

**INTRA-METROPOLITAN LOCATION OF
CULTURAL ACTIVITIES:
SOME POLICY IMPLICATIONS FROM THE
LISBON CASE STUDY**

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Abstract

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Intra-Metropolitan Location of Cultural Activities: Some Policy Implications from the Lisbon Case Study¹

Abstract:

An empirical study of the intra-metropolitan location of cultural activities in Lisbon area is conducted, testing the theoretical work on this cluster, which repeatedly stresses the central role of urban ambiance in developing these activities. Firstly, an analysis is made of the official statistical data available and then, in a complementary approach, less conventional sources of information are used to help map the distribution of cultural provision in the city of Lisbon and its surroundings in more detail. Based on the examination of the data obtained a typology with several areas within the Lisbon metropolis is suggested. Finally, some policy implications are drawn from the results.

Résumé:

Ce présente à ce papier une étude empirique de la localisation intra métropolitaine des activités culturelles à la région de Lisbonne. Ce éprouve le travail théorique sur ce cluster, qui souligne répétitivement le valeur centrale de l'ambiance urbaine pour le développement de ces activités. Ce sont premièrement analysés les chiffres statistiques officielles disponibles et alors, en une approche complémentaire, fonts d'information moins conventionnelles sont utilisés pour aider a mapper avec détaille la distribution de la provision culturelle a la cité de Lisbonne et ses périphéries. Appuyé sur le examen de l'information collecté ce suggère une typologie de zones pour la métropole de Lisbonne. Finalement, ce extrapole de les résultats obtenus quelques implications sur les politiques à conduire.

Keywords:

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES; TERRITORY; URBAN AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT POLICIES; METROPOLITAN AREAS; LISBON;

¹ This text is the revised version of a paper presented to the XIVth International Conference of RESER (European Research Network on Services and Space), with the general theme: "Information Communication Technologies and Service Relationship in the Global Economy: a Challenge for Enterprises and Societies in Europe" (23rd - 25th September 2004, Castres et Toulouse, France). A previous version of this text is available at the RESER site (www.reser.net). The author acknowledges Paulo Pires for the elaboration of all the cartographic representations presented in this text.

1- INTRODUCTION

The aim of this text is to make a brief analysis of the intra-metropolitan location of cultural activities, trying to infer some policy implications from an empirical case study centred in the Lisbon metropolitan area, Portugal. Reflections made as part of the author's PhD dissertation (Costa, 2002) have been furthered², to form the empirical basis of this text with a view to proposing a framework for public intervention on a local regional basis which improves territorial competitiveness as well as regional development based on cultural activities.

The location of cultural activities is commonly recognized as having an essentially urban-metropolitan pattern. In spite of all the potential of Information Communication Technologies and the implications of globalisation processes, and regardless of the wide diversity of these activities, the theoretical and empirical work on cultural activities has repeatedly focussed on the central role of urban spaces in their development (for agglomeration economies, transaction costs, existence of specific milieus, social conditions of the urban ambience, etc.). The provision and consumption of cultural products (and particularly those which are not widely disseminated) is intimately linked to urban space, and even to certain sections within it: some specific areas inside the city centre or some territorialized production complexes with certain particular characteristics. Cultural activities perform a crucial role in the city but also feed on its creative atmosphere (Scott, 2000; Throsby, 2001; Caves, 2002; Hutton, 2000, 2004; Costa, 2002, 2004; Becker, 1982; Crane, 1992; Lazzeretti and Cinti, 2001; Camagni, Maillat and Matteacioli, 2004).

An empirical study developed in the Lisbon metropolitan area (Costa, 2002) is used to confirm the above hypothesis. Firstly, section 2 analyses the set of statistical data available from official institutions; then, on a second level, less conventional sources of information (e.g., yellow pages, cultural programmes and agendas) are used in section 3 to help provide a more detailed map of the distribution of cultural provision in the city of Lisbon and its surroundings

A typology for several areas within the Lisbon metropolis based on the data obtained for the location of cultural activities in this region is suggested in section 4

Finally, in section 5, some policy implications are drawn from the results obtained. The panorama observed in this case study clearly directs us to a number of conclusions about what the role of the authorities responsible for regional and local development policies in this matter should be, taking into account the enterprise strategies, creators' motivations, consumer patterns and forms of governance in cultural activities.

² Though we have kept all the statistical data collected then (in the absence of major structural changes), which meanwhile have been complemented with extra qualitative empirical information.

2 – THE INTRA-METROPOLITAN LOCATION OF CULTURAL ACTIVITIES: A FIRST APPROACH WITH CONVENTIONAL DATA

In order to analyse the intra-metropolitan distribution pattern of cultural activities in the Lisbon area, we started by reviewing all the existing data in conventional statistical sources, in previous academic studies and political analyses on this subject.

An empirical approach to this cultural activities issue raises considerable problems which are aggravated by the many limitations of the information available on a territorial scale of this kind (see Costa, 2002 for details on all these problems). In general, the reliability of the existing second order information is fairly questionable; inexorably, the data collected in quite a lot of particular studies, all over Portugal (usually through surveys or interviews and mostly on cultural practices and consumption) focuses on the studies' specific objectives which complicates its use in broader contexts. As a result, methodological prudence and scientific seriousness generally makes it preferable to use more qualitative approaches when dealing with these issues, crossed with more quantified empirical perspectives where possible.

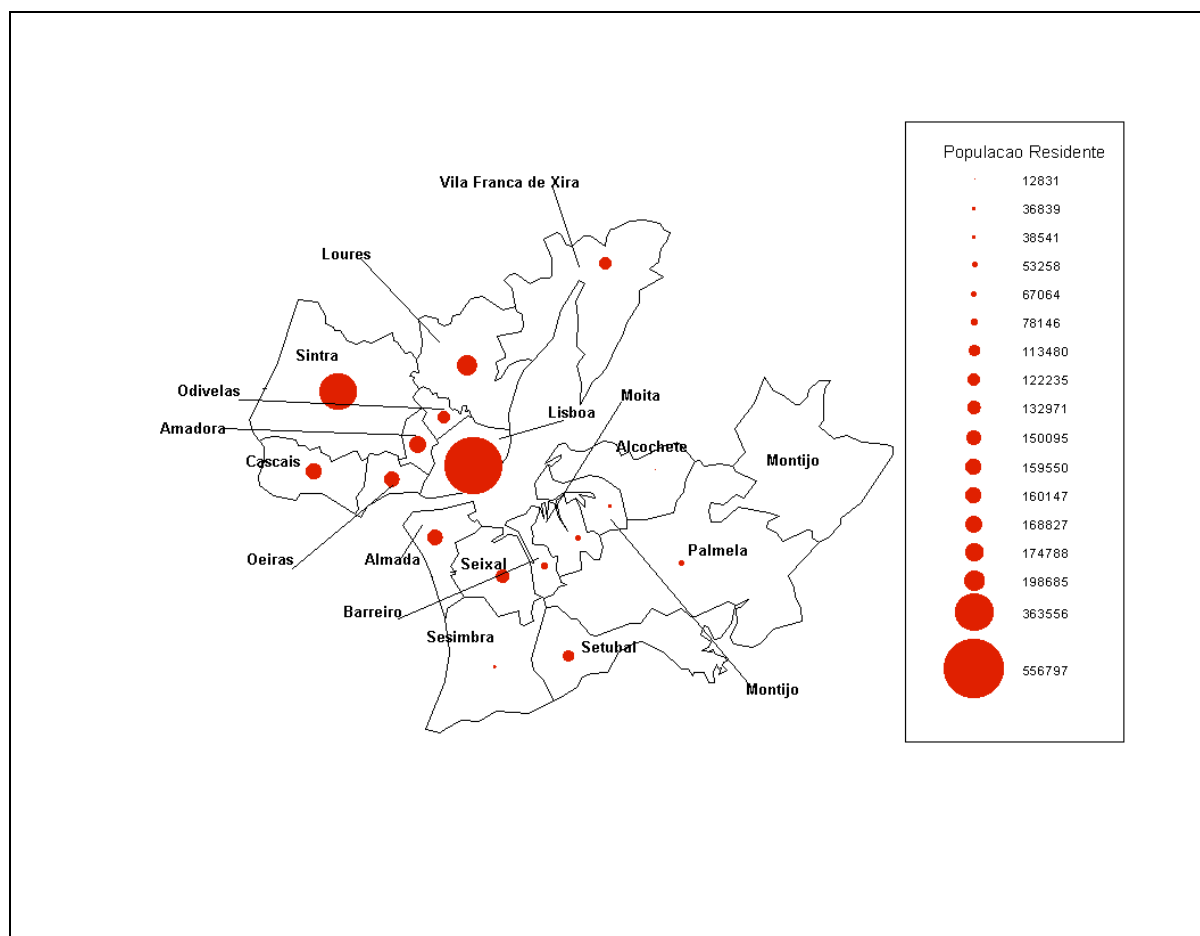
In spite of all these problems, some information is available on this topic and some interesting work has been done about Lisbon city and its metropolitan area. In addition to the limited official data for the municipalities in Lisbon Metropolitan Area (AML) (from INE - Statistical National Institute, and DETEFP/MSST – Statistical Department of Employment Ministry), there are several analyses by a number of authors in various fields with the common territorial target of Lisbon metropolitan area or city. Among other studies and analyses (mostly in the field of cultural practices) focussing certain specific institutions, sectors or case studies within the AML (see Costa, 2002, for detailed references on these various aspects and studies), we emphasize Eduardo Brito Henriques' panorama on the AML's "cultural economic sector" in the field of cultural production (Henriques, 2000); the broad study on Lisbon citizens' cultural practices conducted by José Machado Pais at the time of *Lisboa-94* (Pais, 1994); or the transversal view of the dynamics and territorial mechanisms that support AML's cultural production, previously attempted by the author (Costa, 2000).

Some main results seem consistent in all these studies and in all available data on cultural issues:

- Activities in this area are clearly dynamic with strong and consistent growth;
- A strong polarization of these activities in the city of Lisbon itself, although there are several signs of new poles developing and new centralities at a number of points in the metropolitan area;
- In a broader national context the situation is clearly favourable (confirmed in Costa, 2002), and a large scope of competitive possibilities could result from that.

Let's take a more detailed look at some of this empirical information, trying on the one hand to confirm (or not) these general ideas, and on the other hand, to get a clearer understanding of the geography of these activities in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. A map of the Lisbon metropolitan area is presented in Figure 1 showing its municipalities and their respective demographic weight.

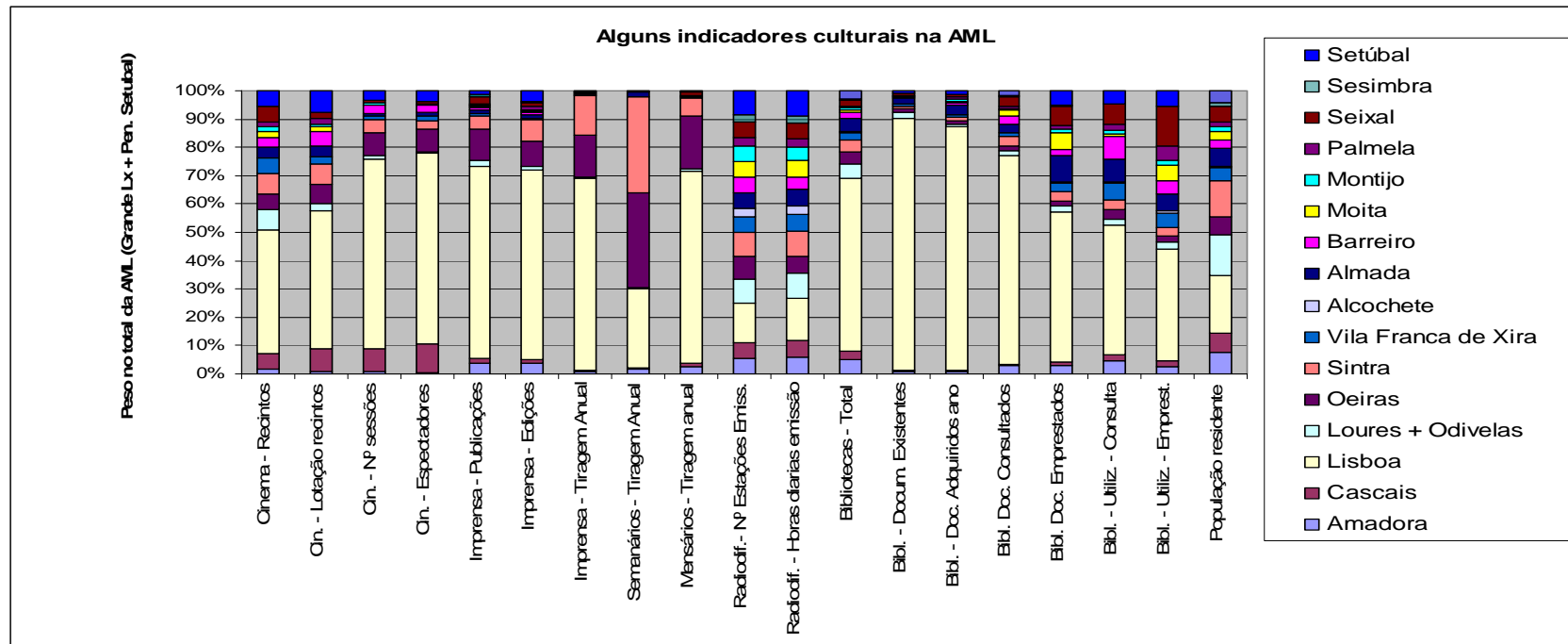
FIGURE 1
Municipalities of Lisbon Metropolitan Area (AML) and respective population (2001)



Source: Costa, 2002, based on INE, *BGRI* and *Censos2001*

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FIGURE 2
Weight of the various AML municipalities in some cultural indicators (1999) (INE)



Source: Costa, 2002, based on INE, Anuário *Estatístico Regional – Região de Lisboa e Vale do Tejo*, 2000

A first quantitative approach was therefore made analysing the most conventional statistical data, in an attempt to systematize all the available statistical information at this territorial scale. Regardless of the serious limitations of these sources and of the data itself (see Costa, 2002), two different sets of information were compiled: firstly, the data on cultural provision and cultural activities available from the national statistical institute; and secondly, the figures on cultural employment and firms from the statistics office of the Ministry of Employment³.

In the first set of information, the observation of the (narrow and limited) data available from INE (National Statistical Institute) in the regional statistics (summarized in figure 2 and described in more detail in Costa, 2002) allows us immediately to confirm some of the above mentioned general ideas about the location pattern of cultural activities in the Lisbon area.

In fact, almost all the activities are clearly concentrated in Lisbon town (and municipality), and, with the exception of radio broadcasting (for legal-administrative reasons) are noticeably over-represented in all indicators when compared to its population. The polarization of the centre of the metropolis is therefore evident in these activities. This dominance is particularly clear in cinema, press and publishing (with the exception of weekly newspapers) and in the number of libraries. The great significance of Sintra and Oeiras municipalities in press and publishing is also clearly visibly (mainly regarding weekly newspapers, which is indicative of the importance of this sub-cluster in these municipalities), the quotas of municipalities such as Cascais, Oeiras and Barreiro in cinema sessions and audiences (revealing the dissemination of *multiplexes* over the suburbs), and the good scores for the use of libraries in municipalities South of the river. Like at a national level (Costa, 2002), the distribution of facilities (cinemas, theatres, libraries) is much more balanced than its use (which reflects the qualitative distinction of their contents, amongst other factors). Finally, Setúbal municipality seems to resist the trend of polarisation in Lisbon, for most indicators.

These extreme polarization in the city of Lisbon (not surprising in such a mononuclear metropolitan which is also the capital city), does not contradict the fact that there are fairly high figures at national level in several indicators, for various municipalities of the metropolitan area. A large percentage of Portuguese cultural supply (and demand...) is concentrated in this area (see Costa, 2002). It should also be remembered that there is a high level of daily internal mobility in the area; this means that data on the residence (municipality) of the consumers of cultural activities cannot be representative as inhabitants of each of these municipalities usually participate in cultural activities outside the municipality where they live.

³ The analysis of each of these sets of data was made with the dual objective of trying, on the one hand, to assess the weight of Lisbon area at national level and, on the other hand, to study the internal distribution of these activities. Only this second feature will interest us here. More detail on can be found in Costa, 2002.

In the second set of data (the “*Quadros de Pessoal*” of Employment Ministry), data has been compiled on the total number of employees and establishments in AML, and also on the specific branches in each municipality (see figures 3 and 4, and Costa, 2002, for more information).

As can be seen in previous studies based on this source of data (e.g, Henriques, 2000), the location models reflect a global territorial pattern which is still characterized by Lisbon’s strong comparative advantage for placing of most of these cultural activities. Nevertheless, a number of different fronts have been developing with specialized activities in the peripheries; there is a clearly distinction between the Northern and Southern parts of the AML, as well as within each of these areas: on the one hand, between the first and the second rings around the city centre; and on the other hand, between spaces that are more attractive for activities, more image-oriented and more demanding about location prestige (Oeiras, Cascais – technologies and visual arts, artistic and creative jobs,...) and other areas tending to specialize in more “space or land cost intensive” activities (e.g, publishers and the press, along the Sintra axis and the Odivelas-Loures axis).

If we look at the territorial distribution of this cultural activities cluster in the various municipalities in the Lisbon metropolis (see figure 3 and Costa, 2002, for details), it is easy to perceive the strong polarization in its centre; the city of Lisbon accounts for more than 45% of the establishments and 52% of the employment in the AML for the set of activity branches considered as components of this cultural cluster.

As we can see in figure 4 (and from other data presented in Costa, 2002), this concentration is particularly marked in the various service activities or in the most “creative” ones (see most of 7’s and 9’s CAE branches) and even in the retail commerce of cultural products. However, it is much more relative in the industrial activities (or in some proximity services), which reveal more dispersed location patterns through the AML.

The dispersion of the *cluster* connected to printing is particularly noticeable (with the exception of publishing itself); this is also true of most activities associated to the manufacture of material cultural goods (intermediate or final), although in the latter it will be clearly marked by the intermittent location of a small number of establishments (with bigger dimensions) in various AML municipalities (Oeiras, Sintra, Almada, Seixal, Amadora, Odivelas, Cascais). The pattern of activities related to printing (of written and taped support) and wholesale cultural goods, both more widely spread, confirms the importance of the first suburban ring around the city of Lisbon (and also of the Sintra axis), particularly the municipalities of Loures, Oeiras, Amadora and Sintra.

When considering a broader version of cultural activities (see Costa, 2002 for details), Oeiras municipality is also found to play a significant role in some activities (particularly those connected to informatics and information management cluster); it is a complementary (and

alternative?) pole to the city of Lisbon for the location of this kind of firm (as confirmed by recent studies – cf. Rodrigues e Salgueiro, 2002).

Although Lisbon is clearly predominant, the Oeiras and Sintra municipalities (with 9.1 and 8.8% of the total cultural employment of AML, respectively⁴) stand out as job creators in this *cluster* in Lisbon metropolis. Nevertheless, there are good dynamics in several others, particularly in Northern AML. This is the case of Cascais, Amadora and Loures (all with a relative weight between 5 to 7%, both in establishments and employees) and, to a lesser extent, Odivelas, Almada and Seixal. Vila Franca de Xira is an exception in the North side due to its low weight (principally in employment volume), and the South side of River Tejo also has little activity. Here, Almada and Seixal are the exceptions, in the first traditional ring (although Setúbal, more autonomous, and Barreiro, still have some weight, particularly of smaller firms).

Most of the conclusions of this analysis are also confirmed by the location quotients calculated with this data as well as by the weight of these sectors in municipal employment (see Henriques, 2000); however,, we should be particularly careful when interpreting this information at this scale, due to the large daily mobility (intra and extra metropolitan) verified which always takes away from the extent these phenomena can be used as an explanation at a municipal level. Nevertheless, the typology presented by Henriques seems to be generally in line with our results; however, other sources of quantitative and qualitative information could be used to further this research, more specifically by examining segments of the labour markets and activity branches which are less efficiently covered by this indicator.

This double statistical analysis was completed by further empirical work at the following two distinct levels; although not developed here, they can be consulted in Costa, 2002:

- with regard studies on cultural practices in the metropolitan area: no direct fieldwork was conducted on this, as many sectoral and territorial studies have recently been made. Instead, several of these studies were analysed and the data was compared. The main result to stress is that empirical results usual in this kind of study was confirmed: there was great territorial diversity (mostly, though not only, between Lisbon city and its outskirts) in cultural practices, closely linked with the uneven distribution of diverse variables such as, mainly: (i) cultural-educational capital; (ii) socio-economic stratum; and (iii) age and position in lifecycle;
- with regard public policies and investments led by local authorities in the cultural field: an analysis was made of the public intervention in this field, particularly at local level, based on statistical data and previous studies on this matters; significant results to be

⁴ But with clear advantage to the former, either due to its lower demographic weight, or because these numerical advantages expand – 10.4% compared with 6.4% - if we assume a broader version of cultural activities, considering activities related to the “new economy” and the Communication and Information Technologies, which have great importance and have grown significantly in Oeiras (Costa, 2002).

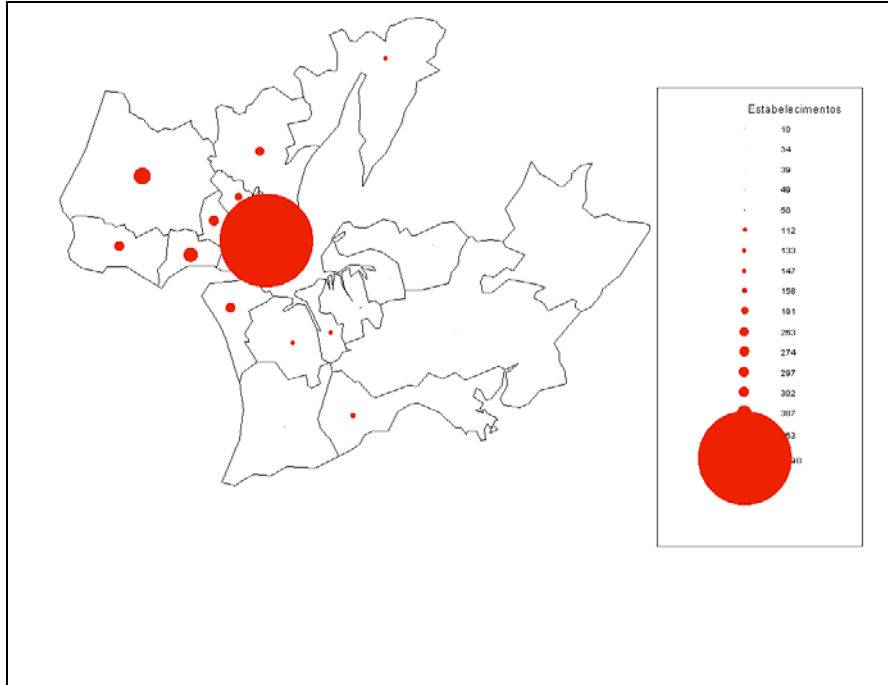
highlighted are not only the naturally larger weight of Lisbon municipality, but also a consistent growth of municipalities in the outskirt (specially in the 1st ring) which are progressively catching up with the capital city.

This information still only provides a general framework of analysis that gives an overall notion of the importance and location pattern of these activities in the Lisbon metropolitan area (or at least of the more formalized and institutionalized ones which are therefore easier to detect by the most conventional means). However, we consider it important to go further, more specifically to obtain an understanding of the spatial (and territorialized) structure formed by these activities. It is therefore necessary to make use of some less conventional (at least in the economic field...) empirical methodologies in order to map the importance and the functioning of this cluster in Lisbon.

FIGURE 3

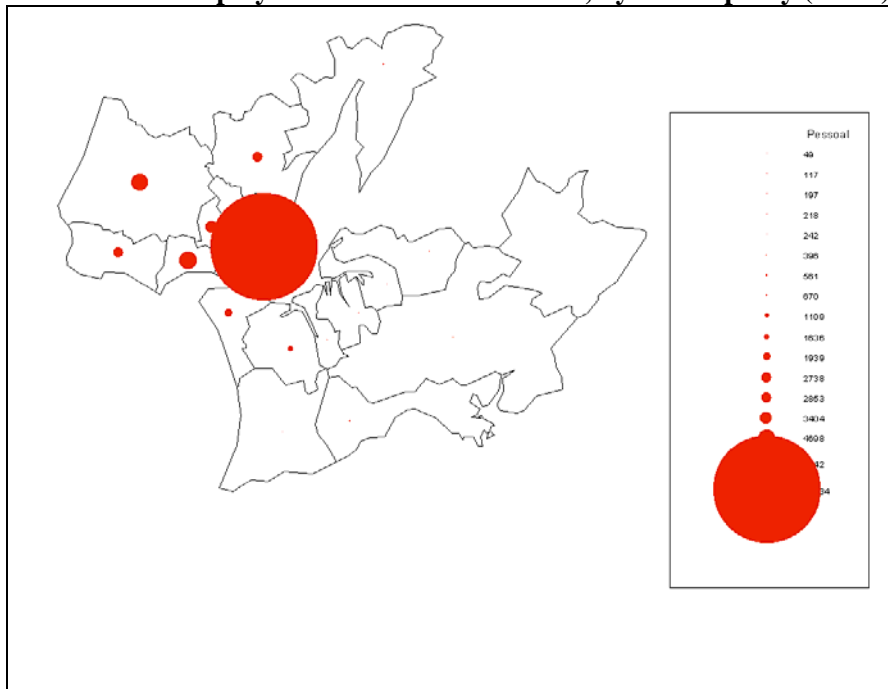
Territorial distribution of employees and establishments in the cultural cluster in AML

Part I: N° of establishments in the cultural cluster, by municipality (AML)



Source: Costa (2002), based on data from *Quadros de Pessoal do DETEFP do MSST*

Part II: N° of employees in the cultural cluster, by municipality (AML)



Source: Costa (2002), based on data from *Quadros de Pessoal do DETEFP do MSST*

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FIGURE 4
Weight of cultural cluster employees, in each branch, by municipality (AML)

PESSOAL AO SERVIÇO - 1999 - Estrutura percentual por concelho das nut III Grande Lisboa e Península de Setúbal

	Cascais	Lisboa	Loures	Oeiras	Sintra	V. F. Xira	Amadora	Odivelas	Alcochete	Almada
Versão estrita										
221 Edição	0.8	67.0	0.2	13.8	12.4	0.3	3.5	1.1	0.0	0.1
222 Impressão e activ. dos serviços relacionados com impressão	2.5	36.6	10.8	10.9	15.7	1.1	9.8	5.1	0.0	2.3
223 Reprodução de suportes gravados	0.0	25.0	1.5	0.0	36.8	0.0	2.9	25.0	0.0	0.0
321 Fabricação de componentes electrónicos	12.4	7.6	5.9	3.7	2.3	0.0	36.9	0.0	0.0	3.1
322 Fabricação de aparelhos emissores de rádio e TV e aparelhos de telefonia e telegrafia por fios	50.7	0.9	0.8	15.2	6.4	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.0	22.2
323 Fabricação de aparelhos receptores e material de rádio e TV, aparelhos de gravação ou de reprodução de som e imagens e de material associado	0.0	0.0	4.6	0.0	17.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
33403 Fabricação de material fotográfico e cinematográfico										
362 Fabrico de joalharia, ourivesaria e artigos similares	3.5	64.6	0.0	0.0	2.1	0.5	5.8	0.7	0.0	4.4
363 Fabrico de instrumentos musicais	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
51472 Comércio por grosso de livros, revistas e jornais	0.5	26.7	29.0	0.1	31.7	0.0	8.5	0.7	0.0	0.7
5245 Comércio a retalho de electrodomésticos, aparelhos de rádio e TV, instrumentos musicais, discos e produtos similares	9.3	41.0	4.6	6.7	7.6	3.3	5.8	2.5	0.5	6.4
5247 Comércio a retalho de livros, jornais e artigos de papelaria	4.6	57.6	4.0	4.6	6.2	2.7	3.7	2.4	0.0	4.6
52482 Comércio a retalho de material óptico, fotográfico, cinematográfico e de instrumentos de precisão	5.7	48.6	6.7	8.6	5.8	1.7	3.7	3.1	0.1	4.7
74201 Actividades de arquitectura	6.4	63.5	1.8	7.3	6.9	3.2	3.8	0.8	0.2	1.3
744 Publicidade	6.3	63.4	2.0	9.7	6.0	0.6	2.1	1.4	0.0	6.5
74810 Actividades fotográficas	4.3	34.1	9.0	4.1	9.0	1.5	12.9	6.8	0.0	6.5
91331 Associações culturais e recreativas	0.8	73.7	0.0	5.4	6.5	1.1	5.9	0.5	0.0	1.9
921 Actividades cinematográficas e de vídeo	4.2	73.4	2.6	8.6	2.4	2.4	1.8	0.3	1.1	1.2
922 Actividades de rádio e TV	0.1	76.1	2.9	15.7	1.3	0.2	0.8	0.2	0.0	0.8
923 Outras actividades artísticas e de espectáculo	4.6	81.7	0.6	1.0	1.7	0.1	0.7	0.0	0.0	5.5
924 Actividades de agências de notícias	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
925 Actividades das bibliotecas, arquivos, museus e outras AC's	0.0	94.8	0.1	4.0	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
TOTAL Versão estrita	5.4	51.8	5.1	9.1	8.8	1.1	6.4	2.1	0.1	3.6
Outros ramos incluídos na versão lata										
30020 Fabricação de computadores e de outro equipamento informático										
365 Fabrico de jogos e brinquedos	19.4	5.6	0.0	2.8	61.1	0.0	2.8	8.3	0.0	0.0
525 Comércio a retalho de artigos em 2ª mão em estabelecimentos	6.1	71.3	2.9	6.7	7.3	0.0	0.6	1.6	0.0	1.0
526 Comércio a retalho não efectuado em estabelecimentos	5.8	49.1	2.9	5.6	6.7	0.4	22.5	1.1	0.7	1.3
64200 Telecomunicações	3.0	70.7	1.9	6.1	3.1	0.8	4.1	2.0	0.0	3.1
71330 Aluguer de máquinas e equipamento de escritório (inclui computadores)	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
721 Consultoria em equipamento informático	0.4	46.0	0.3	35.9	0.9	0.4	14.7	0.3	0.0	0.3
722 Consultoria e programação informática	1.3	59.7	4.6	27.0	2.5	0.1	2.2	0.3	0.0	0.8
723 Processamento de dados	1.6	63.7	8.4	19.5	2.6	0.8	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.6
724 Actividades de banco de dados	0.0	61.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.1
725 Manutenção e reparação de máquinas de escritório, de contabilidade e de material informático	0.0	82.3	1.6	4.8	1.6	0.0	5.2	0.0	0.0	3.6
726 Outras actividades conexas à informática	6.6	67.1	1.0	19.3	0.3	0.0	3.0	1.4	0.0	0.9
74842 Outras actividades de serviços prestadas principalmente as empresas diversas, n e	2.7	52.8	0.9	14.6	2.3	2.2	5.4	0.4	0.1	15.0
75123 Admin. Publica - Cult, recr, desp, amb, habit, e outras sociais										
926 Actividades desportivas	8.2	50.2	1.1	6.7	4.1	2.0	7.8	0.4	0.0	3.3
927 Outras actividades recreativas	43.2	35.0	1.5	3.7	1.9	1.2	1.2	3.0	0.3	3.1
TOTAL Versão lata	5.5	55.0	4.0	10.4	6.4	1.1	5.7	1.7	0.1	4.4

(continues)

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FIGURE 4
Weight of cultural cluster employees, in each branch, by municipality (AML)
(continuation)

PESSOAL AO SERVIÇO - 1999 - Estrutura percentual por concelho das nut III Grande Lisboa e Península de Setúbal

	Barreiro	Moita	Montijo	Palmela	Seixal	Sesimbra	Setúbal	TOTAL AML (Gr.Lx.+Pen.Set.)	Total Grande Lx.	Total Pen. Setúbal
Versão estrita										
221 Edição	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.6	100.0	98.9	1.1
222 Impressão e activ. dos serviços relacionados com impressão	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.2	1.6	0.2	1.7	100.0	92.5	7.5
223 Reprodução de suportes gravados	0.0	8.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	91.2	8.8
321 Fabricação de componentes electrónicos	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.0	25.0	0.0	0.2	100.0	68.7	31.3
322 Fabricação de aparelhos emissores de rádio e TV e aparelhos de telefonia e telegrafia por fios	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	75.2	24.8
323 Fabricação de aparelhos receptores e material de rádio e TV, aparelhos de gravação ou de reprodução de som e imagens e de material associado	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	73.1	4.3	0.0	100.0	22.5	77.5
33403 Fabricação de material fotográfico e cinematográfico										
362 Fabrico de joalharia, ourivesaria e artigos similares	3.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	14.9	0.0	0.0	100.0	77.2	22.8
363 Fabrico de instrumentos musicais	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	0.0
51472 Comércio por grosso de livros, revistas e jornais	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.3	0.0	0.9	100.0	97.3	2.7
5245 Comércio a retalho de electrodomésticos, aparelhos de rádio e TV, instrumentos musicais, discos e produtos similares	2.2	1.2	1.6	0.4	3.2	0.8	2.9	100.0	80.7	19.3
5247 Comércio a retalho de livros, jornais e artigos de papelaria	2.8	0.5	0.7	0.4	2.1	0.7	2.3	100.0	85.8	14.2
52482 Comércio a retalho de material óptico, fotográfico, cinematográfico e de instrumentos de precisão	2.4	0.9	0.7	0.3	3.7	0.2	3.1	100.0	83.8	16.2
74201 Actividades de arquitectura	1.9	0.6	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.2	1.5	100.0	93.8	6.2
744 Publicidade	0.1	0.3	0.0	0.3	0.4	0.1	0.7	100.0	91.5	8.5
74810 Actividades fotográficas	3.0	1.1	1.4	0.5	1.6	0.8	3.4	100.0	81.7	18.3
91331 Associações culturais e recreativas	3.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.5	100.0	93.8	6.2
921 Actividades cinematográficas e de vídeo	0.7	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.9	100.0	95.6	4.4
922 Actividades de rádio e TV	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.4	100.0	97.2	2.8
923 Outras actividades artísticas e de espectáculo	0.0	0.7	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.0	1.6	100.0	90.5	9.5
924 Actividades de agências de notícias	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	0.0
925 Actividades das bibliotecas, arquivos, museus e outras AC's	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	100.0	99.4	0.6
TOTAL Versão estrita	0.7	0.4	0.4	0.5	3.1	0.2	1.3	100.0	89.7	10.3
Outros ramos incluídos na versão lata										
30020 Fabricação de computadores e de outro equipamento informático										
365 Fabrico de jogos e brinquedos	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	0.0
525 Comércio a retalho de artigos em 2ª mão em estabelecimentos	0.0	0.0	0.3	1.3	0.6	0.0	0.3	100.0	96.5	3.5
526 Comércio a retalho não efectuado em estabelecimentos	1.6	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.4	100.0	94.2	5.8
64200 Telecomunicações	0.3	1.3	0.1	0.6	0.5	0.2	2.1	100.0	91.7	8.3
71330 Aluguer de máquinas e equipamento de escritório (inclui computadores)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	0.0
721 Consultoria em equipamento informático	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.2	100.0	98.8	1.2
722 Consultoria e programação informática	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	100.0	97.8	2.2
723 Processamento de dados	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	1.1	100.0	97.9	2.1
724 Actividades de banco de dados	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	31.0	100.0	61.9	38.1
725 Manutenção e reparação de máquinas de escritório, de contabilidade e de material informático	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	95.6	4.4
726 Outras actividades conexas à informática	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	98.8	1.2
74842 Outras actividades de serviços prestadas principalmente as empresas diversas, n e	0.4	0.1	0.2	0.4	1.1	0.1	1.2	100.0	81.4	18.6
75123 Admin. Publica - Cult, recr, desp, amb, habit, e outras sociais	3.5	0.4	0.3	0.0	3.3	0.6	8.0	100.0	80.6	19.4
926 Actividades desportivas	0.7	0.1	0.0	0.2	2.9	0.4	1.5	100.0	90.8	9.2
927 Outras actividades recreativas	0.7	0.1	0.0	0.2	2.9	0.4	1.5	100.0	90.8	9.2
TOTAL Versão lata	0.7	0.5	0.3	0.4	2.2	0.2	1.5	100.0	89.7	10.3

Source: Costa (2002), based on data from *Quadros de Pessoal do DETEFP do MSST*

3 - THE INTRA-METROPOLITAN LOCATION OF CULTURAL ACTIVITIES: A SECOND APPROACH USING LESS CONVENTIONAL SOURCES

Given that data in the previous section was unable to give us a solid and consistent view of the economic, entrepreneurial and cultural fabric of this *cluster* in Lisbon's region, we have decided to explore alternative methodologies which would result in a more thorough mapping of the distribution (and the location logics) of these activities within the metropolitan region centred in Lisbon.

Therefore, we have systematized a selection of information from other sources (e.g. cultural programmes, professional lists and guides, Yellow Pages or local tourist guides), which could help us to assess the presence or, at least, the visibility of cultural initiatives in the Lisbon area.

This kind of information obviously has many limitations such as: it is often filtered by editorial criteria, personal choices, need for self-access to information, etc.; it may not be up to date or comprehensive enough. It should therefore be recognized that the analysis of each indicator should take all these limitations into account (for a more detailed analysis of the weaknesses of the various indicators and its impacts on the analysis see Costa, 2002).

The scope of analysis was focused mainly on the city of Lisbon for two main reasons: on one hand, these activities continue to be concentrated and polarized to a great extent in Lisbon; and on the other hand, at an intra-municipal level, it was necessary to understand how far the distribution over the various zones of the city's was homogeneous.

As a result, some of the used sources (particularly the *Yellow Pages*, which was used extensively in most of our presented indicators) are intended to transmit information about "Lisbon – City"; information about municipalities in the outskirts is therefore clearly under represented. This is inevitable because in work of this kind it is impossible to compile and analyse the multiple information available in all the programmes, cultural agendas and activity plans of the different municipalities in the AML at the public institutions level or any other. Attention is therefore focused on the cultural agendas of some of the most important newspapers, some sectorial professional guides, the "Lisbon-city" Yellow Pages and Lisbon's municipal "Cultural Agenda" (n.b. the latter two sources make only sporadic and imprecise references to events and institutions located out of the city of Lisbon,).

The under representation of events and agents out of the metropolitan centre is particularly noticeable in the case of central functions that are the most common and generalized; it is frequent for rarer functions (or larger firms and establishments) to be registered in the "Lisbon - City" Yellow Pages (where the most specialized supply can be found and which more people and

firms require), even though they are also in their local list⁵. For example, following this logic it is quite natural for the sales outlets for musical instruments throughout AML to be much better represented in the *Yellow Pages – Lisbon City* than shops selling records because the latter is less specialized function, more wide spread and not many firms will be in both the Yellow pages for the suburban area where they are located and the Lisbon City Yellow Pages).

Although not ideal for mapping all the city's cultural activities as they do not correspond to the traditional definitions of quarters or neighbourhoods in Lisbon, for most of the indicators the city was divided into zones using postal codes (more specifically, the first 4 digits) to give us an approximate idea of the distribution. This made it possible to draw identifiable and minimally homogeneous areas within the city of Lisbon using the available sources. With only a few exceptions, information for out of the city, i.e. outside the municipal border, is presented at municipal level; in general, this enables the most important spots which shape the dynamics of the metropolitan suburban rings to be defined and small internal spaces can also be identified.

In some specific indicators (e.g., movie theatres, performing arts auditoriums, nightlife) we have opted not to use this typology, but to apply a much more flexible cartography of those “configurations”; this was due to their aggregation and territorial pattern (very diversified in each case – see Costa, 2002) or the availability of information.

Nevertheless, we should bear in mind that the reference to these activities or facilities in zones that are external to Lisbon city must always be read with the above mentioned limitations in mind, particularly in the central functions that are at a lower level, i. e., spatially more dispersed.

Considering all these methodological issues, and their given limitations, figure 5 presents the main results from the information available about activities related to our various cultural sub-clusters⁶.

An in-depth analysis of territorial distribution and recent dynamics was made to each of the following sets of activities (see most of them in figure 5 – part I, II and III - and Costa, 2002, for further comments on the results and more methodological details):

- Cinema (exhibition, theatres, screens, at several levels) (Fig. 5.1, 5.39, 5.40)
- Cinema and audiovisual producers (ICAM) (5.2)
- Audiovisual producers (Yellow Pages) (5.3)
- Audiovisual / cinema – specialized technical support (establishments/ technical equipment) (5.4)
- Equipment for audiovisual industries –rental, repair, distribution and commerce (5.5)
- Photo and Cinema – Equipment, articles, supports, labs, studios (5.6)
- Photographers / photo services (5.7)

⁵ Or also, only in this second case (higher central functions) they frequently appear in the main national range cultural programmes.

⁶ Notice that there may be some juxtaposition of some indicators and sources, which we considered added greater scope to the analysis, and a multiplication of perspectives on (sub-) sectors which have extremely diffused borders.

- Video clubs, video rental (5.8)
- Video – Editors, producers, distribution, studios, labs, support services (5.9)
- Television and radio broadcasting
- Audio and video recording (studios and producers) - Record industry (5.10)
- Music industry - Record publishers/editors (5.11)
- Music - Record stores (5.12)
- Musical instruments (sale, repair, tuning) (5.13)
- Publishing / Editing (mainly books, but also with some other publications) (5.14)
- Printing and graphic services (5.15)
- Articles and equipment for printing and graphics services (trade, repair, maintenance) (5.16)
- Press and other publications (5.17)
- Bookshops (5.18)
- Cultural industries – main regular events
- Performing arts – main facilities, auditoriums and show theatres (5.19)
- Performing arts – main (regular/occasional) events
- Performing arts – main shows (5.41)
- Performing arts – headquarters of main companies and groups (dance, theatre, music) (5.20)
- Visual arts – (main) exhibitions in AML (5.42)
- Art galleries (broad version – based on auto-references, probably including other shops) (5.22)
- Art galleries (narrow version – only the most legitimated by the art world) (5.21)
- Inputs related to visual arts (articles and equipment for visual arts and drawing) (trade, concessionaires) (5.23)
- Frames (production, sale) (5.24)
- Antiques and restoration (5.25)
- Second-hand booksellers (5.26)
- Auction agencies (5.27)
- Museums (5.28)
- Libraries, archives, documentation centres (5.29)
- Main heritage and tourist sites (5.30)
- Handicraft and regional articles (commerce, production, concessionaires) (5.31)
- Interior design and decoration (5.32)
- Fashion designers (5.33)
- Architects (5.34)
- Design offices (5.35)
- Advertising / publicity (agencies and services) (5.36)
- Nightlife (main clubs and bars areas) (5.38)
- Art schools and training (schools and training centres) (5.37)
- Universities (schools with art courses) (5.43)

An analysis of the maps in figure 5 reveals that the situation varies greatly in the different activities studied. A detailed examination of the results for each of these activities can be found in Costa, 2002 (as well as further conclusions and justifications for each kind of activity). Here we just would like to note three general ideas that arise from the observation of these results:

- There is great diversity in the dynamics of the different activities studied, both it externally to the city of Lisbon (in the metropolitan context), and internally (in the inner-city);
- We can notice the confirmation as well as deepening of the main patterns inferred from the analysis of the statistical data available and previous studies as a result of this more detailed and more specific research: differences between some agents/sectors/activities are maintained e.g. some prefer centrality, status location, personal daily contact with each other or cosmopolitan ambiance, and others give greater value to land costs, accessibility, or undifferentiated audiences/markets.
- There are important territorialized dynamics in certain areas of the city, where several kinds of activities are concentrated and where milieu effects, forms of governance, representations or the accumulation of collective knowledge may be a key to local vivacity.

After this second brief (and incomplete) overview of the location of cultural activities in the city, it is important to systematize a territorial vision of the entire cultural activities *cluster* in the Lisbon area. It is true that reference was not made to a number of other activities which are linked to some extent to the cultural cluster (see Costa, 2002) e.g. sub-sectors like jewelry or furniture industries, the role of the many cultural, recreation and juvenile associations in cultural promotion and animation throughout AML; in general, this is due to a lack of documentation making a reliable and systematic portrait of its territorial situation impossible. Nevertheless, the information we have assures us of a relatively unambiguous image of the spatial configurations which build up the cultural activities *cluster* in the Lisbon metropolitan area. Although we find an extremely diversified mosaic, some areas emerge with a clear concentration of activities and cultural dynamics. In the next point, this information and previously systematized data will be used to form a tentative typology which identifies some differentiated cultural spaces in the AML

FIGURE 5
Location of selected cultural activities and agents in Lisbon and AML (I)

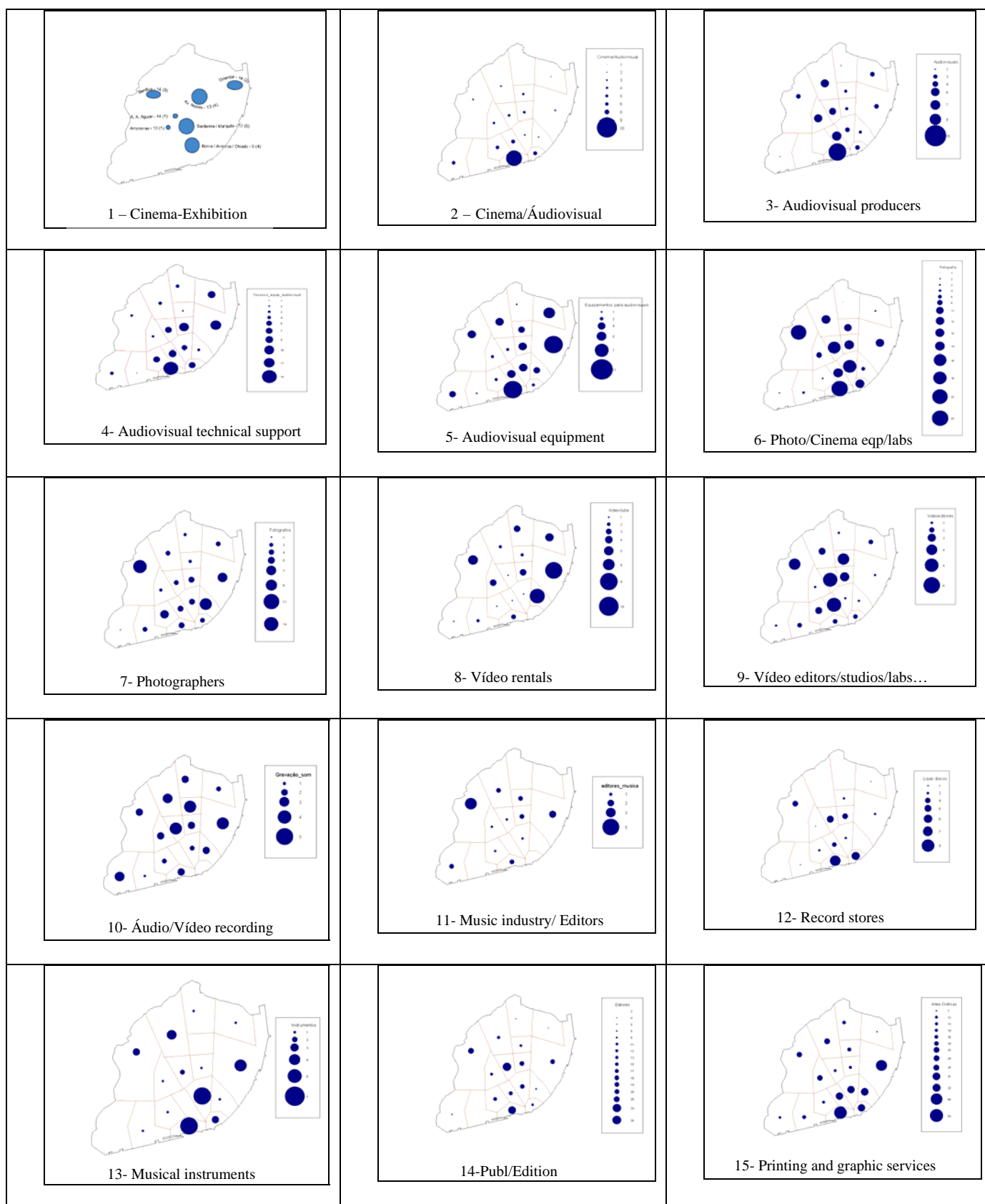
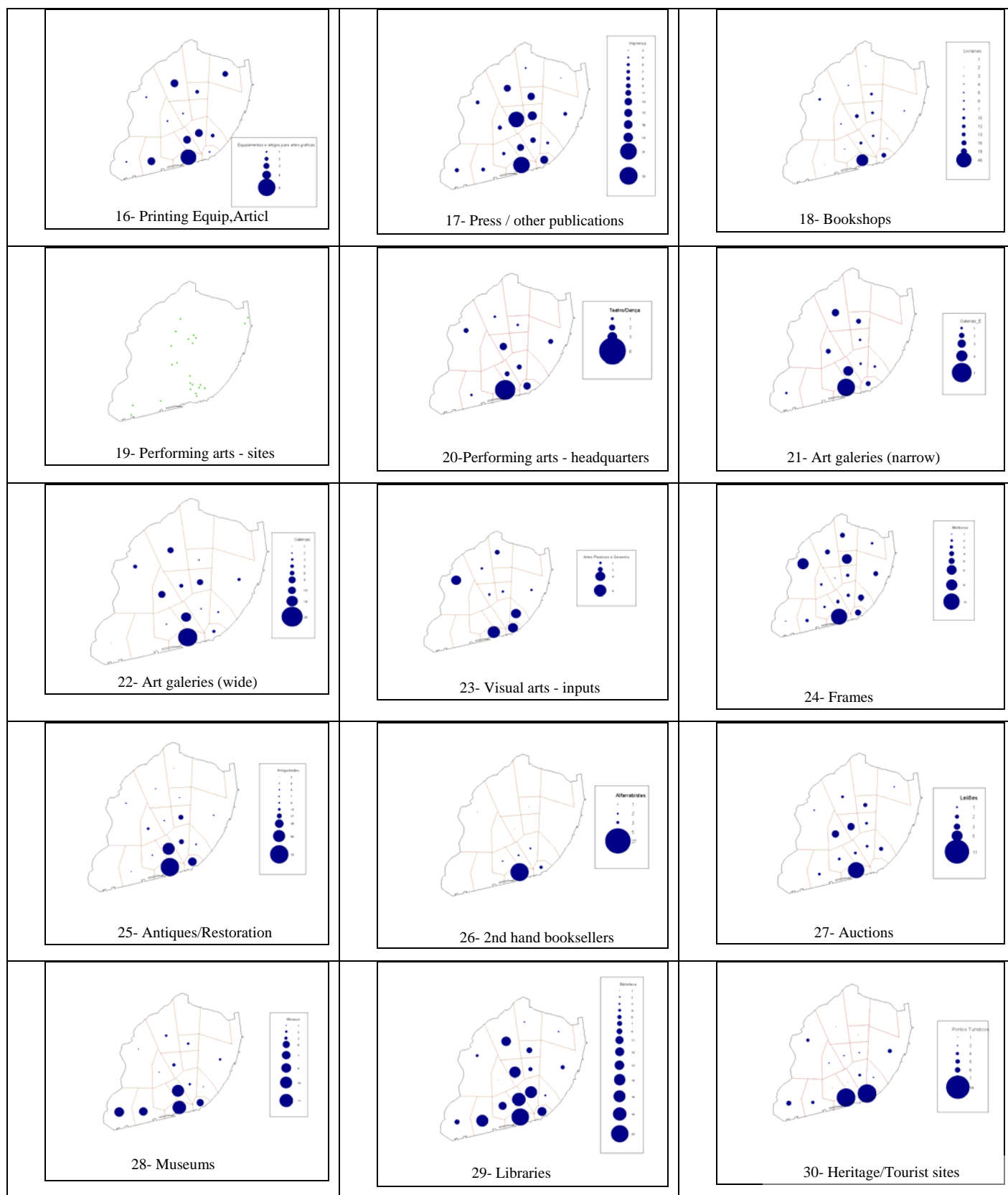
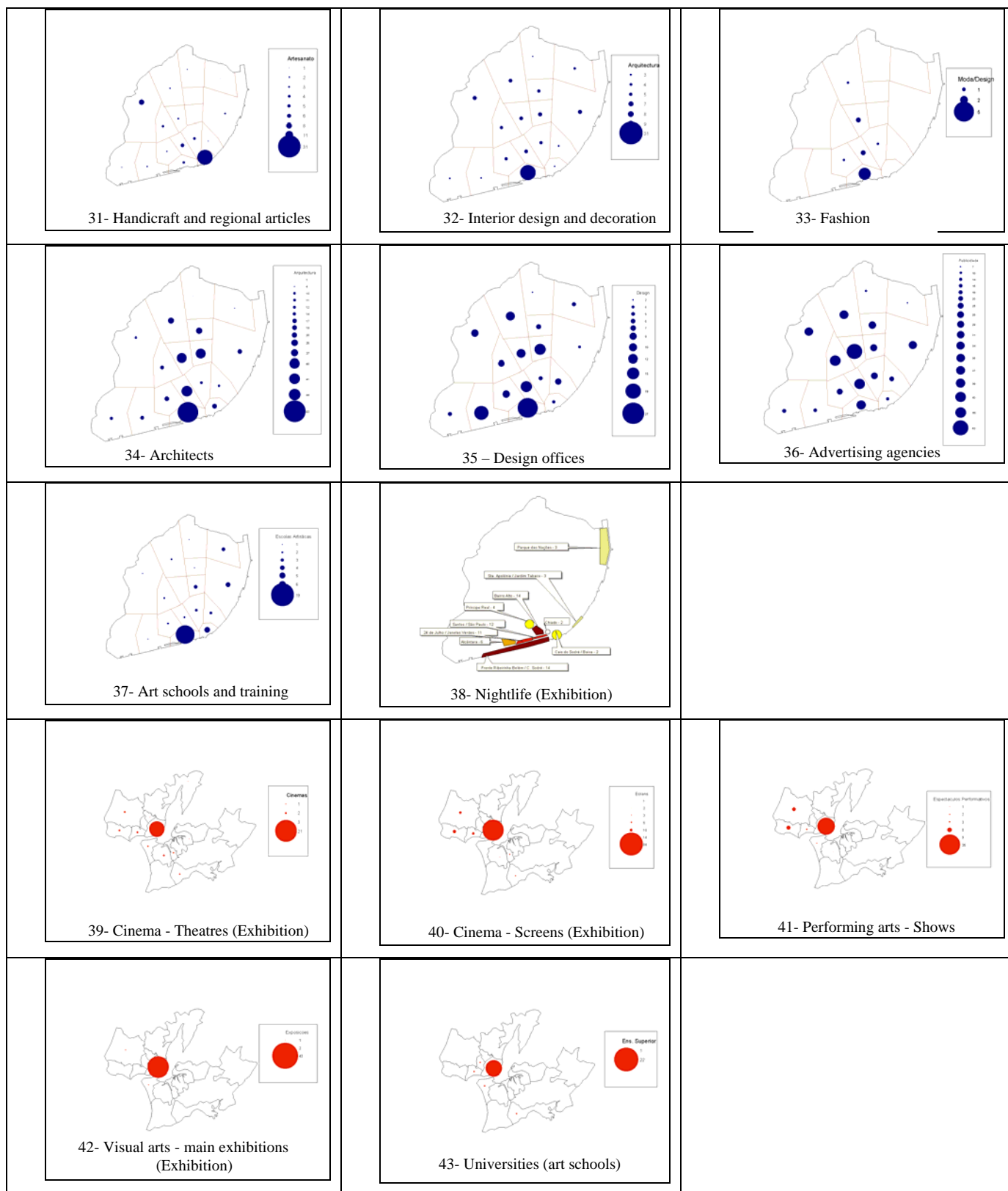


FIGURE 5 - Location of selected cultural activities and agents in Lisbon and AML (II)



INTRA-METROPOLITAN LOCATION OF CULTURAL ACTIVITIES: SOME POLICY IMPLICATIONS FROM THE LISBON CASE STUDY

FIGURE 5 - LOCATION OF SELECTED CULTURAL ACTIVITIES AND AGENTS IN LISBON AND AML (III)



4 - A TENTATIVE TYPOLOGY

Following this panorama of the distribution of cultural activities over the metropolis, it is interesting to systematize this information and to draw a tentative typology of intra-metropolitan spaces; in this way we can characterize the various situations in the Lisbon metropolitan area regarding the relationship between cultural activities and territory.

Two perspectives should be taken into consideration: on one hand, an analytical approach which will allow us to identify homogeneous and coherent spaces from a conceptual point of view, regarding the articulation of the cultural dynamics found and the territories where they are based; on the other hand, an operational perspective, focused on the action in that same territory, with an urban and regional planning bias.

With this in mind, we can therefore define a set of six broad types of space in the AML regarding the cultural activities cluster (though necessarily heterogeneous and internally highly diversified):

a) “Central Lisbon”

This area is composed of several different parts around the current city CBD (with the expansion zones consolidated over recent decades) and its traditional historical centre. Although it includes most of the area of Lisbon municipality, cultural activities which are polarized by each of its sub-zones are still quite diversified. Most of the higher level central functions are still concentrated throughout this area together with activities which are more demanding in terms of the interaction with other sectors and creativity, fairly dependent on prestige location, proximity economies and transaction costs reduction, in a “cosmopolitan” ambiance. However, one area (around Chiado and Bairro Alto, with several uneven ramifications in multiple directions) clearly stands out, as shown by most of the analysed indicators, even in comparison with the current economic and functional centre of the city. The exploitation of agglomeration economies, of the produced atmosphere and of the image is fundamental here. In addition, there are two other distinct main sub-types of zone in “Central Lisbon”. The first corresponds to the zones associated to the CBD, where status location, accessibility and proximity economies (headquarters, offices, *ateliers*, some big equipments,...) are relevant. The second, covers the remaining spaces (rest of historical quarters, residential central areas, occidental zone); among occasional large facilities and institutions, small sized, cultural initiatives predominate (e.g., archives, libraries, shops, galleries, *ateliers* or even warehouses), both supplying proximity services and , also frequently, activities for wider hinterlands;

b) The city's new expansion zones, the reconverted eastern area (Parque das Nações) and some parts of Oeiras and Cascais municipalities

These areas have been becoming increasingly central in the city, both as residential areas and economically, particularly in activities most related to the new top sectors and the so-called “new economy” (see Rodrigues and Salgueiro, 2002). They are also revealed as preferential location for several cultural cluster activities, namely most cultural industries closely linked to new technologies or that benefit from its proximity (audiovisual, multimedia, new communication technologies, television). In addition to these agglomerative advantages, they benefit from good accessibilities and favourable land costs, as well as quite good infra-structures at a metropolitan level. Nevertheless, we should notice that these areas have also been gaining impact in other cultural sectors, more linked to performing and visual arts (e.g., Lugar Comum, in Oeiras, or several areas and agents in Expo'98 zone – Parque das Nações).

c) The first ring and North Western AML

Besides the remaining parts of Oeiras and Cascais municipalities, this somewhat diverse area includes most of the territory of Amadora, Sintra, Loures and Odivelas (in the North) and of Almada and Seixal (in the South). In general, it has still been able to generate a significant set of “proximity cultural services” (small events/shows, libraries, art galleries, etc.) as well as benefit progressively from the decentralization of many activities which are most space-intensive and more demanding in terms of good accessibility to the rest of the country (yet less exigent in personal contacts, milieu effects and status location). This is particularly true for all the graphic, editing and printing *cluster*, and some important segments of audiovisual and audio and video recording/taping (studios, sale of equipment, technical articles, etc.), as well as for segments of more general demand, e.g. sales outlets which are not highly specialized (*multiplex cinemas*, retail of cultural goods in hypermarkets and shopping centre stores, proximity commerce of mass production goods, etc.).

d) The second ring and intermediate areas

These are the areas that benefit less and extract less from cultural activities and where they are given less value. Most of the remaining part of AML municipalities is included here, and the territory on the South of the river is of particular relevance (with the exception of Setúbal and the above mentioned North Western part, near the mouth of the river Tejo). This does not mean,

however, that they do not benefit from their proximity to Lisbon, or that their cultural situation is not very favourable in some cases when compared to national averages. The cultural activities in these zones are essentially inferior range central functions, and are more routine (generalist movies, local retailing of cultural products, small performing or visual art events, activity of local groups and amateur associations, etc.), although there are some clearly supra-local events (e.g., theatre in Palmela, photography in Moita and Vila Franca de Xira). Simultaneously, local competitive conditions can also be taken advantage of to specialize in some less demanding (cultural) activities in certain value chains; a good example of this is the vast production of car radios in Palmela (linked to the local dynamism of the automobile *cluster*).

e) The heritage (or potential heritage) sites

This includes a number of specific points (monuments, palaces, historical centres, classified buildings, etc.), that are spread all over the AML municipalities. Even when on the periphery, these points undoubtedly attract tourists and promote the region's culture and, when well managed add value and create employment, among other significant induced effects. Sintra village and its various palaces is a good example of this along with Queluz Palace, Arrábida Convent, Palmela and Setúbal castles; there are also a number of historical centres and riversides (e.g., Cascais, Seixal, Oeiras, Vila Franca), in addition to the monuments in the city of Lisbon itself. Whatever their surroundings, the potential of these places can be also calculated in terms of tourist attraction and cultural dynamics. Many of these places have also benefited from hosting cultural events e.g. jazz and classical music festivals, ballet, street animation, conferences, etc., adding other possibilities to explore, even though occasionally, with great success, the potential of this cultural heritage.

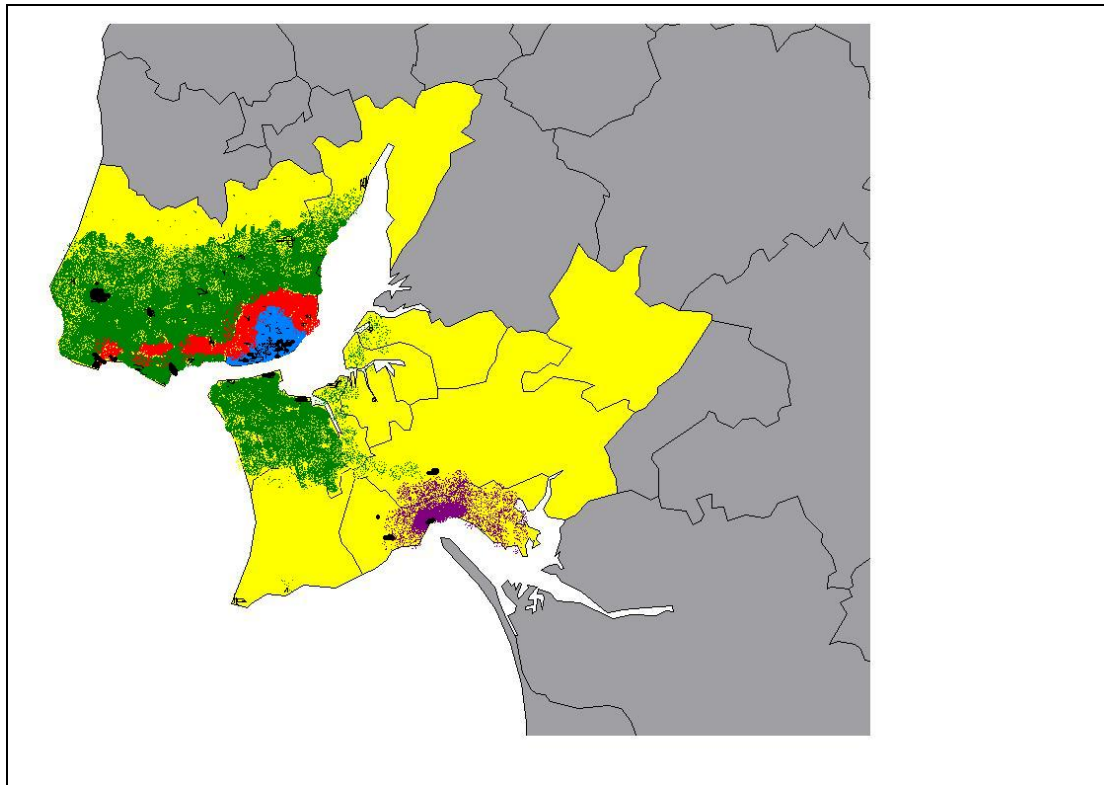
f) Setúbal and its hinterland







The Setúbal city zone can be distinguished from the above areas as it is clearly autonomous from Lisbon city in several functions and concentrates a number of important central functions which are particularly relevant to the nearby municipalities and to North of Alentejo. Nevertheless, it remains very dependent on Lisbon in various other functions and processes. Therefore, its level of autonomy could provide an important opportunity to develop some areas of specialization, either competing with or complementing the central pole in the capital.

Figure 6 demonstrates that these areas are not restricted by the administrative divisions and boundaries which are found within the AML. Although its dynamics and location logics are

partially affected by institutional aspects of local administrations – e.g., licensing, they are principally the result of how agents and the respective markets in their whole area work. The comprehension of their problems and of the public action that should be taken does not articulate well with artificial or redundant administrative and institutional divisions. The various agents themselves must therefore try to articulate and conciliate in order to promote these activities as a source and vehicle of territorial competitiveness and regional development.

FIGURE 6
A tentative typology of cultural cluster spaces in the AML



-  a) “Central Lisbon”
-  b) The city’s new expansion zones, the reconverted eastern area (Expo) and some parts of Oeiras and Cascais
-  c) The 1st ring and North Western AML
-  d) The 2nd ring and the intermediate areas
-  e) The heritage sites
-  f) Setúbal and its hinterland

Source: Own elaboration

5 - CONCLUDING NOTE: SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR URBAN-METROPOLITAN POLICIES

This analysis of the location patterns of cultural activities in Lisbon metropolitan area enables us to validate most of the recent theoretical approaches on cultural activities and their role in urban development. We were also able to confirm and build on recent theoretical reflections in this field through our empirical research, as well as an in-depth study of a specific area in the center of the most dynamic zones in the typology presented (“Bairro Alto – Chiado” cultural quarter, where the milieu effects and the governance mechanisms are crucial to its vibrancy - see Costa, 2002, Costa 2004). But many questions were also raised by this analysis about public action and governance systems that support the competitiveness of some cultural activity based territorial systems. Thus, this brief reflection would not be complete without expressing what we believe the role of public authorities should be in culturally-led territorial development processes.

As we can observe from Lisbon’s cultural activities location pattern, the competitive possibilities for the various intra-metropolitan spaces can be highly diversified. If we consider the specific experience of the local cultural activities cluster for the firms’ strategies, the creators’ motivations, the consumption patterns or forms of governance, the role of the authorities responsible for regional and local development policies can be very diversified in the promotion of cultural activities.

This metropolitan case study therefore allows us to conclude that in terms of urban development policies, cultural activities certainly can (and should) be mobilized to promote regional/local development and territorial competitiveness. However, the most important point to highlight is that urban development policies should always take into account the forms of governance and the (self-)regulation mechanisms of the system.

As recent reflection has clearly shown us (several examples of recent public intervention in these areas reveal some worrying signs, despite possible good intentions - Costa 2004a) the essential step forward in culturally-led development policies relates to building up specific strategies concerning concrete agents’ motivations and expectancies, and designing proper institutional solutions for each specific situation; these can be very diversified, as seen by the analysis of the location patterns of these activities.

Therefore, some strategic guidelines for a metropolitan cultural policy can be proposed and their guiding principles could be defined as follows:

1. To be in line with the existing *regulation forms* of the systems (economic, social, creative-artistic, legitimating,...) in which these activities emerge (the market, public

intervention; or other forms of governance: hierarchical relations; personal networks; aesthetic affinities;...);

2. To be aware of the *multiple rationalities* underlying the action of agents and the diversity of motivations and expectations that make them act (be they economic motivations, or symbolic, aesthetic-creative, social distinction);
3. To *act territorially* on the cultural production and consumption systems (departing from the existing structures, agents, etc; exploring specific competitive assets in broader terms);
4. To remember the need for *multidimensional* intervention in this *cluster* (which requires transversal action: on cultural, urban, training, transport policies, etc., to face the same problem – which implies a greater need of coordination).

Given these strategic guidelines, we should consider the following basic directives for public intervention in this field (as the roots of a metropolitan cultural policy, possibly supported by a specific institutional model):

1. To assume the importance and the strategic value of these activities in territorial development (considering the broadest interpretation of cultural activities; promoting an active urban cultural policy, towards the “creative city”);
2. To overcome the multiple dichotomies and dilemmas that usually affect public action in these fields (avoiding the dichotomist classical approaches in terms of cultural policies: e.g., public/private, erudite/popular, permanent/ephemeral, local/central);
3. To promote a territorially-based strategic conciliation between actors (between the various levels and institutions of public administration; between the latter and all other agents in the cluster; negotiating a common strategy);
4. To improve the intervention in the various “intermediation zones” and regulation forms that link the functioning of the *cluster* at the different scales (defining the specific conditions in which insertion is made at a wider level; linking the local system and the “outer world” at the different scales, in several dimensions: e.g. local cultural identity);

The local authorities can therefore be fundamental in responding to the new challenges faced by urban development policies. As promoters of regional and local development policies, defending a territorially based collective interest, building up institutional solutions and involving the cultural agents around strategic and mobilizing projects, they will allow them and all the community to become more competitive and developed, in pursuit of a more creative city.

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