SOCIAL CAPITAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL NETWORKS IN THE CONTEXT OF TIMIȘOARA – EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE 2023

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Abstract. *Knowing that the ECoC label is a potential platform for generating social capital for the cultural sector, this article proposes, using the tools of network science, an empirical analysis of the cultural ecosystem of Timişoara 2023. The results allow to discuss the density of the network of partners, the centrality of the most connected partners, the intensity of collaboration between partners and the clusters of collaboration by type of organization. The results can be a policy resource for investigating the sustainability of the cultural ecosystem after obtaining the title of European Capital of Culture.*

Keywords: *cultural ecosystem, network, social capital, bonding, bridging, linking.*

Introduction

Four generations of European Capitals of Culture (ECoC) have succeeded so far, coinciding with three different sets of European legislation (Sassatelli, 2009; Garcia & Cox, 2013). As the European legislative framework evolved, changes occurred in the program objectives but also in the cultural development strategies used by cities (Gordach & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2007; Malcom, 2005; Sacco et al . 2013; Turşie, 2015a). Nowadays, the ECoC title is obtained after an internal national competition; candidate cities have several years to prepare a cultural program with a European dimension based on cultural cooperation between several types of actors; the program must be sustainable and an integral part of the long-term cultural and social development of the city.

The perspective of sustainable development through culture produced increased research interest and raises a recurring criticism: the instrumentalization of culture for mainly economic goals (Garcia, 2004). This perspective is opposed by another: a bottom-up and non-market vision of cultural development in which social participation, social capital and community cohesion take precedence over economic considerations (Sacco et al., 2014). However, if long-term urban development effects are produced by planning lasting legacies and social and cultural impacts (Liu, 2017), the difficulty remains in measuring them because of their non-tangible character (Garcia, 2005; Turşie & Perrin, 2020; Scardino et al., 2022; Vujičić et al., 2023).

How can we investigate the sustainability, dynamism and cultural effervescence of a ECoC without counting bricks and mortar, as is usually done: the number of cultural institutions and their capacity to receive the public or the number of

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tickets sold? How do we measure the impact of the title on the lasting strengthening of the local cultural sector? Without having the ambition to answer all these questions, this article proposes, with the help of network science tools, an empirical analysis of the collaboration networks of Timişoara 2023. This research topic is even more provocative since these connections and networks of collaboration contribute to the development of the European dimension of a ECoC program, task perceived to be challenging especially in peripheral post-socialist cities (Turşie, 2015b; Vesalon & Creţan, 2019). By choosing Timişoara 2023 as the territory of the analysis, this case study contributes to the literature on the importance of the ECoC label for the fourth generation of ECoC cities, those which, since 2019, must propose and follow monitoring and evaluation plans of their cultural programs. New methodological approaches, such as the proposed one, can be a valuable resource, particularly for public policies.

1.   European Capital of Culture, social capital, networks

The link between the ECoC title and the development of social capital has been discussed by several researchers. The ECoC title is perceived as a potential source of social capital generation for the cultural sector (Liu, 2017). Richards et al. (2013) mention mechanisms used to increase social capital, either by increasing interaction, fostering higher levels of identification, or supporting social structures and networks. Palmer (2004) considers that the added value of the degree of collaboration within the cultural sector can have important implications for event planning, such as an increase in the number of visitors, an increase in the attention generated by the event and the opportunity to benefit economically. Finally, these collaborations contribute to the sustainability of the title, because the lasting value of the ECoC lies in the international contacts and networks created during the year (Sjøholt, 1999) and the possibility of learning by taking part in networks.

Social capital is a complex and contested concept, with divergent interpretations of its meaning and use (Bordieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000) and with different levels of analysis: individual or community-level. In a simplified analogy argument, if human capital refers to a person's abilities, and economic capital refers to money, then social capital refers to human relationships and networks. The structure of human relationships inherent in social capital can be captured in the idea of social networks, that is, the network of relationships between individuals in a given population. Researchers generally agree that social capital is seen as a resource accessible through social contacts and networks, with norms, values and understandings that facilitate cooperation within or between groups (OECD, 2001). Bourdieu conceptualizes social capital more as an individual resource, dependent on a person's social position, while Putnam sees it as a resource for the community or society as a whole.

At the community level, the assessment of civic engagement by the number of organizations within it can be a good measure of social capital because it signals opportunities for connection building, that are both strong and inexpensive to establish. The *bonding* social capital described by Putnam connects members of socially homogeneous cultural groups. It is more introspective, promotes reciprocity and collaborative action and helps inspire a sense of belonging. The notion of bonding social capital has been criticized in particular in terms of personal interest, exclusion of

foreigners and outsiders (see among others Callahan, 2005; Baycan & Öner, 2022). *Bridging* social capital makes it possible to create links between heterogeneous groups; it is more outward-looking and helps limit existing divisions. Such networks provide access to information and resources outside the group and stimulate the strengthening of community cohesion, because people who form bridges between usually unrelated groups can serve as mediators between these groups and mobilize the individuals for common causes. According to Putnam, the two types of social capital have different objectives but can coexist and be prioritized accordingly. Critics of Putnam have also developed the concept of *linking* social capital (Woolcock, 1998), which adds a political dimension to the analysis, because this type of social capital forges links with those who have financial means, influence and political power.

The idea of social networks is central to understanding the concept of social capital. Additionally, elements of social capital such as obligation, trust, information channels, norms, and sanctions are facilitated by the structure of social network. Thus, network density or network closure helps create trust and effective norms (Coleman, 1988) or the so called generalized reciprocity that Putnam speaks of. Multiplexity in networks, that is, actors knowing each other in more than one context, can facilitate what Coleman calls appropriable social organization or the benefits of one context's relationships being appropriated to be used in another (Coleman, 1988).

This research mobilizes the concept of social capital at the community level to analyze the development process of the cultural sector of Timişoara 2023 within the framework of the collaborations developed. The empirical basis of the analysis is composed of the Timişoara 2023 bid documents: the 2016 Bid Book (Timişoara 2021, 2016) and its revised version in 2022 (Timişoara 2023, 2022). The proposed study is a relational analysis of collaborations between cultural organizations within the cultural and creative ecosystem of Timişoara 2023, as an innovative instrument for investigating community social capital.

The ecosystem approach to culture has been described by researchers as well as policy makers. The European Commission (2018) highlights in its new "European Agenda for Culture" the importance of the cultural and creative sectors for innovation, job creation, cohesion and the well-being of societies. At the heart of this approach is the idea that the cultural and creative sectors operate cross-sectorally with different adjacent sectors, or with completely different sectors. Thorsby (2008) spoke of interdependence: economic, social, cultural and environmental systems should not be seen in isolation. A holistic approach is needed instead, that is, one that recognizes the interdependence, particularly between economic development and cultural development.

In this paper, by discussing cooperation and exchanges, or joint initiatives with local, national and European cultural and creative operators, we also have the opportunity to reflect on the resilience of the cultural environment of Timişoara, understood as its capacity to rebuild itself after a crisis. The COVID-19 pandemic context, which led to postponing Timişoara's ECoC title is highly relevant here. Also on this point, Cox (2000) believes that the forces of social capital come into play when communities face conflicts, problems or changes. Social capital measures complement and expand the range of usual social indicators and offer new perspectives on how we can create a more resilient societal system.

In the following, the study is divided into three parts: a brief chronology of the challenges faced by Timişoara in the preparation of the ECoC title, a presentation of the cultural and creative ecosystem of Timişoara 2023 as an analysis of the network of cultural actors included in the application documents, and finally a discussion on the sustainability of the cultural and creative environment of Timişoara as well as some implications for public policies.

2.   Timişoara 2023 - a chronology of challenges

Using the slogan "Shine your light, light up your city!", Timişoara ECoC 2023 evokes in its application file several meanings of the metaphor of light. Timişoara is the city of "firsts": in 1884, it was the first city in continental Europe whose streets were lit by electricity. Additionally, the spark of the 1989 Anti-Communist Revolution began in Timişoara. Furthermore, in a symbolic understanding, the inner light of citizens whose energy is activated will be the legacy of the ECoC title.

The Bid Book is composed of three symbolic territories to explore, from darkness to light. The 'people' territory evokes the dimension of social inclusion and the need to increase access and participation to culture. The 'places' territory explores center-periphery issues, whether it concerns the equitable distribution of cultural events in the different districts of the city, or the cross-border dimension of the candidacy, involving the surrounding historic region of Banat. The 'connections' territory opens up reflection on the European dimension of the candidacy, built - among other things- through partnerships with diverse cultural and creative actors. The symbolic journey across these territories is marked by 'stations' and ,routes' - flagship projects- and the stations and routes have 'hosts' – leaders- and 'partners' – which are local and European organizations.

Timişoara won the national competition for the ECoC title in 2016. At that time, the candidacy was prepared by the Timişoara 2021 Association, a non-governmental structure, closely linked to the Municipality. Several unwanted turns occurred in the preparatory phase of the title, during 2016-2020: Timisoara 2021 Association have been strongly criticized by part of the local cultural community, with accusations of clientelism; moreover, delays in the public funding promised by the three financing institutions – the Municipality, Timiş County Council and the Ministry of Culture, seriously complicated the preparations. Furthermore, in 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic severely affected the planned cultural events, by blocking them of forcing them to migrate online. Adaptive management measures have been taken at the individual and collective level (Matei et al., 2021). Finally, Timişoara's ECoC year has been postponed to 2023.

After the 2020 local elections, changes in political power were followed by the resignation of the director of the Timişoara 2021 Association. A new public institution was created - the Center for Projects of the Municipality of Timişoara - with the aim of managing the title and preparing an updated Bid Book. The initial bid was filtered to present only projects considered feasible to be implemented in the short term until 2023, managed by organizations with solid cultural activity in recent years. The former Timişoara 2021 Association changed direction and only retained communication and fundraising functions.
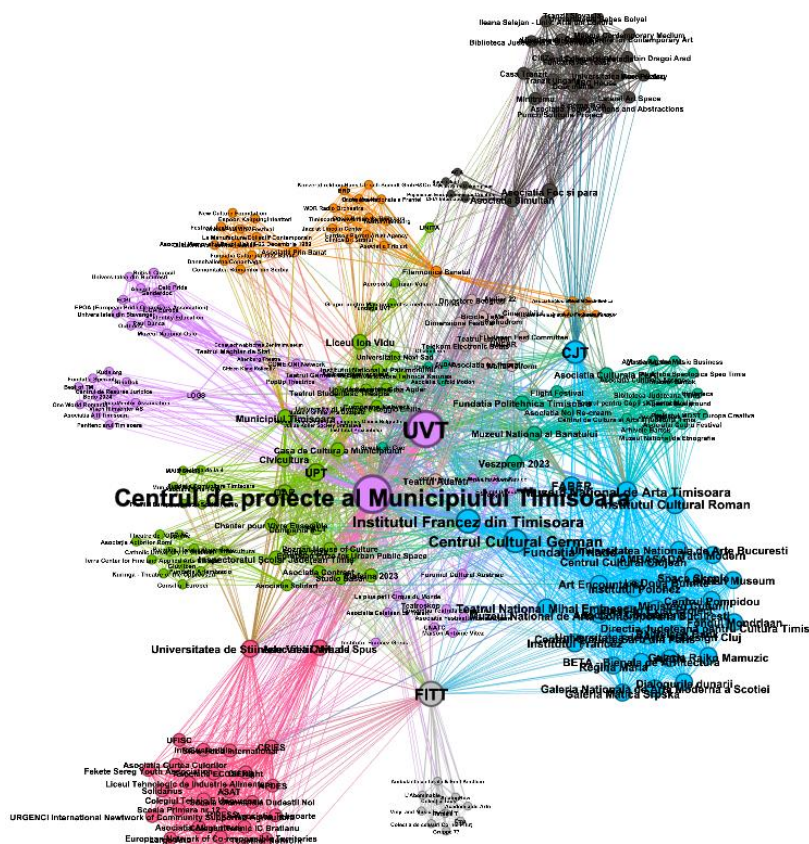
From then on, the governance of Timişoara ECoC 2023 became quite complicated. The new Bid Book, published in 2022, just a year before the cultural year,

presented only 70% of the projects to be implemented, financed mainly by the Municipality and by the Timiş County Council. The other 30% remained to be developed during 2023. Several calls were launched at the end of December 2022 and during the entire year 2023, alongwith the arrival of the long time promised funding from the Ministry of Culture. Hence, more collaborations were being created even as the cultural year unfolded, adding new actors and projects to the existing cultural and creative ecosystem.

3. The network of collaborations of Timişoara 2023

The analysis of the network of collaborations developed by Timişoara 2023 is based on the data contained in the updated Bid Book of Timişoara 2023, published in 2022. The cultural program of Timişoara 2023 was analyzed and organized in order to obtain a symmetrical matrix on the network of collaborations between cultural actors. Figure 1 is a 272x272 matrix and the results are visualized with Gephi software.

Figure 1. The network of collaborations of Timişoara 2023

Source: the author (with Gephi)

The 272 nodes represent all organizations involved in the implementation of the Timişoara 2023 cultural program, which are mentioned in the Bid Book. The larger

the node, the more projects the organization is involved in. The largest nodes (in purple) are the Center for Projects of the Municipality and the West University of Timişoara; other large nodes (in blue) are the Timiş County Council, the French Institute of Timişoara and the German Cultural Center. The lines connecting the nodes represent collaborations between these organizations, which share common stations and routes. The network consist of 3466 lines.

In Figure 1, the colors represent the thematic clusters of the cultural program, in terms of cultural stations and routes. More precisely, the descriptive sheets of the stations and routes presented in the Bid Book were analyzed to extract information on the host organizations – the leaders- and on the partner organizations. Three types of collaborations were noted: leader – leader (shared leadership); leader - partner; and partner – partner (shared membership). The results will allow us to discuss the density of the partner network, the centrality of the most connected partners, the intensity of collaboration between partners and collaboration clusters by type of organization (node).

The analysis shows the 272 local, national, European or international organizations involved in the Timişoara 2023 cultural program. We can extract from this network information on its structure, its actors and the relationships between them, which are presented in the following.
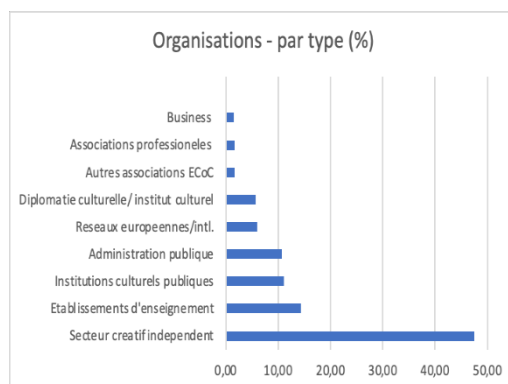
The network density, calculated with Gephi, is 10%, meaning that 10% of the organizations in the Timişoara 2023 cultural program were connected in a common project in 2022. Further reflection can start from here, questioning whether this is an opportunity or an obstacle?

It is important to mention that all the 'hosts', i.e. those responsible / the leaders of the funded cultural projects, are Romanian organizations; they are the main actors of the ECoC title. Additionally, most of the partner organizations are from Romania (55%), mainly from Timişoara. The European partners (Figure 2) are organizations from France (4%) or Germany (3.8%), or from neighboring countries which also have ECoC cities – Hungary (Veszprem 2023), Serbia (Novi Sad 2022) (4%) and Croatia (Rijeka 2022) (1%).

Figure 2. Partner organizations by country   **Figure 3.** Partner organizations by type

Source: the author

Figure 3 shows the type of organizations involved in the cultural program of Timişoara ECoC. A large number of partners organizations belong to the independent cultural and creative sector (understood here as non-governmental or private actors), contributing to the cultural effervescence of the city (Popa et al., 2021). For this research, the subtypes of actors by field of activity have not been detailed. Other actors involved in the Timisoara 2023 cultural program are as follows: 14.28% - educational establishments (universities and schools – the majority from Timişoara and Romania but also from other cities; for example, the University of Novi Sad or the Technical University of Kaunas); 11.08% - public cultural institutions (theaters, opera, philharmonies, orchestras, museums and galleries); 10.69% - public administration institutions (municipalities, county councils, ministries); 6.03% - European networks (permanent transnational collaborations between different public and private organizations such as Europeana Network, European Network of Co-responsible Territories or Slow Food International); 5.67% - cultural diplomacy organizations such as cultural institutes from different countries, in the traditional understanding of state-led activity, anchored in bilateral processes (such as the French Institute in Timişoara, the Polish Institute in Romania, the German Cultural Center in Timişoara, the Serbian Cultural Center in Paris, etc.); 1.60% - other associations managing ECoC titles (Bodo 2024, Elefisna 2023, Veszprém 2023); 1.59% - professional associations (organizations not linked to culture, such as intensive therapy doctors, landscapers, speleologists, etc.); and 1.53% - organizations from the business sector (banks and private hospitals in Timişoara, etc.).

As we have seen, different types of organizations are involved in the revised Timişoara 2023 cultural program highlighting the added value of collaboration: pooling resources, increasing public participation, social inclusion or cultural innovation. For example, a recurring cultural event in the Banat region, a classical music concert in the Româneşti Cave, now involves a cavers' association and the Timişoara Philharmonic as partners in a heterogeneous network. "Spotlight heritage" is a project which involves the National Museum of History of Banat and the Polytechnica University of Timişoara, aiming to develop a digital platform using augmented reality (AR) and virtual reality (VR) technologies, to offer a virtual journey through five neighborhoods of Timișoara.

Knowing that within the cultural and creative sector opportunities for innovation are missed due to a lack of cross-sector collaboration (Goethe Institut, 2020), it is important for ECoC cities to map the local creative and cultural environment early in the preparatory years towards the title, in order to identify resource organizations and their bridging potential and to imagine public policies favoring the type of intersectoral collaboration that is meaningful for the local community.

In terms of connections, the best connected organizations in the Timişoara 2023 cultural program are presented in Figure 4. The indicator "Degree" expresses the number of connections in cultural projects working together with other organizations. We note the significant importance of the first two organizations – the Center for Projects of the Municipality and the West University of Timişoara – the largest nodes in the cultural network of Timişoara 2023. The "Closeness centrality" indicator expresses the status of being a central organization, that is to say having the possibility to connect with most of the other nodes, using the shortest paths. Here we find the so-called resource organizations, those having significant relational capital: an organization of the youth sector (the Timiş County Youth Foundation), several foreign

cultural institutes (French and German) located in Timişoara, a few public administration institutions (the Timis County Council), several public cultural institutions (the National Museum of Art of Timişoara, the National Theater "Mihai Eminescu" Timişoara) and the independent sector, notably mentioning here a gallery of modern art of national importance (Timişoara Triade Foundation) or an independent community center (Faber - the largest of this kind in Timişoara). Faber was built on the premises of a former oil and paint factory and represents an initiative of urban regeneration of industrial heritage, a practice which is rather rare in Timisoara (Pavel & Jucu, 2020). The West University of Timişoara is also present in this Figure; being the largest educational institution in the region has well-established relational capital and is also a reservoir of know-how to share in the community.

The "Eigenvector centrality" indicator characterizes an organization strongly connected to other well-connected organizations; these are organizations that collaborate in several projects with the same organizations, having many other collaborations themselves. Whithin the cultural program of Timişoara 2023 the multiplexity feature (or actors who collaborate in several projects) primarily characterizes actors with a strong and constant operational capacity.

Figure 4 also highlights the central position of the Center for Projects of the Municipality, a public institution which manages the financing of most of the projects included in the Bid Book and therefore, having control over the financial resources, expresses an important linking social capital. A person designated as curator in each component of Timişoara's cultural program was made available to network actors, with the task of building collaborations, providing the local community with valuable linking social capital.
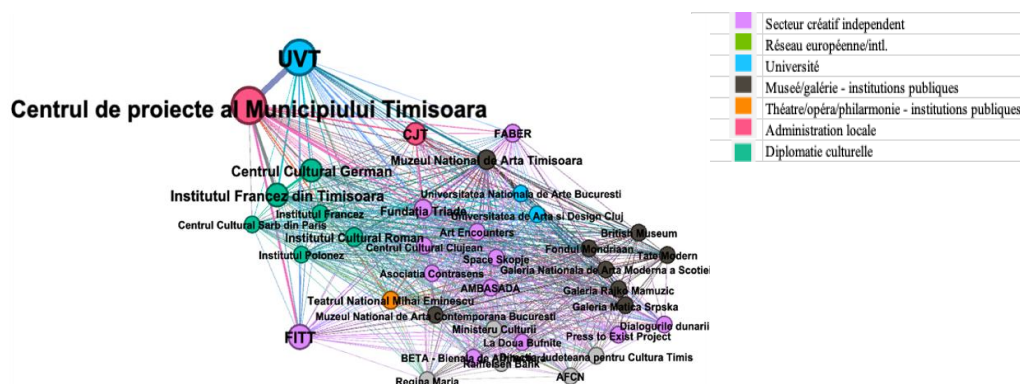
Figure 4. Best Connected Organizations

Nr.	Organisation	Degree	Closeness Centrality	Eigenvector Centrality
1	Centrer for Projects of the Municipality of Timişoara	251	0.96	1
2	West University of Timişoara	213	0.89	0.96
3	Timiş County Youth Foundation	94	0.67	0.59
4	French Institute of Timişoara	90	0.66	0.55
5	German Cultural Centre of Timisoara	84	0.65	0.53
6	Timiş County Council	79	0.64	0.51
7	National Museum of Art Timişoara	64	0.61	0.42
8	Romanian Cultural Institute	58	0.60	0.41
9	Triade Foundation Timişoara	57	0.60	0.41
10	Faber Timişoara	52	0.59	0.37
11	National Theater "Mihai Eminescu" Timişoara	46	0.58	0.37

Source: The author (with data for Bid Book Timişoara 2023)

The importance of a resource organization within the network lies in its potential to facilitate the rapid creation of new connections. Taking the case of the Centre Pompidou, who is part of the cultural program of Timisoara 2023, we could argue that if a cultural actor would wonder who to contact in order to organize a future event involving the Centre Pompidou, a good strategy would be to identify an organization already linked to this cultural institution. This example is not randomly taken since probably the most important cultural event in terms of budget and potential visibility for Timisoara 2023 is represented by an art exhibition of the sculptor Constantin Brâncuşi, taking place between September 2023 and January 2024, involving high profile partners such as the Center Pompidou and Tate Modern London.

The network of actors, part of Timişoara 2023, which highlights the connections involving the Centre Pompidou (ego newtork Centre Pompidou) is represented in the next two figures, by type of organisation (figure 5) and by country (figure 6). The bonding feature of the network can be understood through the clusters of connections between similar actors: key independent cultural actors (with violet), in the field of visual arts such as the Triade Foundation and the Art Encounters Foundation of Timişoara; public cultural institutions such as the Tate Modern in London, the British Museum in London, the Matica Srpska Gallery in Novi Sad, the National Museum of Art in Timişoara; institutions of cultural diplomacy (French, German, Polish or Romanian cultural institutes and centers); universities (West University of Timişoara, National University of Art in Bucharest, University of Art and Design in Cluj-Napoca). Without taking into account the scale of the nodes here (Figure 5 represents the scale of the nodes in the entire ecosystem and not in the ego network of Centre Pompidou), the network involving the Center Pompidou expresses also the heterogeneity feature: actors of different types are connected in cultural projects and share common routes and stations in the Bid Book.

Figure 5. *Ego network* Centre Pompidou – by type of organisation
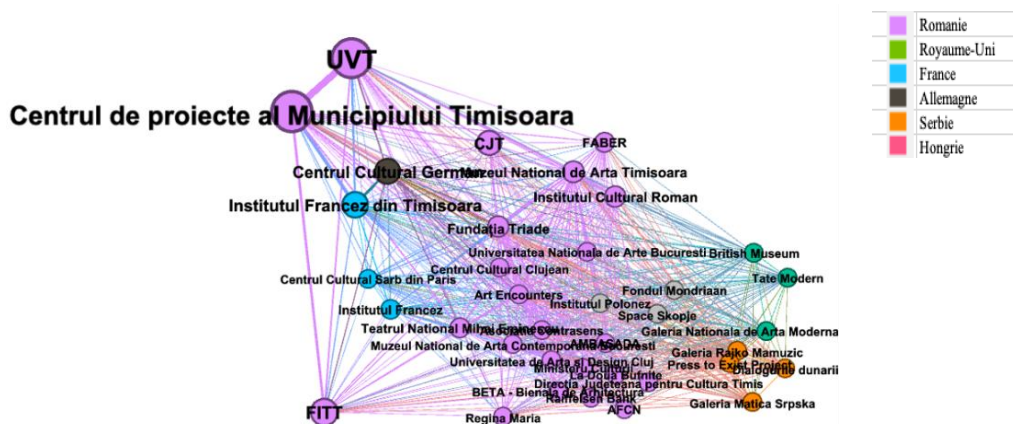

Source: The author (with Gephi)

The bridging social capital feature is expressed by the fact that the network involves heterogenous actors, such as the contribution of a private hospital and a banking institution which support the Brâncuşi exhibition in Timişoara. In this network

we also find the Art Encounters association, which organizes a Contemporary Art Biennial in Timişoara and which carries out cultural mediation projects involving schools, with the aim of introducing children to the understanding of art contemporary.

The coexistence of bonding clusters as well as bridging relationships in a cultural network express different objectives to be achieved, planned by cultural managers. Bonding is necessary to connect similar organizations such as local artisans interested in craft fairs or musicians interested in sharing rehearsal rooms. Bridging facilitates meetings between different actors who bring added value; hence the importance of *thiers-lieux* such as Faber in Timişoara or community youth centers in the neighborhoods of Timişoara, as resource organizations and meeting places.

Figure 6. *Ego network* Centre Pompidou – by country

Source: The author (with Gephi)

Knowing that the European dimension of a ECoC cultural program can be expressed by collaborations with foreign organizations, in the case of Timişoara 2023 we find both a regional approach and an internationalization approach of cultural networking. Some of the European organizations with which Romanian organizations are best connected in cultural projects are located near Timişoara (figure 7). They involve other ECoC partner cities, reflecting a regional approach: Veszprém, city with which Timişoara shares the CEC title in 2023, and Novi Sad, city with which Timişoara was to share the title in 2021. Another part of the most connected partners is made up of well-established cultural institutions such as those previously mentionend, reflecting the need to increase the city's international profile through major events that bring high visibility, in an internationalization rationale.

Figure 8 describes the best connected organizations located in Romania which are part of Timişoara 2023 collaboration network, highlighting the major role of three public universities of Timişoara. According to Sorenson et al. (2006), there could be social capital effects based on the proximity of cooperative learning establishments such as universities, research institutes or even community centers. West University of Timişoara and Polytechnica University have developed their own cultural programs included in the Timişoara 2023 cultural program (the "Reflections" and "Bright

Cityscapes" stations), with the objective of sharing knowledge in the community, exploiting their know-how and the already existing institutional relationships.
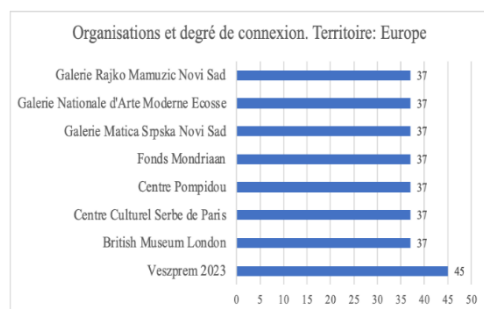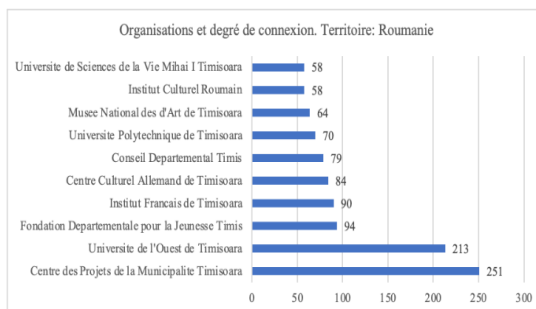
Figure 7. Best connected organisations   **Figure 8.** Best connected organisations

Source: The author (with data from the *Bid Book*)

The role of cultural diplomacy, represented by institutions such as the French Institute of Timişoara or the German Cultural Center of Timişoara, is also central to ensuring the European dimension of the title. Building international contacts and projects in a pandemic context has been a real challenge, thus having these types of organizations nearby was a key resource for the preparatory years of Timişoara 2023.

The importance of the Timiş County Youth Foundation, which manages neighborhood initiatives such as the creation of youth centers, lies in its key role in achieving social inclusion objectives. An example of inclusive best practice involving the Foundation was described in Lamour et al. (2022). 15 youth centers were created by transforming industrial buildings into open spaces that cater to young people from all social categories, including disadvantaged young people who live in remote neighborhoods. These spaces hosted various activities, ranging from educational activities to artistic and cultural events (concerts, plays, exhibitions) and leisure activities. In the context of the invasion of Ukraine by the Russian Federation, and in order to express European solidarity, the Foundation opened a transit center for Ukrainian refugees in its main youth center in Timişoara.

4. Network sustainability and implications for public policies

The potential for social capital to make a positive contribution to policy outcomes in various areas of social and economic concern such as societal well-being, community safety, culture, education and health has sparked interest among decision-makers and researchers (OECD, 2001; White, 2002; Hellerstein & Neumark, 2020).

The analysis of the collaboration networks created within Timişoara 2023 is an opportunity to reflect on the long-term social impacts of the title. Analyzing the cultural program put in place by Timişoara 2023 requires a relational approach. The 2022 revised Bid Book expresses pragmatic developments and decisions taken after the pandemic and in the absolute proximity of the cultural year. Most of the partners involved are organizations from Romania based in Timişoara. Public institutions (museums, universities, cultural institutes), which proved to be more resilient during

the pandemic than the independent sector, are more intensely connected in projects. The increased involvement of Timişoara universities in the life of the community represents a learning potential and a potential for know-how transfer in the community. The European dimension of the cultural program is expressed, among others, by the partnerships created, reflecting two approaches: a regional/cross-border cooperation with local partners and an international rationale for collaboration, with European partners. The intense collaboration with foreign cultural institutes located in Timişoara represents more accessible means of internationalization 'at home'.

A limitation of the research is represented by the fact that the described network is only the static image of the actors involved in the implementation of the Timişoara 2023 cultural program at the level of the year of the revised Bid Book (2022). In essence, taking a snapshot of the local network of cultural collaborations to link its importance to local development can be misleading. What may initially appear to be a positive resource for local development may change at some point, when the benefits of strong links in the local network reach their peak. Furthermore, the described network does not identify the behavior of the actors, the levels of trust, the integration of norms, all of them being dimensions of social capital to be further investigated. Ultimately, the network density, calculated with Gephi, was 10%, meaning that 10% of the organizations involved in the Timişoara 2023 cultural program were connected, showing an open network, with relationships to be either developed or lost.

What will be the legacy of the title after the cultural year? The sustainability of the network of collaborations set up for the title is questionable based on the experience of other EcoCs, for which the cultural excitement subsided immediately after the cultural year, due to lack of similar levels of funding for culture and by the fact that the organizations managing the title use to have a limited existence.

It is important to mention that for Timişoara 2023 the title facilitated the introduction of a new reference framework to give an outline to the cultural and creative environment of the city: the cultural ecosystem. Timişoara's Bid Book uses this concept by describing a program called "Power Station", aiming at long-term capacity building for the local cultural sector, offering services, funding and support to individuals, organizations and local institutions during the cultural year but also afterwards. Networking between local and international actors, intersectoral cooperation and cultural mediation are the key points of the program, in order to obtain a legacy of the title.

In conclusion, this research proposes, using the tools of network science, a representation of the collaborations developed within the cultural program of Timişoara 2023. The description of the collaborations between the local, regional or international actors involved - as a snapshot for the year 2022 - allows us to have an image of the European dimension of the project. This is a milestone for future analyses of the cultural and creative sector and of its dynamic.

It is important to emphasize the usefulness of representations and measures of social capital in public policy decisions, knowing that social capital is also a political resource (Montgomery, 2001). Several questions arise, which can be explored in depth in future research using plural methodologies: what practices or cultural policies could lead to future development of the cultural and creative ecosystem in the long term? In terms of network resilience, understood as resistance to crises, what is the future of the

ecosystem if an actor should disappear? These studies could be useful for other ECoC candidate cities that would be interested in measuring social capital to understand why some communities adapt better to change than others, why some communities are able to do better with a given set of resources and what influences shape community confidence in achieving goals. If the links between social capital and community trust and adaptability prove strong enough, then building social capital in communities will likely become an increasing public policy priority.

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