greater sustainability. The key goals are fairly standard ones: (i) active engagement of citizens in decision-making; (ii) creation of a virtual community space enabling civic processes and (ii) increase in the number of users of digital tools, promoting public participation in civic activities. The devil, as always, will be in the details.

⁶ See https://ec.europa.eu/info/law/law-making-process/adopting-eu-law/relations-national-parliaments/subsidiarity-control-mechanism_en

Thirdly, François Matarasso coined the phrase ‘without help, without permission’ to signify an emerging cultural trend of communing, where grassroots public actions with limited funds find creative ways to invest their own capital in their neighbourhood. Such actions have to develop new models of social and cultural economy to support self-government. Community member Rasa Jančiauskienė (mail correspondence 2020-04-11) is optimistic:

“The term self-government is derived from the words “self management”, and is guaranteed in the Lithuanian Constitution. The community over the last year united us and has become a very important role model for other Lithuanian communities, where similar invasive urbanisation processes are taking place. Culture helps people to imagine. The law, systems and institutions will soon catch up.”

Fourthly, the tensions between civil society and the Municipality cry out for a public-social partnership. This will be a focus of campaigning in the run-up to the municipal elections in 2022, but it will not come about any time soon. The ZSb may lodge a collective complaint with the Council of Europe about violations of its cultural rights. Vita Geluniene (Portal SA. 2020) argues that the Municipality has to stop treating community as an object and start addressing local people as rights holders who feel responsible for what they have in common. Her perspective echoes the views of the Special Rapporteur on Cultural Rights, Karima Bennouna (2016. A/HRC/31/59 para 9):

“It’s not to protect culture or cultural heritage per se, but rather the conditions allowing all people, without discrimination, to access, participate in and contribute to cultural life in a continuously developing manner”.

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