

Plurality in art

Changing perspectives, creating community

Essay on the origins and symbolic revolutions of an art for the community

Preface

I had the pleasure of supervising Hee-Kyung Lee's thesis and she has since then kept me informed about the continuation of her research.

I find in the present contribution to our knowledge of the world of the outdoor arts the same methodical and rigorous way of working: placing the institutions in the context of their history taken from their archives, well-chosen extracts of numerous interviews, thus allowing for comparison, and carried out with tact, observations noted on the spot, allowing a shared understanding of the particular atmosphere of a place, or a moment.

Throughout the study, new concepts are introduced that broaden the debate and problematise the approach. These concepts are taken from authors who have all greatly contributed to the sociology of cultural practices, Jean Duvignaud, Pierre Bourdieu, Roger Chartier, and in the sociology of literature Norbert Bandier. It was important to wisely handle the concept of generation based on Karl Mannheim. The decisive dimension of local differences meant reading or rereading the research of Anne-Marie Thiesse.

I was delighted to find the reference to Richard Hoggart, a sure reference, always of great support to me personally via the translations of his books and the debates that they have generated. His autobiography *A Local Habitation, Life & times volume 1 1918 - 1940* (French edition : *33 Newport Street, Autobiographie d'un intellectuel issu des classes populaires anglaises*, Paris: Seuil, 1988), was re-edited in 2014 with a new preface by Claude Grignon, who, through his publications, for example *Le Savant et Le Populaire* with Jean-Claude Passeron, and research conducted with the INRA and OVE, has contributed to steering us away from false ideas and individual stereotypes about popular culture.

The outdoor arts are a place of experimentation. The career paths of those who work in the field, in the current context studied by Hee-Kyung Lee, have sometimes had difficult transitions, harsh experiences that do not however interrupt the inventiveness and dynamic nature of the different organisations, places for creation on the scale of the town or the region, from one border to another.

It is a milieu where people have to be determined to stick together, a group of like-minded individuals who know each other well, and always keep in mind the relative nature of certain decisions, - all of which also pushes the reader and helps reflect on other environments and surroundings. Thanks to Hee-Kyung Lee for this research conducted with panache and thoroughness.

Rémy Ponton, Professor at the Paris 8 University.

Foreword

How are organisations working in the arts sector, initially created and developed in local situations, able to achieve national recognition, what is more without recourse to the traditional networks of artistic and cultural recognition, and how are these organisations able to obtain a European label when they decide to join together? How does this happen and what is the result of the association of local resources and European heritage, what are the roles of different regions in this process? What are the major characteristics of the stakeholders in this type of project, how do they come together, and why in this particular way?

These are the central issues which I want to address as a starting point. I am only looking at one particular situation in this study: the Z.E.P.A (Zone Européenne de Projets Artistiques / European Zone of Artistic Projects).

I hope to clarify complex processes and the answers to these aforementioned specific issues by studying a relatively large number of facts related to this framework, and also show in which ways we can continue to look at a range of other study issues and related research fields. We will also see what new problems emerge, issues which were not perhaps considered as such at the outset.

This research was conducted with ZEPA 2 research funding. All members of ZEPA 2 that I met in the context of my investigations cooperated willingly, enabling me to carry out this research, taking the time to meet me, contributing to formal and informal talks, allowing me to consult their archives and to attend different events. I extend my thanks to all of them here.

I. Origins of ‘community arts’* as a category

** Translated from ‘Art pour le territoire’ (note from the translator)*

The different types of activities and the institutional frameworks highlighted here, which need to be replaced in a wider context where creators, intellectuals and arts professionals are mixed together, reveal a population whose activities relate to a class of practices which I choose to call 'community arts'¹.

This group, studied in the pages that follow, are the main French partners of the ZEPA region, and consists of founders and directors of French cultural organisations. We will try, thanks to the kind welcome we received during our investigations, to identify a few elements of similarity in the unique individual experiences of each one. We will also study the collective dimension, with a consideration of the themes generated, looking at how the ideas have been disseminated, and thus hoping to find the contours and specificities of a group that first imagined community art.

1. Social and historical origins of the creators of the framework for community arts

The ZEPA groups together partner organisations who would hardly otherwise meet outside this framework: a national theatre, a national center for street arts, a national organisation for circus and outdoor arts. This unique configuration, bringing together different institutions of various performing arts disciplines, also bears a certain openness, within the framework of working together in a coordinated way.

Although creating the group shows the obvious intention of wanting to work together, it can be seen in the archives which date back to the group's first meeting fifteen years ago, that there is an absence of metadiscourse concerning the need to do the project at a European level and in the outdoor arts sector. The discussions are focused on 'how', on what a European project represents in terms of administration and what kind of artistic projects are seemed to be appropriated. This means that the people who are gathered together have a shared vision, an affinity, and that they are on the same wavelength when they are sitting around a table together. This point becomes more clearly understandable when one studies the elements that underpin it, that of what is going on in the background. We can make a statement like this when looking at the individual and collective paths

1 Refer to Rémy Ponton for this tool of analysis, « Sur la constitution de la catégorie du « populaire » après 1848. A propos de quelques contemporains d'Alphonse Daudet », Politix. Vol. 4, N°14. Deuxième trimestre 1991. P 65-72

taken by the people in the group: Jean-Pierre Marcos (director of the *Pôle National du Cirque et des Arts de la Rue*, in Amiens), Philippe Macret (director of the *Hangar*, creation centre part of the *Pôle National du Cirque et des Arts de la Rue*); Daniel Andrieu (founder and director of *Atelier 231* - Sotteville-lès-Rouen until January 2015); Michèle Bosseur and Claude Morizur (co-founders and co-directors of the *Fourneau, Centre National des Arts de la Rue* in Brest) ; Chantal Lamarre (founder and director of *Culture Commune, Scène Nationale* in Loos-en-Gohelle until July 2014).

1-1. Creation of a special affinity around one particular expression: ‘community art’.

Modest social background, rich artistic heritage

The vast majority of the population studied comes from a working class background, their fathers were workers, except for one, who was an accountant. They come from backgrounds which are far removed from cultural and artistic spheres and are not very familiar with the associated social codes. Their geographical origins reinforce this remoteness. The fact that intellectual and artistic life is centralised in the capital means that place of birth and education play an important role in the relationship established with the cultural and artistic world.²

These social factors are important in the provinces. This factor is also accentuated by the fact that the majority of the people in the group were born and grew up in a village or a small town. Simple working class social origins, and a provincial education are quite often limiting factors which result in an inferior position on the cultural market, or in any case negatively influence the accessibility of the cultural world centered on Paris, where careers start and succeed, and the strategies and processes of the consecration of artists are developed.

The near-absence of a family cultural heritage and the lack of social capital in the study population could indicate a handicap, or even the impossibility of a career and of any professional artistic recognition in the traditional networks. Although this state of affairs is at first glance not at all encouraging for the people concerned, they do not let themselves be limited by such

² For a detailed analysis on this point, see Anne-Marie Thiesse, *Le Romain du quotidien. Lecteurs et lectures populaires à la Belle Époque*, Paris, Le Chemin Vert. 1984.

determinism. Instead, they take hold of these problems of access to official culture, and make them into new elements for artistic and cultural work, articulating them around a slogan, as ‘community art’.

‘Community’ here means not distinguishing between culture and everyday life, and brings the idea of a democratic relationship between artists and local people. Thus associating artists, local networks and infrastructure to create projects that bring together art and a sense of local community including the local population, and collective memory. The place given to work with the local population in these places is important, with a desire to carry them along on an artistic adventure using fresh perspectives to transform a region through artistic and cultural development.

Convinced by this collective way of thinking and its heterogeneous, inexhaustible richness, they succeeded in bringing Paris to the provinces, obtaining state recognition for the establishments where they are based, just as they brought audiences from the centre to the outskirts of the city.

Their social and cultural dispositions, which do not resemble any generally recognized advantages, are not at all an unfortunate destiny, but rather will prove to be a resource for the imagination in the invention of new rules for art. They adopt a posture that is not narrowly militant, rather they appear to be optimistic concerning the scope of artistic creativity, the virtue of heterogeneous experiences to bring about inventiveness in the arts sector, and thus they move away from the dominated position where the traditional culture networks would have left them.³

Acquiring the sensitivity of their generation

The acquisition of knowledge and the use of this knowledge in understanding a situation also resonates with a commitment to social, cultural and educational movements as part of the generation in which they find themselves. There are three major directions which intervene and help them along their specific paths: popular education, cultural democratisation, and alternative culture. The shared conviction that it was possible to create a link between professional life, intellectual and artistic

³ This type of attitude in a different field can also be seen in the book by **Hoggart Richard, *Autobiographie d’un intellectuel issu des classes populaires anglaises*, Paris, Le Seuil, 1988**. It is interesting to note to what extent having different experiences to those of the majority of intellectuals in London was a real resource for new ways of thinking about relationships between individuals, or relationships which had not yet been studied.

creation, and the militant commitments of their time is expressed in a renewed language, a new reading of the place of culture and art in individual and social life.

The main contents of this language are as follows:

An egalitarian approach for artistic expression

“We have culture which is high culture and there is culture known as popular; the circus, puppetry, street arts, mime... it's amazing really, why should a mime artist be considered less interesting than an opera singer? Personally I don't see why. I don't understand. There are great forms of work by these artists on one side as well as on the other! I just don't get it, and that's because of popular education that I don't understand. If I hadn't done that, if I hadn't been involved in popular education, I could have understood that everything needed to be separate (...)”⁴: Daniel Andrieu

There is refusal of hierarchies between the different techniques and types of artistic expression, and an opposition to the relationship of dominance between different types of art.

Artistic activity as a part of popular education, and local regeneration

"I have an accumulation of experiences that have given me a kind of certainty ... Of course, the politics of cultural projects is about the emancipation of people, about revolt, and changing lives... but it's not the case for everyone, for some, it's an artistic vision, for others it's to give food for thought, to reflect, and to nourish ideas, and it can be an intimate part of one's own environment. That's what my own project is about. Entertainment is not just a custard pie, it can also give you something to think about but it has to touch you as well, and it has to scratch at your representation of the world. What is especially important for me is that it affects everyone, and especially those who do not come to see the shows”: Chantal Lamarre

⁴ Throughout this text, the quotes where the source is not given come from interviews done as part of research on ZEPA.

Critical thinking is considered as one of the principal elements of popular education, and it is also an important element in the outdoor arts, thus art is seen as a major factor in popular education.

The idea of sharing as a recurring theme among reasons to make art

“When we went to the Aurillac festival for the first time, there wasn’t even a programme, there were names, campsites with children, Toyotas. When you get back from a first festival like that, you have a kind of certainty, about art, about the emotions that you’ve had because of the art, we wanted to share that with people here where we live on a daily basis. (...) Above all, we realized that we could make things to fit the scale of our town”: Claude Morizur

There is an examination here of the place of artists and the arts in society. A kind of shared, ephemeral community, which these people experienced through various cultural events in their youth, and which fed an ideal of how people could organise society together. Indeed, this concept of the collective is referred to as "lost" in various contexts. Without taking refuge in the nostalgia of festive events gone-by, they do however still seek to create atmospheres where the collective element is important, but with work from artists who have a contemporary sensibility.

Art as a force for metamorphosis

"The artistic, the emotion in the art allows people to express themselves differently, not even to see themselves differently, just to express themselves differently, something changing inside of me that wasn’t there the previous morning! And I am convinced of that. At one point you can be touched by a work of art that moves you, which changes things for you, which influences you, even if you stay in the same social situation.":

Jean Pierre Marcos

This strength of opinion on the importance and scope of influence of art is a shared idea which brings together the people who originally started the movement as well as the new generation. It is not

so much the artistic approach that is an important element but rather the implications of having access to art. The experiences of involvement in militant movements of their generation make certain themes vectors, giving them an importance as a guide to aspirations and also leading to militant action.

1-2 Some important parameters at the outset

Several factors contribute to the creation of the studied population, which can be defined by a specific attitude, and a disposition for a particular aesthetic.

Education: most of the people in the group went on to higher education, some later on after failing in school initially. This acquisition of knowledge allows them to have the intellectual tools to clearly analyse their social origins, and at the same time, to respect them. A constructed and objective viewpoint on these social origins, and the inherent domination at play, gives them the intellectual strength not to succumb to an imposed, unilateral vision of human relationships, but rather to clearly see the origins of symbolic violence, and not to overlook the resources which might be at risk of being hidden, to give due importance to elements which, from a simplistic point of view, would not be considered as socially significant. Their investment in the acquisition of knowledge is not a kind of compensation, or a reason for frustration, rather they use it as a means of understanding and analysing where they came from and of feeling a proximity with the local working class population.

Pride in the economic and social groups to which they belonged: As the members of the group have feelings of pride in connection with their social origins, when they are in contact with populations who are economically and culturally deprived, they are not condescending towards these populations and do not consider them as inferior, even given their own social ascension. They do not wish to break with their family history, do not see their past as lacking in anything, or as the bottom of the scale, they do not devalue their past in order to succeed and have no wish for revenge. Although they were born and grew up perfectly familiar with social relationships based on domination, in all aspects of their lives, they do not want to repeat this pattern with the groups of individuals from the working class in which they recognize themselves. On the contrary, they associate their social ascension with deep respect for these populations with their own customs and experiences. Their determination to link the artistic world with the everyday experiences of these populations comes from

this. Their capacity for observation and ability to objectively analyse, coupled with international experience, means they are almost anthropologists. Direct knowledge and grass roots experience push them to find new inventive artistic forms, breaking with folk tradition and the simple, ideological reproduction of popular art forms.

The reality of working to make a living: most of the people in the group had to start adult life relatively early, starting work between the ages of 15 to 18, with low-paid jobs. Thus they became part of society and had a first contact with the professional world which gave them a strong connection with the reality of the lives of the working classes.

2 Becoming well-known in the sector of the arts and inventing European projects

The relatively long, gradual invention of the ZEPA 2 project, and the time taken getting the project set up, bears witness to complex dynamics, driven by the various strategies and tactics of its founding members – a reflection of the complexity of their individual paths and the historical contexts of the structures they founded and developed. There are many different timescales involved in the process of the recognition of the outdoor arts in France, and all the ZEPA partners were major stakeholders.

The outdoor arts in France had to go through a very particular process before achieving artistic recognition. The outdoor arts developed from the 1980s onwards, without having had the support of cultural organisations or the media, and without relying on the traditional channels of expert recognition namely critics and academia. They managed to gain acceptance as an artistic sector by the French Culture Ministry through pressure from professionals and artists gathered as a federation, and supported by the success of outdoor arts festivals and the reputation of emblematic outdoor arts companies who had become indispensable.⁵

The first outdoor arts network, bringing together professionals (programmers, directors, administrators) and artists, constituted a first channel for outdoor arts audiences, and played a major role. Local recognition as a foundation, reinforced over a period of nearly thirty years, lies at the heart of all actions taken by this first network.

5 Hee-Kyung Lee, *Les arts de la rue en France. Une logique de double jeu*, l'Harmattan, 2013

Between 1997 and 1999, outdoor arts were taken into consideration by the ministry for the first time, with official recognition of outdoor arts companies and of the places where they created their work, and the publication of ministerial studies. During this period, *Atelier 231* was inaugurated, and with the *Pôle National du cirque et des arts de la rue* in their respective structures (*Viva Cité* et *La fête dans la ville*), both became part of the first official Anglo-French partnership ART'urb (1995-2000).

Culture Commune became a *Scène Nationale* (accredited National Theatre) in 1998. In 2000, *le Fourneau* was awarded the *Scène Conventionnée* accreditation (state recognised venue) for outdoor arts. In 2001, *Atelier 231* sets itself up as an *association* (charity) becoming independent from the town council, and the *Hangar*, *Fabrique des arts de rue*, today part of the *Pôle National du cirque et des arts de la rue*, was opened. In 2002, the *Cirque Jules Verne* became *Pôle régional de cirque* or regional hub for circus and *La fête dans la ville* team moved to the *Cirque Jules Verne* building, thus also becoming independent from the town council cultural department.

Atelier 231, the *Pôle régional de cirque* in Amiens and the *Hangar* were joined by *Culture Commune* and set up the *Polycentre Européen de Création Artistique* PECA (2001- 2006), giving further artistic credibility. During this period, the Year for Outdoor Arts was illustrated by the creation of the label *Centre National des Arts de la rue* (National Centre for Street Arts), *Atelier 231* gained greater status along with the *Fourneau*, and PECA became ZEPA in 2008, starting a new project. The region involved became larger and the grass-roots partners involved with the *Fourneau* somehow made local involvement with the European cultural project more radical, reinforcing it.

In this development stage there is an obvious determination to defend and showcase the unique nature of artistic work from the regions.

In 2011, the *Cirque Jules Verne* in Amiens became *Pôle régional de cirque* (Regional hub for Circus), and at the same time became independent from the local town council authority, becoming an EPCC (Etablissement Public de coopération culturelle – a structure which can be financed both by local government and sometimes also by the state) grouping together the circus, the *Hangar* and the circus school. In the same year, the two directors from the *Fourneau* received recognition in the form of French ‘knighthood’ and became *chevaliers des Arts et des Lettres*. In 2012, at *Atelier 231* a new three year principle agreement with new objectives was signed in presence of the Minister for Culture

and, in 2013, the *Hangar* signed a principle agreement labelling it as a place of creation for the outdoor arts. That year Chantal Lamarre was distinguished with the legion of honour.

The first historical partners of the ZEPA – *Atelier 231*, *Pôle National du cirque et des arts de la rue*, the *Fourneau* and *Culture Commune* - all have innovative features in common. They contribute to the evolution of culture in France by establishing a new relationship with art, changing production methods which allow free access for the public, reinventing the use of space, the form of the pieces created, and freeing conventions concerning this work. They are teams working in culture who have grass roots origins: cultural events are organised by the team members in the very areas where they were born, grew up, gained notoriety. Having obtained the symbolic recognition of the state through a new national accreditation, they evolved and converged together, with a certain maturity, deeply connected to the local population and their region. This also brought them closer to local government officials who approved of the potential positive consequences in terms of social and regional development but was also a reason for potential conflict depending on the political orientation of local government authorities.

This new configuration thus endorsed the structures at a national level while maintaining regional relationships and was the result of a completely independent path, not recognised by the conventional French arts sector. It was also the result of periods of research, negotiation and cooperation with local government officials which was sometimes extremely demanding, or even brutal, as for example with the cancellation of festivals without any discussions, abrupt and heavy reductions in budgets and even sometimes verbal intimidation or attitudes bordering on contempt.

But there is an afterwards. Today all multidisciplinary arts projects have to include the outdoor arts. The two concepts of multi-disciplinarity and public space were introduced as early as 1997-99 as tools and important references in positioning the outdoor arts within the established institutions.

Rejected for a long time, limited to the outskirts of the establishment, the outdoor arts finally obtained institutional recognition. The outdoor arts pioneers managed to thwart censorship, and the rules of silence and domination that prevailed in the established institutions. Innovation thus gained its strength from regional recognition.

3 The creation of community arts

3-1. Individual paths, collective experience

On the path leading to the construction of a collective approach, the different individual experiences resonate emotionally and professionally, they are part of an attitude which optimises and unites the different experiences as one vision, advocating an art which is close to people.

In their own way, each person expresses an opposition to old-fashioned values, to the well-established, fixed visions of a culture that disappoints. Rather they want to make room for another culture that exists as an individual conviction, constructed out of the dialectics of a personal trajectory and the way this is perceived on an intimate level.

This attitude is not expressed de facto from the outset, but is analysed as such at the point in their professional lives when a certain maturity is reached. At this stage, there are many social and personal experiences which go to make up the individual journeys, along with external factors, such that intimate beliefs become the guidelines of a collective orientation. The system of values that they defend, and put into practice, is based on knowledge and experience, which give a certain strength and credibility to their shared commitment.

Yet the different pathways vary.

Daniel Andrieu, obtained a master of philosophy at the end of the 1960s and, at the beginning of the 1970s, was a former activist in the *Maison de la Jeunesse et de la Culture* (Centre for Youth and Culture or *MJC*) movement, worked as director of an MJC in le Havre and then in Sotteville-lès-Rouen. He then worked in the Town Hall in Sotteville-lès-Rouen, as cultural services manager at a time when the job of director of cultural services in French town halls had not yet been created. He proved that it was possible to transform the ways of working in local politics, showing how current organisations could develop by using a different approach on the issue of culture.

Working between the arts professions and cultural policy, and later with the specific outdoor arts profession, he experienced first-hand their possible compatibilities and contradictions. Although the outdoor arts festival Viva Cité that he organized while working at the town hall was successful locally, and obtained support from local government members, he chose to leave the town hall to found *Atelier 231* as an independent structure, dedicated to the development of the outdoor arts with

two core missions: support for the creation of new pieces of work and residencies for artists. The launch of this type of organisation, a centre for outdoor arts dedicated to the development of the discipline as an art in its own right, is very significant. By combining the requirement to be innovative with the desire to professionalise the outdoor arts sector, he gave priority to projects which were both novel but also possible in legal and financial terms.

Chantal Lamarre sums up her career with a couple of words: "humiliation and dignity", like a problem where action needed to be taken in order to regain dignity, in contexts where humiliation was experienced as an individual, but also resonates as part of a collective memory. This applies in her efforts concerning the creation of *Culture Commune* and its development, through practical actions that are further illuminated by the intellectual tools and knowledge of working-class realities. The only child in her working-class family having gone on to higher education, she had to find ways to retain her own dignity as an individual, without denying her background. After studies in mathematics and sociology, working at the same time in a student job, she was accepted onto the ANFLAC course (*Association nationale pour la formation et l'information artistique et culturelle* - national association for training and artistic and cultural information) in 1988. Following this, she was asked to conduct a study on the feasibility of and then to implement an arts project in the mining area of the Pas-de-Calais. She turned down the request for the creation of a festival and submitted instead a proposal for the development of a local project for the arts which would involve consultation with the whole of the local population. She embarked on a long course of meetings with all the local town councilors in towns where the cultural infrastructure was almost inexistent, the word culture itself being perceived as belonging to another world. *Culture Commune* was launched as an *association* in 1990 with thirty towns becoming members. Its journey is none other than the discovery of a region, a process of gaining knowledge in the social and historical characteristics of the daily life of people, taking them as they are and where they are.

Jean-Pierre Marcos' experience is made up of several interrelated factors, such as the draft cultural policy developed by the Communist Party during the 1960s and 1970s, used in the programme of the joint government of the Communist and Socialist Party dating from June 21, 1972, the movement of renewal and reorganisation of the circus as an art form, the policy of cultural

democratisation, the development of the outdoor arts, and other incentives which encouraged a movement towards people and local communities with existing professional tools for the arts. 'I am myself a product of society' he smiled, during our interview. Starting work with the town council as the person responsible for school canteens, Jean-Pierre Marcos met at that time local politicians from the Communist Party, who were seeking to implement a cultural project for the people of Amiens. The first seasons of the *Fête dans la ville* during the 1970s are not without disputes, hesitations, and even refusal by the local population, especially when they involve new ideas like closing the large avenues or town squares for the artistic cause. Changes in the political leanings of the town council meant that the support of local government was far from being guaranteed. Nevertheless, he continued to develop projects with the *Cirque Jules Verne*, relying on the support of the population for the events he organised, along with open-mindedness from some local councilors. Around 1997-1998, *Fête dans la ville* became more focused on the professionalisation of events and the programming of new types of multidisciplinary outdoor performances. There was a gradual reduction in the number of public spaces made available to amateur clubs and societies. The prestige of the 'new circus' movement, making circus a highly respected art form, was significant in the development of the circus and the outdoor arts. The *Pôle national de cirque et des arts de la rue* which today groups together *la Fête dans la ville*, the *Cirque Jules Verne*, *l'Ecole du cirque* (school for circus) and the *Hangar, Fabrique des arts de la rue* show a willingness to involve the local population as a whole with artistic events. This is why *la Fête dans la ville* begins in the neighborhoods on the outskirts of the city and not in the centre of Amiens, showing a working knowledge of the local situation and prior consultation with the population.

Michèle Bosseur and Claude Morizur have known each other since they were young (before they were 20), through their participation in the activities of the secular society *Patronage Laïque du Relecq-Kerhuon*, near Brest, and both were primary school teachers. The change of profession from the sector of education to that of the arts, was not without some problems for Michèle Bosseur, as her father had some doubts concerning the consequential professional instability and uncertain future for his daughter, considering the idea to be a young person's whim and not a serious career plan. The structure the *Fourneau* developed, the board of directors was composed of citizens not local

politicians, but not without moments of crisis, and considerable financial difficulties. Michèle Bosseur and Claude Morizur's involvement in the *Patronage Relecq-Kerhuon* during the 1970s and 1980s was defined by militant cultural, social and educational action, as part of the *Education Populaire* (popular education) movement. After meeting each other and working with the company *Oposito* towards the end of 1980, they become professionals working for the development of the outdoor arts. The *PLRK* team became the *Grains de Folie* organisation, and the *Fourneau* was inaugurated in 1994. Over the following years, the organisation became well-recognised in the region, the activities led by Michèle Bosseur and Claude Morizur as professionals working in the outdoor arts sector include the creation of recognised outdoor arts festivals and national recognition in the form of national labels. In this development process which may seem to be a linear path, there were problems: conflicts with local councilors, debt, having to give up venues, and even finding themselves in situations where they felt they had to keep their heads down when out in their own towns. With the hindsight obtained after 30 years of experience, they perceive the closeness and support of the artists as the principal source of energy which allowed them to bounce back, along with occasional lucky strokes which helped them out. Great esteem and respect for outdoor artists are at the foundations of the *Fourneau*, and this is visible through the welcome, both professional and affectionate, that they receive there, and the fact that it is first and foremost the artists who conceive the projects.

The chemistry between the two, allowing them to minimise any differences, is what makes the coordination of their work possible, their shared objectives can be formulated thus: how can we reach the local population, with what type of project, how can we work with them to ensure that the projects resonate with the region?

Their shared affinity is based upon this belief, a kind of 'content of truth' to quote Adorno, and upon the way in which this belief was built.

In the transition from awareness to the taking of action is the realisation that new aesthetic and ethical values must be established. In common with the theories of Pierre Bourdieu and Jean Duvignaud: the artistic revolution is accompanied by ethical objection. Indignation - revolt against patterns of behaviour perceived as worn-out and old-fashioned – carries with it a creative attitude,

proposing new relationships between individuals and their environments. It attacks fixed attitudes, and established codes, and as such, it is inherently a form of political opposition.

This self-confidence, and the fight for a new aesthetic program, as can be seen in the interviews, is a combination of being aesthetically, ethically and politically demanding. Resolve and perseverance persist in situations where nothing is automatically accepted. There is an ability to assume difficult choices, to fully engage in a particular direction, whilst at the same time being in a precarious position, building something positive, and at the same time managing tensions which pull in opposite directions. This is where the relative detachment from the opinions and judgments of other professionals on the outside comes from.

3-2. Required attitudes

Being humble

"At the time I really liked Herbert Marcuse, I liked philosophers but also the educational theorists, I liked the school of Frankfurt, Adorno, I was into all that. And of course at the time, now we find it absurd, but at the time everyone studied Karl Marx. At the time, after May '68, everyone wanted to know what this guy had written. I just studied the writings of Karl Mark's youth at university, for example, *Manuscripts of 1844* where there's a great sense of humanity. ": Daniel Andrieu.

The members of the studied population today give university lectures, have important roles in non-profit making organisations (*associations*), are interviewed by students, write editorials, can ask for research studies to be carried out, and as such represent the intellectual figures of the structure in question. And yet there is no self-satisfaction, no triumphalism, or self-glorification. On the contrary, all our respondents underline the importance of being humble as primordial in their approach to their work. At the same time, they point out the importance of the discovery and commitment to humanism in politics (Jean - Pierre Marcos), in the social sciences (Daniel Andrieu), in education (Michele Bosseur, Claude Morizur), or in art (Chantal Lamarre), also in anti-establishment music (Philippe Macret).

“There are poets everywhere, poetry can spring up everywhere” wrote Mikel Dufrenne⁶, which explains why latent or assertive humanism is also everywhere as a means of creating relationships between individuals. This attitude is accompanied by a capacity for interpretation, gives a complete understanding of the context, and tends to exist as a social force, sometimes requiring a political approach in order to be able to exist as such. Being humble is an attitude that is inherent to the system of values of art for the people, and to the production of value to be shared with the greatest number possible.

Principle of authenticity in the pieces of art

“When we took fifty-four young people to the festival of Avignon in 1990, the year when we created *Culture Commune* with the towns who were partners, it generated a lot of new things - for me, that was the idea, to take young people from the regions and give them new experiences, for me, the real foundations are there. It was a great basis for some of them who went on to work as play directors, the whole experience really changed things for people, they still talk about it today, saying ‘I was one of the young people on the trip to Avignon! It was an absolutely fabulous experience.’”: Chantal Lamarre

All the interviewees have a shared claim, which can be expressed thus: the strength of the artistic discourse. This means anticipating the scope of conviction of a piece of art, taking into account what it expresses specifically, and measuring the degree of independence of the work, can it keep a certain distance with current political, financial and ideological concerns, so that it does not serve as a kind justification for anything other than itself. The more independent the work is, the more it opens up the possibility of allowing individuals from various parts of society to come together around it.

6 Mikel Dufrenne (dir.), « Il y a des poètes partout », Revue d’Esthétique, Paris, Union Générale d’Editions, 3/4 1975.

Recognition of the local population

Michèle Bosseur: Once, someone actually voted for me! (Laughs)

Claude Morizur: In a town nearby.

Michèle Bosseur: It was at a local election for mayor one time, somebody put my picture in an envelope and wrote on it "vote for Michèle Bosseur!" Somebody actually made a ballot paper with my picture on it!

HK L: It wasn't a joke?

Michèle Bosseur: (laughs) No, there was a paper in the ballot box, with my name on it. (Laughing) ⁷

The recognition of local people is shown by spontaneous gestures in unexpected circumstances, there are lively testimonies with specific anecdotes of a special event affecting the lives of the people concerned, and how they took part in events or in organisations with a real sense of community. The stories of local people are composed of hands-on experiences and of real events, which are received by the people in the group as confirmation of a certain kind of recognition which is not that of the media or critics.

The victory of popular culture

“When we were awarded the *Médaille des Arts et des Lettres*, a lot of people sent us messages, saying “congratulations, you deserve it”. It’s the same thing, it’s for all the work that we’ve done. The stories that people send us... they often say "congratulations for everything that you’ve done, you’ve achieved so much." There are a lot of stories like that”: Michèle Bosseur.

We met a lot of people from the local population, who voluntarily put themselves in the position of spokesperson for the places and personalities in question. As for example, a sixty year old

⁷ It should be pointed out that she wasn’t a candidate for these local elections.

gentleman who told us about everything he had done at the *Fourneau* when we stopped to ask how to get there, or the father and daughter who took us to our hotel after the 'Fish and Chips' festival held at the *Atelier 231*, and who explained on the way there what the *Atelier 231* was all about.

I mean by *popular* all the individuals gathered around a shared event or place, which is thus constructed and maintained by each person who brings with them their own contribution. The openness to this kind of participation lies in the blurring of, and a certain distance with, the determinism of socio-cultural categories. "*Le fond de l'air est rouge*" (literally 'there's a red breeze blowing') is the title of a film by Chris Marker (film released in the US with the title *A Grain without a Cat*), and with the accumulated experiences of successful local events, we can say that at the basis of popular culture, there is an openness amongst people who are simply waiting for proposals so as to get involved.

Democratic creativity

"For me, originally, it was completely impossible to go up and talk to an artist, I even had a bit of a complex about this milieu that I knew nothing about. (...) I had a bit of a complex related to 'official' culture, I didn't feel... it wasn't really made for me, and I wasn't made for it. I felt like I was getting in the way. (Laughs). Then I met artists like that, who had decided to be closer to people without any barriers, who spoke openly about what they felt.. extraordinary people who behaved at the same time like ordinary people":

Claude Richard

The denial of any form of artistic hierarchy, which creates categories for different artistic techniques, relationships with the artists based on mutual trust and esteem, a cooperative relationship with people, and a closeness with the natural elements are all components of the democratic creativity that we encountered during our research.

Art in the plural

"We've really moved on to a new phase at that level, the way people look at art has evolved. There are fewer conditions. Now you don't say so often to a guy who only likes football that he should go and see an opera, if he doesn't like opera, nobody's going to force him to go. People who go to the opera, or go to see a concert, or people who go to see an art exhibition in a gallery, have become a little more aware that works of art are diverse." Jean-Pierre Marcos

According to the study published in 2012 by the French Ministry for Culture's office for observation, performance and management on 'audiences for live performances'⁸, the members of the audiences for the outdoor arts are those who go to see the widest range of performing arts and museums. This characteristic of outdoor arts audiences thus shares common features with the principles of the outdoor arts: multidisciplinary, mobility, the necessity of travelling to attend a show, plurality and heterogeneity of the audience.

Against socio-geographical stigmatisation

"You have to imagine... we were at the tip of Brittany, in a small town, so meeting people from the inner cities, which is where the company *Oposito* comes from, might seem insignificant today, but for me, it was huge. The 93 [*in the Parisian suburbs*] was a foreign country to us, we learned a lot about how the others worked, we went to visit each other a lot, and so suddenly, we discovered how other people functioned, people who were completely different (...). The friction between these two worlds, the guys from the inner cities with their way of life which was completely different to us, tidy, polite provincials, with our briefcases" Claude Morizur

⁸ Laurent Babé, *La sortie au spectacle vivant*. Présentation générale. Bureau de l'observation, de la performance et du contrôle de gestion, REPERES DGCA, N°6.01, octobre, Direction générale de la création artistique, Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, 2012.

The whole history of the creation and the development of *Culture Commune* is a fight against the symbolic violence of a region whose population could easily close up on itself, former miners and workers from the mining industry, who, after the closing of the mines and without any alternative options, were thrown into poverty, stuck in an impossible situation, and little able to imagine new perspectives for the future. *Culture Commune*, an organisation grouping together different towns for artistic and cultural development in the mining area of the Pas-de-Calais region was created in 1990 with 22 towns which "had no director of cultural affairs nor even a representative for cultural events and therefore no existing budget for culture." ⁹ The discussions with each town, through individual meetings between Chantal Lamarre and each of the respective mayors, in order to convince them of the feasibility of the project which would give local people and organisations their rightful place, with perspectives opened up by culture, through a real project of sustainable local development, was a gamble, something of a confrontation between hope and hesitation. The skills, motivations and latent aspirations among local people, in a region going through socio-economic decline, found something to engage with after the creation of *Culture Commune*. This project is a demonstration of the difficulties and possibilities in overcoming the stigmatisation of a disadvantaged area.

No distinction between culture and the everyday

"For example, the work created by *Oposito*, by *Générik*, by *Delice Dada*, all those first outdoor artists, it's work created for towns, with a strong presence of the inhabitants of a town : adventures, a troupe, it's a way of looking at life, at the town, it's really gripping, it's what we wanted to share with the people here. Like a vision of life, and of culture, saying, "Wow, that's it... that's it...!" (she bangs the table with her closed fist)" : Michèle Bosseur

9 Chantal Lamarre, « Culture Commune : une expérience de coopération et de solidarité intercommunale pour la mise en œuvre d'un nouveau projet culturel territorial de l'ex-Bassin Minier du Pas-de-Calais », 15th annual symposium called *La Vitalité culturelle locale : l'affaire de qui ?* (Local cultural vitality : who is responsible ?) organised by *les Arts et la Ville*, and the town of Sherbrooke, Québec, 9-11 October, 2002, Sherbrooke.

An elderly woman in her sixties sits next to me on a bench around a tree on the terrace of the bar at the *Atelier 231*, which overlooks an open courtyard. It's raining and it's cold. The lady looks at me and says "take a blanket, they're in the bar." She was talking about the fleece blankets provided by the *Atelier 231* for the public.

She says to me "It's a letterbox" pointing her finger at the wall in front of which there is an outdoor heater, put there by the *Compagnie Carabosse*.

"Sorry? " I'm surprised.

"Over there, it's a letterbox. "

There is a box slotted onto the wall.

I say to her "but, it's very high up!"

She told me: "they had to climb up on a ladder, there used to be a door right next to it."

This lady dressed in a plastic black jacket with a fleece scarf, a local inhabitant, had received e-mails about the events organized by the *Atelier 231*. She had come on her own to see a British company.

She asked me where I came from and smiled at me, adding in a very quiet voice "The *Atelier* is like a garden for us", and added "this is our holiday home" before getting up to go and see one of the performances.

Notes from: *Fish & Chips, Atelier 231*, Sotteville lès Rouen, 30 January, 2014.

Against degrading 'popular' culture

"What is culture today in our society? (...) There are people for whom Disneyland is a culture, but not for me no, somewhere along the line we are also defending what art and culture are. (...) The budget for the performing arts at the level of the Ministry for Culture is 670 million euros and the outdoor arts have 10 million euros. Even 670 million, compared to the budgets that you can have in the cultural industries, it's peanuts. The cultural industries receive financial help in terms of billions. We're nothing compared to all that. But we resist. The way I see it is that, somewhere along the line, we are also

resisting the established order, by offering people something other than what they can see all day on TV, on the radio, in the newspapers.” : Philippe Macret.

Roger Chartier emphasizes that popular culture is an academic categorisation. There is no popular culture in the sense that one type of practice is only intelligible to one category of people, and not to another category which would not be able to understand it ¹⁰. This is in contrast to ideas on what would be "inherently" or "a priori" popular, and to the idea of products from cultural and audiovisual industries specially calibrated for the part of the population with most modest origins. The same piece of art can be shown to the population of a city centre, to those in a suburban area, to those living in rural areas. Certainly, as the context changes, the ways in which the work is appropriated are not the same.

4. Creation of ZEPA – *Zone Européenne de Projets Artistiques*

Multi-layered collective experiences have certain results. But individual people can experience them each in a different way, there is thus room for chance. An individual can appropriate collective experience in his own, idiosyncratic and original way, which resonates with his own social journey, presented as the notion of the ‘field of orientation’ by Karl Mannheim ¹¹. In this analysis, the social and intimate experiences of the individual are continuously interlinked, and the same goes for the creation of a group.

On the basis of an affinity which comes from their personal situations and experiences, individuals can form a real, physical group of shared knowledge, which can then sometimes lead to the creation of an organised structure, with a name and a defined objective, which they may or may not be successful in reaching. The culture of ‘crossing borders’ is inherently part of the subject of this study, and emerges as a way of rationalising and organising the ideals in the group.

10 Roger Chartier, *Lectures et lecteurs dans la France d’Ancien régime*, Paris, Seuil, 1982. Culture écrite et société, Paris, Albin Michel, 1996.

11 Karl Mannheim, *Le problème des générations*, Paris, Nathan, 1990.

In the French context, although the outdoor arts have been recognised symbolically, the situation is still marked by the low level of financial support from the institutions and only episodic support from the media and critics. The conviction of those in the art for the community movement, with a vision of the outdoor arts as a major artistic current, pushed the French partners to seek other possibilities for development, with European funding organisations, for financial reasons but also because of the symbol of Europe. Once this process began, they developed a set of projects to define what cultural and artistic cross-border projects were. Their sensitivity to political and intellectual issues was the basis for a 'creative' habitus, with a militant approach, able to articulate the elements of the French outdoor arts scene with a wider collective orientation. The possibility of becoming a real political force, with an ability to take decisions and act, was one of the deciding factors that led people to group together, despite the geographical constraints and disagreements on certain details. Each member seems to hold the others in esteem for what they do "You must love what you do" as Daniel Andrieu said, and this idea is common in the group.

A cultural niche based on elective affinities, outside of which artistic creation cannot happen, as highlighted by Jean Duvignaud, a social environment composed of individuals with a sense of the collective and the shared desire to participate in the creation of art, with a certain ethic, are the guarantees of a dynamic working group. The ZEPA seems to be able to count on these elements and defines itself by them.

II. The Anglo-French artistic program and the accumulation of cross-border capital

1 Art crossing borders : building common capital

1-1. From *Everyone is already doing it locally* to building common capital

"The 'ZEPA 2 LAB' meeting which was held in Peterborough on 5th and 6th June 2013 was an original part of the ZEPA 2 project as it was conceived at the beginning of 2012. What better way to bring people together, in a very natural way, than to get everyone together "around the table" to define together common activities and projects? *Everyone is already doing it locally*; in Peterborough, we suggested doing it on a European scale”¹²

In the introduction by Joe Mackintosh, Director of SeaChange Arts in Great Yarmouth, for the other ZEPA symposium, held two years before in Brighton, an idea is already present as to what the participants consider as a European orientation, that can bring together this idea of ‘*Everyone is already doing it locally*’.

“ ‘We are not just sharing financial support, we create the projects together. We should make a book which explains how rich and abundant the program is.’ This remark from one of the participants summed up the spirit of those involved in the project, who were keen, at the mid-term of the project, to emphasize that the added value of the European program cannot be limited to economic support, but really corresponds to work which is intercultural and cross-border, giving opportunities for discussion and reflection which are very valuable in changing professional practice and in making the ways we think about culture evolve.”¹³

12 ZEPA2 LAB : *Construire ensemble des projets artistiques transfrontaliers*, Peterborough, 5 and 6 June 2013. p, 1. (the italics are mine)

13 Joe Mackintosh, SeaChange Arts, Great Yarmouth, Introduction to the summary from the ZEPA Symposium « Territoires, arts de la rue, habitants : des projets culturels transfrontaliers pour nos régions », Brighton, 27 & 28 May 2011, p, 3

Isabelle Mazelin, who participated at this symposium and is town councilor in Relecq Kerhuon, gives as a subtitle "A picnic on the Bridge", a project that the town set-up in cooperation with the *Fourneau* as part of the next ZEPA programme: *building Europe on a local scale*.

Coming back to the ZEPA 2 symposium held in Peterborough in 2013, from the contents of the text '*Everyone is already doing it locally*', the participants, including key partners and those from the 'second tier', discuss with each other to create the outline of a program of cross-border artistic cooperation between the North of France and the South of England.

Due to the principle of the pooling of resources and the absence of internal hierarchy among the key partners, the results and processes of the ZEPA 2 program constitute a common capital, constructed but also yet to be constructed with each partner, primary or secondary, who can take it and make it theirs.

The social environments of the partners in these two aforementioned symposia are diverse on the French and British sides: artists, professionals from the arts sector (programmers, producers, event organizers, administrators, communication officers), local government officials, people from local *associations* or charities, journalists, students and academics.

Their strategic grouping around ZEPA 2 symbolises a connection between these different social spaces, without calling into question the different points of view of each person, in the sector to which they belong and in which they are competent. Rather it is a question of creating conditions for collective, coordinated work, building a cross-border social environment and a common capital, capable of mobilising the obvious desire for the reinvention of public services for culture across Europe.

The labelling of this program as a European institution is part of a complex situation involving the ability of the European political sector and of the European cultural institutions to recognize the project as such, and also that of the project partners to have the required attitude, and so to be heard and establish themselves as a European institution.

The aesthetic and artistic arguments, and other different arguments, developed as justification by the partners are connected, on the one hand, to an analysis of the uneven distribution of EU funding for European projects. The development of artistic projects in Europe does not exist as an orientation

for Interreg. On the other hand, it is also connected to an analysis of the uneven distribution of symbolic capital in the arts sector, where the outdoor arts don't have much recognition.

An analysis of the way in which the programs are formulated must take into account the strategies used by the partners to capture and manage the symbolic capital of the outdoor arts, as well as strategies for the inclusion of the arts as a fundamental line for European projects with their European financing bodies. In this operation, arguments which are not connected to the aesthetic are sometimes used as a means of obtaining access to funding, allowing the partners to develop artistic practices which only have a secondary place in their official arguments.

The first cross-border cooperation with European funding (Interreg II ¹⁴) by the current partners was entitled Art 'Urb (1996-2001), and involved the teams of Streets of Brighton, *Viva Cité*, and *La fête dans la ville*, with the objective of establishing cultural and artistic exchanges between these different festivals, at the levels of creation, production and touring.

The *Viva Cité* team was reorganised as the *Atelier 231*, *La fête dans la ville* opened the *Hangar* and they were joined by new partners; *Culture Commune*, the *Scène nationale* de Loos-en-Gohelle, ZAP ART in Brighton, plus the towns of Hastings and Rother who were involved in a new program called Polycentre Européen de Création Artistique or PECA (2002-2007, with Interreg III funding). Additional artistic credibility is added with the participation of a national theatre (*Scène nationale*) on the French side and the inclusion of the political sphere on the English side, and allows a broadening of the scope of activity.

The common goals for PECA are on the one hand, to encourage residencies for artists and cross-border creation, thus promoting artistic and cultural exchanges with the local people in the areas where these partners are located as cultural outreach organisations, and on the other hand to develop the existing places for creating new work for the outdoor arts, and also to invent new centres.

The *Atelier 231* was labeled as a national centre for outdoor arts (*Centre national des arts de la rue*) and the teams from Amiens (the *Hangar* and *La fête dans la ville*) moved to the *Cirque Jules Verne*, but were still represented by the wider metropolitan area of Amiens, which is where *La fête*

14 Interreg is a program initiated by the European Union to encourage cross-border cooperation at a regional and international level, and is financed by the FEDER (Fonds Européen de Développement Régional).

dans la ville took place. *Culture Commune* accompanied companies working in the outdoor arts for the creation of new work, giving them a form of artistic legitimacy due to its status as a national theatre. ZAP ART remained the only British partner of PECA. New partners then joined them: The *Fourneau*, the national center for outdoor arts located in Brest, SeaChange Arts in Great Yarmouth, Hat Fair in Winchester, Southampton City and the Nuffield Theatre. These are the 9 partners who created the ZEPA program (ZEPA from 2008 to 2012, with Interreg IV funding). The area concerned expanded with these new partners and other local partners that they brought with them.

ZEPA advocates for contribution to local development through artistic and cultural cooperation in the outdoor arts. The program is made up of 3 main strands:

- Two partner companies: 9 main partners and 50 local partners are associated with the companies *Nofit State Circus* and *Generik Vapeur*. They work for a pooling of the resources for creation and production of new performances by these two companies as well as touring throughout the area concerned.
- Key-events : in reference to the annual outdoor arts events in the French centres, creation of anglo-french events
- The development of theoretical knowledge: the desire for a development of knowledge related to the outdoor arts can be seen in the importance given to the projects in connection with universities.

During ZEPA, the follow-up was already in preparation. The determination to renew the experience was expressed in various meetings and symposia.

It should be noted that the two British structures evolved during the transition from ZEPA to ZEPA 2. SeaChange Arts in Great Yarmouth developed, opening and organising their venue during ZEPA and many experienced, well-recognised French outdoor arts companies, who were introduced to them by the French partners were programmed in their festival *Out There*. SeaChange Arts was then recognized by the Arts Council as major partner for the arts in England. *Hors Les Murs*, a national organization for the outdoor arts in France, published their events program. The University of

Winchester at the time a ‘second tier’ partner became involved as a major partner of ZEPA 2. John Lee, responsible for the department, was promoted following his participation in different projects within the ZEPA framework which received recognition from the English academic institutions. John Lee participated in the third edition of the *Street Arts Winter Academy* in March 2013 at the *Cité des Arts de la Rue* in Marseille, organized by the *Formation Avancée et Itinérante des Arts de la Rue (FAIAR)*, in partnership with the University of Winchester, *Circostrada Network* and *Ana Monro Théâtre*, bringing together professionals and European academics. We note here that the same level of recognition was not obtained in France where there are more institutional and traditional constraints in the recognition of novelty and the development of original projects.

When the ZEPA 2 application form was registered in March 2012 for the new project period extending from July 4th, 2012 to June 30th, 2015, there were among the French partners two *Centres nationaux des Arts de la Rue*, one *Scène nationale* (national theatre), and one *Pôle National du cirque et des arts de la rue* (national centre for circus and outdoor arts). They found themselves in a situation where their economic, artistic and symbolic capital was redistributed and their various networks (the ‘second tier’ partners) were re-mobilised in the creation of the new collective, linked both locally and at a European level. Four French partners, the two British ZEPA partners mentioned above and also a new British partner Peterborough Culture and Leisure Vivacity grouped together for a program, signed by all seven partners, which was launched with funding from Interreg V. Interreg recognized this program as part of its strand 3: building a shared space which is attractive to live in and visit, with the specific objective 7: share activities related to culture and heritage.

1-2 ZEPA 2 program : Building a cross-border dynamic

«The ZEPA 2, phase 2 of the European network for the development of the outdoor arts, ZEPA, aims to capitalise on the activities and projects of ZEPA, strengthening partnerships locally and developing work with universities. It focuses on professional development and the involvement of local people, creating new models of

working together through the co-authorship of artistic projects (artists' journeys and getting local inhabitants involved)¹⁵.

Three main strands make up this new program.

Strand 1: Outdoor Laboratory for cross-border creation and touring

Based on the four objectives of creation, production, touring and work with the public, four themes emerge:

ZEPA key-events program: All the events grouped under the heading of the festivals that each partner organises as a cross-border event, and a reference in the outdoor arts, extending from January to October, as well as touring for the companies, in villages or small towns where there is no local infrastructure for the arts.

ZEPA residencies: A place for welcoming artists in the form of a residency, a place for creating work and for sharing with the general public. A place for nurturing original artistic projects. Made up of networks allowing artists to move between the different places of residence.

ZEPA audiences: Three categories of audiences are concerned. The **internal audience**; local residents of the places where the ZEPA key events programs are held, the populations involved in the programs of outreach work as part of ZEPA. **External audience**: Outdoor arts audiences coming to events, often to see specific companies. Audiences to be given particular consideration: for people in the audience who are not always taken into consideration in the performing arts. children, the elderly, the disabled.

ZEPA environment: The relationship with the natural environment is a respectful one. All outdoor artists are obliged to deal with the natural elements at the time and place of their performances without trying to distort, or dominate them. These elements are often poetic details, such as the bird who came to sit on a dancer's tightrope during the performance by the *compagnie Hydragon* in front of a block of flats in Béthune. They also form a natural screen, similar to the wings in a theatre, for the many companies that perform in a park in front of or among the trees. They are sometimes inconvenient

15 Application for ZEPA 2 : *Formulaire de candidature. Demande de subvention. ZEPA 2*, March 2012, Région Haute-Normandie Cellule Interreg.

when it comes to unexpected weather conditions, the main reason for having to change performance times.

On a practical level, some of these themes intertwine and overlap.

Anglo-French productions: for the production of outdoor arts creations, signed and delivered by the ZEPA network, either as primary producer, or as co-producer.

Creating anglo-french arts frameworks using the same organisation principles on both sides: The creation of frameworks for artistic experiences which allow British artists and French audiences to meet face-to-face and vice versa. During the organisation of key-events and festivals, this also includes the setting up of an ephemeral Anglo-French space, with elements from the two countries, a kind of nod at the respective customs of each country, such as for example placing *The Times* newspaper in almost all the events organised on the French side.

Training for future partners, new cross-border artists: Workshops and short training periods for English students supervised by French artists and vice versa. Some performances that were produced in this context were performed at the key-events dates.

Strand 2: Laboratories for exchanges between the academic field and the artistic field

Research and ZEPA 2

The ZEPA Symposium in Brighton, England on 27th-28th May 2011 is an obvious milestone for the development of tools that link arts institutions and universities. The development of the outdoor arts through exchange and confrontation between practices and theoretical knowledge became one of the main orientations for the second phase of ZEPA.

Several meetings of the working group entitled 'University - ZEPA 2 project' were organized between October 2011 and April 2012. In parallel, although already mentioned in the 'research' part of the overall project, the recruitment of researchers was on the agenda of the ZEPA 2 meeting held in Amiens on January 31st-February 1st, 2013. At the meeting in Peterborough in England on June 5th, 2013, key partners for ZEPA 2 made the 'call for papers' official. The development of research on the

outdoor arts as an official strand of the ZEPA 2 program is underlined by the recruitment of two researchers, granting independence in their research into two areas, French and English.

Strengthening cross-border relationships for universities

Activities are organized at universities that do not have courses relating to the outdoor arts, as well as additional support for universities that already have some teaching related to this field. Courses and workshops are the most common forms of cooperation with universities in the framework of work with students.

Cross-border meetings between the fields of art and academic knowledge

This is the most important element of this strand of the program.

CALL FOR PAPERS

“The street as a space for choreography: participation, reception, changes”.

The CETAPS and the *Atelier 231, Centre national des arts de la rue* in Sotteville-lès - Rouen, is organising on the 4th and 5th June 2014 an international conference entitled "The street as a space for choreography : participation, reception, changes”.

This conference is part of a cross-border project involving French and British universities and arts institutions, bringing together researchers, artists and professionals. The development of research on the outdoor arts is one of the priorities of the project.

This call for papers was published by the CETAPS laboratory at the University of Rouen for the attention of national research and education networks. The desire to encourage the development and transmission of knowledge related to the outdoor arts is displayed publicly. Several different kinds of events are proposed: a symposium, study days, seminars and workshops. On a suggested theme, the participants, who are either from the academic field or from the arts sector, meet to discuss their point

of view. There was a notable diversity of disciplines both from the researchers and students as well as from the artists present (visual arts, live outdoor performances, contemporary dance, painting, installation work). The artists explained how they work, the producers gave their point of view, but also different approaches were given on the same questions, depending on the specialisations of the academics invited: architecture, anthropology, sociology, performing arts, aesthetics, literature and geography.

This confrontation of different points of view and ideas highlights the boundaries between the different fields of the stakeholders and opens up possible spheres of work in each different field, with nevertheless a shared direction.

The meeting between such different social spheres is part of the uniqueness and richness of the program. For some of the invited researchers it was the first time they had had the opportunity to meet artists working in the outdoor arts.

Strand 3: Sharing of knowledge

Sharing of practical knowledge happens through the training of future artists in the form of courses and workshops with other artists.

The projects for creating written records led to several publications, including two by the ZEPA, and each French partner structure is able to publish work independently.

1-3 ZEPA organisation

The ZEPA 2 group is a cross-border area that brings together British and French people for the implementation of various programs with different visions, different ways of working and different sensibilities, which have been constructed over time in different historical contexts. It is around this ‘confrontation’ that the shared orientation and functioning of ZEPA 2 is organised. The ZEPA 2 activities give a new dynamic to the partners from the inside, having a direct influence on their main activities, and thereby revitalizing and giving new impetus to existing tools.

Coordination

The absence of any internal competition, having the opportunity to speak during meetings, the collective nature of decisions, encourages all the stakeholders to take responsibility for the following steps together. The coordinated solidarity between the partners is a strength that has allowed the group to organize itself and remain together for more than 15 years.

International market

The ZEPA programs form a cross-border market of artists and pieces of outdoor arts work. They also function as a means of entry onto the international market. Artists who were first programmed as part of ZEPA can then be programmed in various international festivals organized by the partners, and can then again be spotted by other festival directors present at these festivals. Artists presented by a British partner remain on the market even after the withdrawal of this partner.

These markets are organized as spaces for the cross-border touring of work produced by the ZEPA and the artists involved. The population of a given region attends the premiere of the show when it comes to see a ZEPA production. These are also spaces that connect markets, contributing to the recruitment of future artists and to the search for artistic potential. An artist programmed in an event organized by one of the partners will be seen by all the other partners. The students participating in the workshops can be spotted as potential future cross-border artists. The young artists who are given support by a partner structure are treated in the same way.

Because of the diversity of the activities: festivals, residencies, outreach work, touring, an artist can move from one type of market to another. Artistic mobility is a defining characteristic of these markets. There are several examples of individuals switching from student status to working for a company which is about to go professional. Finally, these markets and these activities have a great influence in reaching new audiences for the outdoor arts.

Maintaining balance

The logic of cooperation implies a search for balance in the functioning of the project and thus provokes an exchange of know-how in logistics, management of human resources, artistic criticism, outreach work, knowledge and understanding of local areas, relationships with the artists. Pragmatic discussions need to take into account the convergences and divergences between partners of both

countries, leading to a balance of artistic work. The co-leadership of an event is one example: a French director becomes co-director of a festival organized by an English partner and vice versa. Regarding the artists, it is experienced French companies working in the outdoor arts that the French partners introduce to the events in England, where outdoor arts were more or less 'unknown', which is a way of demonstrating the possibility of developing the outdoor arts via the performances of well-recognized companies.

British artists present in France within this framework are often small companies. Either a solo artist combined with an element of installation art, or companies made up of only a few people and giving small-scale performances. These facts are integrated into a contemporary and diverse style of programming. Several British artists, with their varied short performances and installations, can be programmed for the same event for several repeated performances.

2. Creating a sensitivity to the idea of crossing borders

2-1. Conditions for creating a sensitivity to the crossing of borders

"Following a commission from the PECA, I found myself with seven productions to set up, seven performances, seven residences. I wasn't sure if it was possible, but I'm pleased today that I accepted the challenge! "¹⁶: Bill Mitchell.

"It was in Brighton, in May 2004, that Dave Reeves first presented Bill Mitchell's work to us. He spoke with respect: in England he was a recognised director in theatre, specializing in Landscape Theatre, and supported by a team of actors, musicians, and visual artists, who all knew a lot about outdoor theatre " "¹⁷ Daniel Andrieu.

What crosses the English Channel?

16 Landscape theatre. *Théâtre de paysage. Le voyage d'Orphée en Europe avec Bill Mitchell et la compagnie WildWorks*, Editions L'Entretemps Montpellier / Sotteville – lès – Rouen, Atelier 231, 2008, p. 16.

17 Landscape theatre. *Théâtre de paysage. Le voyage d'Orphée en Europe avec Bill Mitchell et la compagnie WildWorks*, Editions L'Entretemps Montpellier / Sotteville – lès – Rouen, Atelier 231, 2008, p. 43

When an artist crosses a border or frontier, he does not bring with him the whole field of art and cultural policy from his own country, it is the context of the country that he arrives in which gives meaning to the work, and this country which (re) appropriates it. The way in which the work is then received when the artist goes back to the country of origin can create yet another meaning.

The connection between the skills of director Bill Mitchell, renowned in England and working to promote Landscape Theatre, with those of the French partners from ZEPA who welcomed him to France and were able to give him a role as outdoor theatre director, creating an architectural and anthological piece of theatre, opened up a new dimension of theatrical creation for the outdoors.

My hypothesis for the creation of a sensitivity to crossing borders is the construction of the ability to establish a shared direction, optimising differences so as to move forwards together in the same direction.

2-2. Double challenge: opening up the possibility of mutual progress

In this cross-border process, we witness the creation of a new way of looking at things, thus raising issues in a certain context, which was not considered problematic beforehand. What was considered to be 'natural' begins to be seen otherwise, discussed, and therefore "problematized". This applies to both the French and British sides. A double question is built around the same program.

Issues on the English side

"It was September 2009 and I was watching a bunch of 3 youths, not the butter wouldn't melt in their mouths sort, going down the street and crossing over right in the middle of the second edition of the outdoor arts festival *Out There*. They were doing their best to walk straight on, pretending not to see the event, the performances and the thousands of people around them. Their body language was clear: "even if this is going on right in the middle of our town, it has nothing to do with us" and then a French transvestite disguised as an octopus is ejected from a catapult, and flies 12 meters high above their heads, bounces on a trampoline to finally land on a cardboard box in the

middle of the crowd. The boys stop. They stay, watch and finally allow themselves to smile. Maybe they'd never seen anything like it? Me neither, guys, me neither... ¹⁸ »

“At a ZEPA meeting in Béthune in the North of France, a local town councilor, at the official opening of an outdoor arts festival, said in his speech: “We know that if we encounter problems in our inner cities, we don't send in the police but artists instead.” This seemingly ordinary sentence was no surprise, except of course for the British people present, who started whispering: "can we have a written record of that?" For our French partners, art is always a real part of society".¹⁹: Patrick Sanford, Nuffield Theatre

Shared experiences with French partners and being confronted with different French contexts lead the British partners to analyse their own contexts from a new angle. Those who are mentioned most often are the local government officials who are sensitive to cultural issues, and contribute to the emergence of outdoor arts as a new form. We also note here that British artists who are hosted by French partners often mention their satisfaction at having been welcomed as "artists", contrasting with England where they don't have as much recognition. They sometimes express their astonishment when discovering and being able to use of all the facilities and equipment available (residencies, places to work, kitchen, other logistical elements) which are there to support artistic creation.

Issues on the French side

"In Great Britain, it's not at all like that. There are no different levels. For example, a space for the arts like the Dome in Brighton, it's pretty fabulous. It was a Royal stables which was converted into an arts space in Brighton town centre, they planned a space for operas, but which included the possibility inside this Opera House for the addition of an acoustic panel so that they can also have amplified music, and just next

18 « Great Yarmouth by SeaChange Arts », Marc Villemain, John Ellingsworth, Over the channel. Artistes et espaces publics transmanche, Editions L'Entretemps, 2013, p, 94.

19 Idem p102

door, there's a place called the Corn Exchange which used to be the corn market but is now this huge hall used for theatre, for amateurs, and students, so there are no seats, nothing, it's a completely empty space and all the school kids in Brighton come here and can work with directors, professional actors. That's something you never see here, ever. The third room is a small room of 180-200 seats for music concerts of different kinds, and young musicians from Brighton come and give concerts there, there are no seats at all, it's a sort of wooden cube, and all that in the same centre, for us in France, it's unthinkable!" : Daniel Andrieu.

The fight for the recognition of the outdoor arts, based on the aesthetic of multi-disciplinarity and the shared conviction of a certain plurality in art found allies among the British partners, whose working methods seem, in the eyes of the French, to be less rigid, with fewer institutional and financial rules. All the French partners question the limited possibilities for artistic diversity in France, in contrast to their observations of cultural practices in England.

Another French issue is to do with the question of political power: how is it possible to maintain the freedom of having a critical eye on the state, which is itself the instigator of cultural policy, and how to ensure independence from local policies, as structures are often affected by changes in local political parties.

3 Culture and local development

Piccadilly Streets , organised by the *Pôle national cirque et arts de la rue* in Amiens and the town of Abbeville from 20th to 21st September 2014, within the framework of a ZEPA 2 key-event, but also as part of the *Confluences Nomades* event organised by the *Pôle National Cirque et Arts de la rue* in Amiens, financed by the *Conseil Régional* of Picardie and the Somme. 8 performances in the town centre and in the park.

The city of Abbeville hosts the festival, and also finances half of the budget. The

organisation of the event with ZEPA 2 and with the support of the town, makes it European, although it was originally a local event. The *Pôle national cirque et arts de la rue* and the town have their own respective programs. The town also provides town council employees, the venues and buildings (such as the social centre used for the catering and the library used as dressing rooms for the artists). The Town Hall staff are present throughout the festival, welcoming the artists and responding to the demands of the local population. *Piccadilly Streets* is at one and the same time a ZEPA event for the inhabitants of the town and a showcase for culture in the town, as co-organiser of the event, and which local people appreciate both in terms of the quality of the program and in terms of the novelty of an event of this type in their town. The understanding between the two structures is also seen in the smaller details: someone from the *Pôle* takes care of establishing the menus for the meals, and the Town Hall orders the food from local caterers, the meals are then served by the Town Hall staff in a municipal building. British and French artists can be found together at mealtimes with staff from the *Pôle* and the Town Hall chatting together in a relaxed atmosphere with a fresh, hot meal.

Observation: 21st Sep. 2014, in Abbeville.

3-1. Measuring the value of culture

"In recent years, not a month goes by without a report being published which extols the benefits for cities or countries who specialise in the 'creative economy'. Apart from the fact that the term 'creative economy' does not have one unique definition, studies that seek to measure the value of this type of economy at a local level use very different methodologies that make comparisons difficult." ²⁰

The most commonly used measure and which is legitimate for the cultural sector is a calculation in strictly economic terms, defining the sectors which are part of the creative industries and

20 D.Sagot-Duvauroux, « *Comment mesurer la valeur vaporeuse de la culture ?* », Place Publique, N° 27 mai juin 2011.

estimating the turnover or the number of jobs created. Various reports from the United Nations provide results of numerous studies which measure the creative industries sector, and show that they are far from losing money or in deficit, but on the contrary, follow GDP indicators.²¹ At the same time, many economists point to the problems of only using the GDP as a basis for calculation. The method should be based on the subject of study and not vice versa.

D. Sagot-Duvauroux evokes the fluffy nature of these calculations in the same article as that quoted above:

"The value seeps out from the cultural sector to focus elsewhere, on the turnover of the tourism industry, the share value of Internet access providers, the amount of tax collected because of the cultural attractiveness of a region."

It is possible to try and estimate the value of culture in terms of a cost – benefit analysis. The external effects are estimated along with the induced economic impact of cultural activities on other activities. This is often used when referring to the important economic consequences in terms of tourism for a festival or a historical monument. Another argument is given in the analysis of the value given to non-market culture by people who express a demand for cultural services. The analysis of the value of culture in terms of 'attractiveness' of a town can also be added to the analysis. Two successful examples of revitalisation of cities through culture are Nantes and Lille, which are often quoted in support of the hypothesis that a sustained cultural policy attracts a "creative class".

Culture can also be measured in terms of local social cohesion. The emphasis is on trying to grasp cultural impact, how local networks can be revived around a cultural event, how mobility between the centre and the periphery of a town can be created, between city centres and their surroundings. We can quote, for example, the man we met at the Fish and Chips festival in Sotteville-lès-Rouen, who was preparing an outdoor arts photo exhibition at the city hall in Rouen, with photographs taken during the events organised by the *Atelier 231* in Sotteville-lès-Rouen.

21 Yves Jauneau, Xavier Niel, *Le poids économique direct de la culture en 2013*, Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication. Département des études, de la prospective et des statistiques, 2014-5.

We can talk about measuring the 'economy of happiness' in the words used by Pierre Bourdieu. The loss of social cohesion that culture is asked to repair is the direct consequence of policies which are purely economic. We oppose purely economic measures with "the economy of happiness"; to argue against a measure which is purely related to economics means not calculating the social costs and consequences that this can cause, giving an approach to culture that merely grows on the ruins of this approach, where politics have given up. Economic calculations need to take into account social costs, and talk about other economic entities which are not necessarily considered as such by those in power. What is gained on one side, is lost on the other, and often it is more expensive to restore what is lost on the other side: air, living conditions, and well-being.

3-2. ZEPA and territorial development

"Before 2003, the site (the Chartreuse monastery of Mont Sainte Marie on the edge of the village) was perceived as something of a blot on the landscape, some families still lived in unfit housing in the Chartreuse, abandoned and rejected by people, but they saw the Mont Sainte Marie monastery as a place of promise, even feeling a certain pride in living in a village with two monasteries, and Bill Mitchell, with his talent, his open-mindedness and the commitment of his team made a real contribution." : Chantal Lamarre.²²

« (...) in this region, what local government officials, artists, and stakeholders working in culture all want is to use creativity, imagination and openness to others in order to change the negative image of the coal mining area and set it onto a positive path of innovation, renewing it and making it a part of modern life. But they were also constantly thinking about not cutting people off from a part of our history, our working-class roots, our values, the richness of our material and immaterial heritage. (...) Finally

22 Chantal Lamarre, « *Les gens aiment qu'on leur raconte des histoires* », Landscape theatre. Théâtre de paysage op. cit. p, 40

for those who are not convinced, I recommend they ask residents of Mont-Liebaut what they think of the *PHUN* company who accompanied them during the destruction of the council housing high rise blocks; or that they go to Gosnay to ask people what the PHUN company and the outdoor show "*Les Gumes*" did to restore their confidence and bring the village together': ²³ Daniel-Boys

Funding for the ZEPA from Interreg means a European fund for recognized cultural structures, which were created and have developed in the regions covered by Interreg, and investment in the areas which have not yet been properly investigated, transferring economic, artistic, symbolic and human capital as well as skills.

In this process, there is thus a revitalization of local structures at several levels, through the association of new local partners and the launch of new programs that give a new dynamic to the current partners. The Interreg investment revitalises a series of networks, allowing the relevant structures, who already have a national reputation, to put their skills to good use in cross-border development.

23 Daniel-Boys (one of the founders of *Culture Commune*), Béthune, daniel-boys.fr, consulted 7th February 2014.

III. The symbolic revolution of an art for the collective

1. The 'street' effect

"There is an anecdote in *Manette Salomon*, the novel by Edmonde and Jules de Goncourt. During different discussions at artist's studios they took notes and they tell the following anecdote: a model was posing nude without any problem in front of a group of men from the studio when she notices that there is somebody outside looking at her, and so she runs to get some clothes to cover herself up. It is an interesting anecdote to the extent that it shows that there are two ways of looking: from a pure, aesthetic, asexualised and neutralised stance, and from a sexual one.²⁴"

Theatre and contemporary art, the two major elements of the French art sector, judge the outdoor arts severely, even though they share quite fuzzy aesthetic boundaries with each other. There is a form of juxtaposition in the artistic professions, artists will be called 'outdoor' artists when they work for an outdoor company, even though they may occupy at other times more traditional positions, working for a theatre as an actor, lighting director, technician, for example. They will be 'outdoor artists' when setting up installations outdoors which are produced by centres for the outdoor arts, and simply 'artists' when they do the same work within contemporary art networks. The original training of the artists recruited in these three sectors increasingly has a common base.

24 Edmonde et Jules de Goncourt, *Manette Salomon*, Gallimard, coll. « Folio », Paris, 1996 (1st edition. :1867), p.271. Quoted by Pierre Bourdieu, « L'effet Manet », *Le Monde diplomatique*, novembre 2013, p. 15.

The terms used to disqualify outdoor arts are subtended by reproaches of aesthetic poverty, with the exception of a few large companies such as *Royal de Luxe*, with the conviction that something which is free cannot be of good quality.

These arguments are an expression of the refusal of artistic practices that do not grant a place of privilege to a certain strata of the population considered to be the social elite, an opposition to creative activities which are aimed at various different social and cultural categories, bringing them together as a large corpus of audiences outdoors.

Indeed these arguments in their own way indicate that the outdoor arts exist as a social phenomenon that is to be taken into account, and for which a reaction is nonetheless required, taking position to challenge their scope and legitimacy.

The outdoor arts have produced effects at a symbolic level concerning beliefs, sometimes going beyond the original intentions of the artists, event organizers, politicians, and of those who attempt to confine them to the outskirts of the art world.

The collective gaze has evolved via the outdoor arts. It is no longer a new phenomenon to attend an outdoor performance, even in 'ordinary' towns that are not tourist destinations. Nobody is particularly surprised. The eventual cancellation of an outdoor festival organised by the town council causes a sense of scandal among artists and professionals involved in the festival, who are supported by people who are regular followers, and creates a shared sense of indignation for all artists and outdoor arts professionals.

Whilst thirty years ago closing off an avenue to make a huge stage for outdoor performances was seen as unusual, and caused reactions of opposition, today the installation of barriers to close off the streets in preparation for a performance outdoors does not generate any particular reaction.

We can refer to Pierre Bourdieu on this point. A whole range of our categories of perception and appreciation are a result of successful symbolic revolutions, as illustrated by the work of Norbert Elias. Our ways of seeing, which become 'natural' are socially constructed over a long period, through changes in collective mentality.

The outdoor arts are not the only type of art through which a symbolic revolution has occurred or is underway. However I would like to show how, in the case of the outdoor arts, there is an

awareness of it and how it unfolds at various levels, including the form and the function, and new uses of art which are closely correlated with the '*street*' effect.

All that defines, surrounds the notion of the '*street*' resonates with this framework, acting as a dimension that defines the authenticity of the outdoor arts. Urban and rural spaces, roads, urban property and buildings, around and within which people live and interact, are materials filled with possibilities and unknown promises, from which artists can draw energy, reacting in unexpected ways to the space for their scenography, dramaturgy, choreography, movements, with all the dimensions inherent to the '*street*': volume, gravity, nature. Outdoor artists momentarily strip these elements of their ordinary functions. Stories and performances are brought into the places of daily life, confronted with all kinds of local resources, leaving the field free for imaginary speculation, collective enjoyment that institutionalised culture tries to channel into confined places that are cut off from the outside.

There is a burst of artistic and social experimentation which cannot be reduced to the social codes and functions of the places. Everything is mixed, hidden connections reveal themselves, forgotten gestures are found, a new vision of the place of art in society and the specific aesthetics of the outdoors emerges.

So there is indeed a '*street*' effect, which is an inseparable part of the definition of the outdoor arts, and, with the two tangled together, one can speak of a symbolic revolution.

We can evaluate the alchemy which is inherent to creation in the outdoor arts through an analysis of the social tools, objects and materials of the street, integrating them into the same perspective, as ingredients which nourish both the creative process of the outdoor arts and their public events.

There is an element of reclaiming public space, free of charge in the sense that the outdoor arts framework is not privatised, and that there is no fee.

Daily events are revisited and replayed, just as abandoned industrial wastelands, fallen into disuse, considered as 'non-places' are reinvested, frequented again, thus recovering from a state of abandon.

This friction between ordinary references and the different ways in which the outdoor arts are perceived, gives rise to the reinterpretation of places by the public, redefining their possible uses, requalifying public space.

It is not only aesthetic values that take hold of the public, but other aspects which are beyond the initial intentions of the artists and organisers. Rediscovery and re-appropriation of the complex relationships with a space where daily realities and agreements, contexts, social image, and personal enjoyment are intertwined.

The outdoor arts can confer a playful and fulfilling dimension to a familiar space used in everyday life, a village path, a street or a square in a built-up area, in any case a space which remains 'unconquered' by the arts, not a part of the arts institutions hierarchy, so that it becomes possible and coherent to go beyond social divisions and the effects of social distinction which are often designated as a one of art's functions.

We witness the creation of a new attitude regarding the places of individual and collective enjoyment. Forgotten gestures, habits which are *a priori* not considered to be artistic are connected to the situation, create new ways of allowing art to exist as well as creating new relationships between individuals and their environments, bringing together art and daily life.

2. Creating the street: contents of the symbolic revolution

Anthropological art and democratic creativity

Bethune, in the sunshine, Friday, about 5pm a circus performance with two actors on the grass in a public park which is open, with no surrounding walls. As we watch their movements, we notice the greenery that surrounds us: grass, trees and leaves.

Soon after the show starts, a boy wearing a t-shirt and track suit bottoms says 'it's rubbish!', then louder "Dad! It's rubbish!" A man in his thirties, wearing a baseball cap, t-shirt, jeans and trainers, replies "Do you want a biscuit?" and he hands him a packet of biscuits that he

had in his hands, crossed behind his back. This man, a member of the audience watching the circus performance but also a father, assuming his role as a father, gives his son his tea, he probably came directly out of school, the reaction seems to work so well to the point that his son stops whining and seems to take an interest in the show.

A few metres away, a dozen or so older people play *pétanque*, and to their left a group of children are running around, shrieking.

The life of the park does not stop during a circus performance. Life goes on as does the second, imaginary life of the show – the two don't seem to be in conflict.

Observation: Warm-up for the *Z'ARTS UP! Festival*, European festival for outdoor arts, May 17, 2014, in the Mont-Liébaud neighbourhood in Béthune.

The concept of interdisciplinarity now associated with the outdoor arts shows a tendency towards connecting the performing arts with the visual arts. There are more and more people who share a certain form of artistic culture that includes various activities, so that the outdoor arts become open to various disciplines and have an anthropological dimension. Not an art which is stuck in a particular form, set once and for all, but with a wide frame, an experience around which artistic energy seizes objects and techniques from other forms of art. There's no quota of expressive techniques, and no constraints of lineage. Sometimes it is dance which is at the forefront, at other times theatre or circus who join together with a similar mode of expression, but at the same time, this kind of theatre moves away from theatre, this dance moves away from dance, and this kind of circus from the circus, here they are working together with the 'street' effect and so momentarily are in a different role than the one society established for them as theatre, dance, circus, or video. This type of approach leads to the temporary dissolution of established codes in the arts, and thus generates elements of resistance. But this does not mean in opposition to established art, it is just different from the latter, becoming something else by taking elements from it. Artists take the context into account, include a part of their observations and thus transform it, a little like an anthropologist who has an understanding of what surrounds him but also has a point of view which is personal to him. Here the results of this reflection are reinstated through artistic tools.

Audiences find themselves in this head-on clash between artistic creation and the context of the starting point, audiences generally show a moment's hesitation before getting rid of their shyness, their hang-ups and a certain reluctance.

Highlighting the personal reality of each member of the audience, in their current situation, as the case of the father in the anecdote given above, and through the collective imagination that the individual also connects to, a kind of field of play between the real and the imaginary is created.

The challenge is to forge collective imagination, taking into account the daily estrangement between people, to allow participants to move away for a moment from the rational functions of the spaces, from codified relationships, to detach themselves sufficiently so as to let go and experience the art.

A place for the reception of art

Outdoor arts have become a recognized cultural practice, they now appear for example in the questionnaire on the performing arts used by the French Ministry of culture in its surveys. This also means that the reception of art in a close-up context in ordinary daily environments, at different times of the day, and in outdoor locations, is starting to be considered as a legitimate mode of reception for art. This reception that we mentioned above in terms of democratic artistic creativity, is in a context such that audiences are not completely excluded from their real life situations of the moment, and can be learned in the areas for outdoors art. How is this social milieu of the audience for the outdoor arts formed? What are the ways in which one can arrive, leave, behave, how do people interact, what is the atmosphere that defines the area and how is it produced?

In the social group of audiences for outdoor arts there is a mix of people who have come specifically to see the performances, and are well-informed about the shows and the companies, along with local residents who have responded to invitations to come to the performances, people working in the arts sector, seasonally or on a permanent basis, directors of various centres for the arts, event organisers and artists. One sees people who are at different stages of their collective existence, babies, children, adolescents, adults, elderly people. This occasion for members of society to rub together and cross over, in the same time and space, is one of the major characteristics of audiences in the

street. People are completely anonymous, no-one has any special privileges, everyone has the same constraints and shares the same codes in order to become an outdoor audience. Within the group, there are different ways of dressing, diverse types of food consumption, and the way in which people behave, come and go is just as diverse. Attitudes are natural, not ceremonial.²⁵ Through this ordinary diversity, this banality which is subtly personalised, there is a relatively common feature which is people's independence, their level of self-management in becoming an audience for outdoor arts: taking their seats, managing their needs, the unexpected, and their free time between performances, planning their degree of participation in the different events. They show a mastery and a familiarity with the place which is often their own neighborhood, and this seems to be an important element encouraging their freedom to make decisions, their independent choice to become an outdoor audience. With this independence, there is a personalisation of the ephemeral public performances, based on the ways in which the audience takes part in and are attentive to the events, the manner in which they allow themselves to enjoy responding to the demands of the artists.

Multiple receptions

In the symbiosis of the outdoor and the arts, what is captured by the audience?

I noted what one lady in her fifties said: 'It's so nice!' What does she mean exactly? What is it that is perceived, received as 'nice'? The show that she just saw? The fact that she is with a friend or family member? The lovely sunshine? Seeing the artists just outside her block of flats? Being able to walk around in her neighborhood, which has been transformed, and where cars are temporarily not allowed?

The street is a sensitive place, hosting both a real life framework and an imaginary one, and individuals find themselves in this dual world, which is multi-layered, made up of different textures, between the ordinary functions that everyone is used to, and the added artistic categories and perspectives, multiplying the possible ways of appropriating the ephemeral outdoor performances. The moment, the event will be a construction of various singular and personalised appropriations.

25 I noted a hundred or so different descriptions during the Fish & Chips festival, organised at the Atelier 231, Sotteville les Rouen, between 29th to the 31st January 2014, on clothes, hair styles, ways of moving around the Atelier according to age and sex. I also noted fifty or so quotes or comments.

Artistic enjoyment

Around 9 pm. It's fairly cold. Watching a circus performances which is full of quirky humour, people seem more relaxed. They must have had a bite to eat and drink in the meantime.

A man of about thirty, wearing a black plastic jacket, with closely shaved hair, and jeans, and a woman between 25 and 30 years old, with long loose hair, wearing a dress over her trousers, and a baby less than a year old in her arms, a bottle of milk alongside. They whisper and the woman leaves discreetly and returns shortly afterwards with a warm blanket, wrapping the baby up with it.

Throughout the performance which lasts for more than an hour, there is laughter, and fits of the giggles, and at the end, applause which goes on for a long time. At the end of the show the man takes his baby in his arms and says in a totally relaxed tone of voice: "It's so good to have a laugh!" And I note several quotes for the 'comments book' of the same kind.

Observation: The warm up to Z'ARTS UP! European festival of outdoor arts, May 17, 2014, in the neighbourhood of Mont-Liébaud in Béthune.

I note in the 'comments book' any spontaneously expressed verbalisations of the feelings of the moment, shouts, applause, laughter, fits of uncontrollable laughter, expressions of astonishment, heard not only at the end of the performances, and also spontaneously produced words, with no specific interlocutor. What is most often expressed is a feeling of pleasure, as in the anecdote above. Pleasure precedes knowledge. It is not unusual to see people who attend performances not knowing anything about the company, and then going to find out more about it. There are many testimonies from people who discovered one particular company at an event and whose performance

they liked so much that they start to follow the company's activities and go to the following shows. This then becomes the main reason for coming to an outdoor event.

The pleasure of participating in the arts is shown by the ease of the audience who feel accepted for themselves first and foremost. The outdoor arts area has a certain proximity, people are allowed to appropriate the situation, something which is inconceivable in a theatre type venue, such as the person who stops for a while at a performance on their way back from doing the shopping, the parent who reads his child's homework while waiting for the start of a show, or even the person who nips home to fetch his cigarettes. Behaviors labeled as "non-artistic" and gestures which were lost are acceptable patterns of behaviour again for the art audience. One can eat a snack, or smoke, one can leave for a moment and then come back.

A new social space for a new representation of the world

I sneak into a small group of people to follow a wandering performance – *Les facteurs*. I am surrounded by strangers. I have the impression that I am not the only one, as the other people don't seem to know each other either. Two characters dressed in postman uniforms invite us to walk along with them, while they read out different types of correspondence. At one point, people burst out laughing and so we become strangers who see each other laughing. Halfway through, something unexpected happens. An elderly lady opens the window of her apartment on the first floor, and with a very loud voice says there's too much noise. The audience-walkers in turn object to what the lady is saying, and to having been interrupted, they defend their artists-postmen, protecting the performance-walk. People who were strangers until then momentarily group together as a kind of support committee. Often the performances, or the unforeseen events which they can trigger, generate conversation between strangers, and create a first connection between them.

Observation. *Piccadilly Streets* September 21, 2014, Abbeville.

When a street or outdoor space is given the status of a recognised venue for the arts because of authentic performances from artists, social and cultural divisions disappear. This in itself would be a sufficient argument for getting together in this way. It lies at the heart of the metamorphosis on how art is accessed.

The materiality of the street is a contribution to culture, which has a tendency to subvert and partition, to classify the arts, and their audiences, leaving traces of this system on daily life. The outdoors as a place for accessing art highlights what is authentic and unclassifiable in a piece of work. The fact that people meet outdoors is what moves the boundaries of social determinism.

3. The concept of the *collective*

"What force is there in that which is given which allows the receiver to give it back?"²⁶

The outdoor arts are not synonymous with 'free of charge', in the sense of a situation where those who receive give nothing in return.

From a cost perspective, it is not because the outdoor arts advocate 'free' performances for the general public that they ask for nothing in return. The costs and expenses of production, materials, fuel, travel expenses, the working hours and energy of the artists, the training received are not extraterritorial. The total cost of a 'free' show can be calculated even if a major principle of the outdoor arts is not asking people for money in return. Nevertheless at an outdoor arts event there are things that cannot be bought, this is what I mean by the concept of the *collective*.

The outdoor arts are part of a way of thinking which is 'collective', a reasoning built and shared through the production of values which cannot be privatised. The people present adhere to this approach, as is shown in my interviews and interactions with all those who participate.

What is received?

26 Marcel Mauss, *Essai sur le don*, Paris : PUF, 2012, p. 65.

There are several different registers of language used in the book of comments: aesthetic, civic, economic, hermeneutic, ethical, philosophical. Evaluations are given on the performances and artists but also on the event as a whole. Populations take on the mood of the performances offered. Finding themselves at the heart of an event that they respect, their self-esteem is apparent.

Restitution from the audience

People who are aware of having received something, seek in turn to give something back. This restitution is varied, sometimes spontaneous, sometimes organized with forethought. We can name a few examples:

- Volunteering as a taxi driver: In Bethune, during the Z'ARTS UP! festival, local residents become volunteer taxi drivers for the artists and organizers. The taxis are available for the duration of the festival and those who volunteer speak about it with a certain pride.
- Occasional transport by local people: in Sotteville-lès-Rouen, residents transport the artists and organizers to their hotels using their own vehicles.
- Cultivating a good atmosphere: at all the events, the atmosphere is relaxed and people are in a good mood.
- Sticking up for the shows if local residents object to the inconvenience caused, for example, too much noise.
- Respect for the places where the events take place.
- Making people feel welcome – local people generally give a warm welcome to people from outside the town. They are generally happy to help or give information: such as how to find the streets where the events are or which restaurants are open for example.

- Communication on the events: many people voluntarily post information about local events on social networks. Some of them organise exhibitions of photos that they have taken, others collect posters, programs.
- Plenty of publicity: festival posters are stuck inside shop windows. People put stickers on their cars with the logos of the venues or structures which organise the festivals.
- Sharing their spaces - public or collective spaces such as the garden of a block of flats, paths between buildings : during the identification of places that can be used for performances, preparation, setting up, rehearsals, and performances, and clearing up afterwards, these places and spaces are made available to artists who are made to feel very welcome by local inhabitants.

The collective: a shared value

The combination of the playful and the artistic in the outdoor arts produces a particular atmosphere in which the notion of the collective can be built and maintained. Relationships between individuals are not fixed. With a kind of collective vitality, the population reinvents and revitalises the various social networks and local structures. Producing a shared value which cannot be privatised, and which each individual can have access to. The entire population of a neighbourhood benefits from the animated atmosphere created in it.

The outdoor arts redefine the notion of the collective, and act on two levels: the poetic and the political. The poetic element finds a new way around the established order of different artistic expressions and their institutional hierarchy, whilst the political element aims to maintain the conditions that have previously allowed this new way of making art, escaping from established relationships of domination.

Conclusion

Creating a cultural project for a particular locality, as understood by the community arts approach, is both a political and an artistic struggle.

The need for the creation of a population of reference for the expression 'art for the community' becomes clear when it is understood that the conditions and contents must be linked to an analysis of both the artistic and the political fields. Firstly, overcoming the fixed, strict, hierarchical codes present in the field of the arts and secondly, establishing political tools that can sustain this new approach to the work of artists.

This approach of art for the community goes beyond any artistic movements, or symbolic oppositions which are limited to the conquest of artistic freedom concerning form, but is rather to do with the repositioning of individuals within the field of the arts.

It is with this approach that new relationships are created between the daily and the cultural, implementing new ways for making art happen, new frameworks for the appropriation of art and the outdoor space, none of which is possible without confronting the political sphere because of the extent to which the outdoor arts are still largely dependent on local political decisions. Any analysis of the

implementation and inventions of a European project must keep in mind this complex aspect of the outdoor arts' history.

In the process of the invention and the rationalisation of tools for the arts at a local and European level, as gradually developed by the principal ZEPA 2 partners, constructed with the unique elements of creation and production in the outdoor arts, the arts appear as a social force, which I have called 'community art', whose continued development as a further project must deal with the political and cultural constraints at a national and European level.