



Ex-post evaluation of 2010 European Capitals of Culture

Final Report for the European Commission
DG Education and Culture



Ex-Post Evaluation of 2010 European Capitals of Culture

Final report for the European Commission Directorate General for Education and Culture

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Executive Summary

Executive Summary

Introduction

This evaluation report considers the European Capital of Culture Action in the year 2010 including the cultural programmes of the three cities designated as European Capital of Culture (ECoC) for that year: Essen for the Ruhr (Germany), Pécs (Hungary) and Istanbul (Turkey). The evaluation considers the relevance, efficiency and effectiveness of the 2010 ECoC throughout their “life-cycle”, i.e. from the preparation of their application, through the designation and development phase and up to the completion of their cultural programmes at the end of the title year. Consideration is also given to their likely sustainability and legacy. The evaluation also considers the relevance, efficiency, effectiveness and sustainability of the ECoC Action as a whole. It builds on the recent evaluations of the 2007-08 and 2009 ECoC.¹

Origins and description of the ECoC Action

The special role that cities play in culture has been recognised by European policy since at least the 1985 Resolution that introduced the “European City of Culture” concept – a year-long event during which a city would operate a programme of events to highlight its contribution to the common cultural heritage and welcome people and performers from other Member States.² Since Athens 1985, the European City of Culture has had “a positive impact in terms of media resonance, the development of culture and tourism and the recognition by inhabitants of the importance of their city having been chosen”. In recognition of this success, a 1999 Decision of the Parliament and of the Council transformed the concept into the European Capital of Culture (ECoC) and created a more predictable, consistent and transparent rotational system for the designation of the title.³ The 1999 Decision introduced an “order of entitlement”, whereby each year one Member State would be entitled to nominate one or more cities to the European Parliament, the Council, the Commission and the Committee of the Regions. The 1999 Decision also maintained the possibility for non-Member States to nominate candidates for the ECoC title. It was amended in 2005 in order to integrate the ten Member States that acceded to the EU in 2004.

Under the process introduced by the 1999 Decision, three cities were designated for 2010 – Essen for the Ruhr (Germany), Pécs (Hungary) and Istanbul (Turkey). Subsequent to this designation, Decision 1622/2006/EC introduced new processes for monitoring the ECoC, which were applied from the 2010 titles onwards.⁴ The 2006 Decision also introduced a new EU funding mechanism in the form of the “Melina Mercouri Prize”: a conditional prize of €1.5m to be awarded to designated cities before the start of the year, provided that they have met the criteria and have implemented the recommendations issued by the panel. This prize was awarded for the first time to the 2010 titles.

According to Decision 1622/2006/EC, the objective of the ECoC is to “highlight the richness and diversity of European cultures and the features they share, as well as to promote the greater mutual acquaintance

¹ Ex-post Evaluation of 2007 & 2008 European Capitals of Culture; study prepared for the European Commission; ECOTEC Research & Consulting; 2009

² European Commission (1985) Resolution of the Ministers Responsible for Cultural Affairs Concerning the Annual Event European City of Culture (7081/84).

³ Decision No 1419/1999/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 May 1999 establishing a Community action for the European Capital of Culture event for the years 2005 to 2019.

⁴ Decision No 1622/2006/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 24 October 2006 establishing a Community action for the European Capital of Culture event for the years 2007 to 2019.

between European citizens". In order to fulfil this objective, designated cities must implement a year-long cultural programme of European dimension which fulfils two categories of criteria:

I. As regards 'the European Dimension', the programme shall:

- foster cooperation between cultural operators, artists and cities from the relevant Member States and other Member States in any cultural sector;
- highlight the richness of cultural diversity in Europe;
- bring the common aspects of European cultures to the fore

I. As regards 'City and Citizens' the programme shall:

- foster the participation of the citizens living in the city and its surroundings and raise their interest as well as the interest of citizens from abroad;
- be sustainable and be an integral part of the long-term cultural and social development of the city.

Evaluation framework and methodology

The ECoC Action was evaluated against the global objective of the 1999 Decision and three specific objectives derived from the 1999 and 2006 Decisions:

Global objective
• Highlight the richness and diversity of European cultures and the features they share, as well as promote greater mutual acquaintance between European citizens
Specific objectives
• Developing cultural activities • Promoting the European dimension of and through culture • Supporting the social and economic development of the city through culture

The three ECoC were first evaluated individually, the key sources including the original ECoC applications; studies and reports commissioned by the ECoC, events programmes, promotional materials and websites; quantitative data supplied by the ECoC on finance, activities, outputs and results; interviews of managing teams and key stakeholders for each ECoC; and two visits to each city. A comparative review and meta-evaluation exercise considered the conclusions emerging from all three ECoC, compared and contrasted approaches, and verified the quality of the research. Conclusions relating to the ECoC Action in general were based on the evidence and conclusions emerging from all three ECoC, whilst also taking account of the findings of the 2007/08 and 2009 evaluations.

Main findings

Essen for the Ruhr 2010

The Ruhr is an agglomeration of 53 municipalities in western Germany, of which Essen and Dortmund are the largest, with a population of over 5 million people. In the 19th century, the Ruhr saw massive development of the iron, coal and steel industries, which attracted workers from across the continent. Industrial decline from the 1970s onwards created high levels of unemployment and out-migration, as well as a legacy of obsolete industrial premises and a scarred landscape. However, the processes of environmental remediation and economic recovery are well under way, with the energy sector complemented by growing service sector, high-tech industries and creative economy. Today, the Ruhr is also home to a strong cultural sector, although until recently, the area had not been seen or marketed as a single set of cultural assets and suffered from limited co-operation in the fields of culture and tourism across the different municipalities.

The original aim of the ECoC bid was to develop culture as a means to achieve wider social and economic goals, including community cohesion, integration of immigrant or ethnic groups, development of the creative economy, improved perceptions of the region and bringing the Ruhr together as a single metropolis. In line with those objectives, the overall theme of the application was "Change through culture - Culture through Change", with three key concepts: urbanism, identity and integration. These were to be transformed into three themes to structure the year and provide the basis for project selection: City of Possibilities, City of Arts, and City of Cultures (City of Creativity was later added as a fourth theme). After a competition organised by the federal government, Essen for the Ruhr was one of two applications nominated to the European selection panel, the other being Görlitz/Zgorzelec. In its report of April 2006, the panel chose to recommend Essen for the Ruhr and the European Council duly awarded the title later in 2006.

Following the award of the title, a separate delivery agency, RUHR.2010 GmbH, was established with two main priorities: to be the main point of coordination for all ECoC activities; and to develop sustainable structures for cultural co-operation across the area. The ambitious and multi-faceted character of the proposed programme led the partners to appoint a "curator's group" of four high-profile Artistic Directors, each with their own area of interest and perspective, providing creative input and scrutiny into the ideas developed under each cultural theme. At the same time, a chairman and managing director handled relations with the key stakeholders, thus shielding the artistic teams from any political pressure. A programme coordinator also acted as a bridge between management, artistic direction and wider regional consultation group, speaking on behalf of the Ruhr's cities and towns and seeking to achieve greater reach and coverage. Together, the RUHR.2010 team members provided advice and guidance for projects especially in terms of press and promotional activity, broadening promotion and partner selection as well as corporate, administrative and legal support. This approach proved to be valuable, especially for smaller projects lacking capacity. The agency also created space for the development of project ideas, as well as opportunities for networking and workshops that would enable projects to learn from each other.

One of Essen for the Ruhr 2010's main objectives was to use the national and international communication and marketing to create a new image of the Ruhr and also mobilise the local population. The longer-term aim was to develop a cultural tourism offer and infrastructure that would continue to create economic benefits after 2010. However, the size of the area created challenges in communicating a coherent image of 53 towns and cities and in unifying all local partners behind a single communications strategy. A further challenge was finding a way to communicate such a diverse, multi-faceted and often experimental set of activities in a clear and meaningful way and to create a coherent 'brand'. Key factors

in addressing these challenges were the allocation of a substantial budget for communication and marketing, bringing together the communications, press and marketing teams together in one department, structuring activities into a set of 'marketing clusters' and focussing most attention on projects with the greatest potential for generating public and media interest. Evidence from research undertaken by the agency suggests a high degree of success in giving the ECoC a high profile with local residents and with national and regional media.

Essen for the Ruhr 2010 proved successful in implementing a large number of cultural events, activities and projects, with 5,500 individual projects under the ECoC banner, and many more taking place across the region during 2010. In total, the ECoC attracted audiences of around 10.5 million, while also helping to increase attendance at non-ECoC events like the Ruhrtriennale and Ruhr Piano Festival. Many events involved the creation or exhibition of new artworks, and development of new and experimental forms of cultural expression. The agency also put significant efforts into developing partnership and networking structures, with the intention of boosting cultural activities in the future. A focus on the European dimension was also ensured through requiring all projects to deal with issues of European interest, such as migration and industrial transformation, as well as through transnational activities. Such activities concerned in particular the mobility of cultural operators and citizens, for example, the TWINS projects which involved 20,000 artistic participants from 257 cities in 39 countries. Transnational working also included extensive contacts with other cities holding the title between 2008 and 2010, as well as future title-holders and applicants.

The cultural programme also included large numbers of events, activities and projects to widen participation and improve access to culture, particularly for certain target groups. For example, the "City of Cultures" theme included numerous events dealing with youth, multiculturalism, ethnic arts and music and interreligious programmes. New partnership structures, including representatives from a variety of organisations, such as youth groups, churches and sporting associations, were created to promote participation in culture and it is likely that these structures will continue beyond 2010. Essen for the Ruhr also appears to have been successful in generating economic benefits. These include a 13.4% increase in visitors, with a record 6.5 million overnight stays generating an estimated €90m additional gross revenue for the area.

Essen for the Ruhr 2010 has provided a major boost to the region's cultural sector, its national and international profile, while giving a powerful demonstration of the value of culture in supporting wider social and economic objectives. A number of key projects were specifically selected with sustainability in mind and these will endure beyond 2011. In addition, the promotion of cultural tourism to the Ruhr will continue to be given priority, including through cultural activities, such as ExtraSchicht - the night of industrial culture. As well as a widespread increase in cultural co-operation between cultural actors, NGOs and public authorities within and across the 53 municipalities, regional partners such as Kultur Ruhr GmbH (the organiser of Ruhrtriennale) and Ruhr Tourism GmbH will also carry on the work of developing the region's cultural offer, with an annual budget of nearly €5m.

Pécs 2010

Pécs is the fifth largest city in Hungary with a population of 160,000 people. Being located near to the Croatian border, the city became a destination for refugees fleeing the war in the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s. Whilst this situation created some turmoil for Pécs, the city's positive response was recognised internationally in the form of the UNESCO Cities for Peace Prize in 1998. The city has also had to respond to the decline of the mining industry in the late 1980s and early 1990s but has since started to recover on the basis of its strengths in education, health care, retail, commercial services and tourism.

This recovery has also built on Pécs's rich cultural heritage, since it is the location of the oldest university in Hungary and of a UNESCO world heritage site – the early Christian Burial Chambers. Pécs also has a thriving contemporary culture, being the host of high-profile exhibitions of contemporary Hungarian art and the home of a number of leading publishing houses and the Pannon Philharmonic Orchestra.

The initiative to apply for ECoC came from a number of civil society organisations that saw an opportunity to strengthen civic participation and the role of civil society in the development of the city. Hosting the ECoC was also seen as an opportunity to promote the economic development of the city through culture. With the support of the municipality, an application was duly submitted which highlighted the city's multicultural character, its rich cultural life and its potential for further culture-based development. The application also highlighted the city's ambition to strengthen relations with neighbouring countries and regions, summarised by the slogan "borderless city". Having secured Hungary's nomination (after a competition organised by the Hungarian government), the application was duly submitted to the European selection panel, which in turn recommended that Pécs be designated ECoC 2010.

The ECoC represented one of the first opportunities for national, regional and municipal institutions to work together to deliver such an event and provided significant experience for all involved. As with other cities, the management of an event of this scale proved to be very challenging and a number of difficulties were faced. First, two different organisations were established to manage the budget of ECoC, which resulted in a lack of clarity over the responsibility for artistic direction; responsibility for allocating funding tended to remain with the public authorities and the managing agency enjoyed only a limited degree of autonomy. Secondly, the selection of an Artistic Director and the leadership of the development of the cultural programme proved to be challenging and there were changes in the individuals responsible for the development of the programme and the institutional set-up; these difficulties were compounded by changes at the political level in Pécs during the development phase. In addition to this local complexity, separate structures were also set up at national level including a Project Steering Committee and an Inter-Ministerial Committee. As a result, the decision-making process was complicated and lengthy and it was not until the end of 2008 that the governance arrangements became settled and attention could turn to the development of the cultural programme. However, by this stage it was already too late to mobilise many cultural operators and realise some of the original project ideas.

Despite these challenges, the eventual cultural programme of Pécs 2010 was far more extensive than the city's cultural offering in previous years. In total, 650 projects were supported involving 4,675 different cultural events during the title year, as well as 360 projects during the preparatory years 2007-09. The programme included projects that attracted a mass audience, such as the opening and closing ceremonies that attracted 18,000 people, as well as more innovative and avant-garde events. Some projects were delivered by non-governmental organisations and specifically targeted local communities especially deprived areas, members of minority groups, and disadvantaged people. Overall, the cultural programme provided the opportunity for local cultural operators to implement more and bigger projects than in previous years. It also supported projects that commissioned new art works, as well as a new international arts prize. The cultural programme also incorporated a European dimension in two main ways; it featured co-operation projects with other Balkan countries with the aim of establishing a transnational cultural region - the "Southern Cultural Zone"; it featured co-operation with the other cities hosting the ECoC title: 18 projects with Essen for the Ruhr, 20 projects with Istanbul and 12 projects with both.

Pécs 2010 also made an important contribution to the social and economic development of the city, primarily through five key infrastructure projects. Two projects were finished in time to host events namely the South-Transdanubian Regional Library and Knowledge Centre, and the Revival of Public Spaces and

Parks. The Kodály Centre and Reconstruction of Museum Street were finished at the very end of 2010, whilst the reconstruction of the Zsolnay Cultural Quarter is expected to be finalised in 2011. The ECoC also gave greater impetus to complete the motorway from Budapest to Pécs in time for the title year. Pécs also enjoyed an increase in tourism during the title year, with the number of visitors rising by 27.5% compared to 2009. A number of social benefits were also gained, notably a widening of participation in culture, including through projects implemented by non-governmental organisations and a volunteers programme.

The legacy of Pécs 2010 is strongly linked to the new and improved cultural infrastructure which has the potential to increase the quantity and the quality of the city's cultural offer in the long-term. Whilst some of the cultural projects initiated in 2010 are set to continue, there is a shortage of funding opportunities, particular for smaller cultural operators. In the absence of an overall plan for ECoC legacy projects, the sustainability of cultural projects depends very much on the success of individual bodies in securing funding. The legacy of 2010 also includes the experience gained by cultural operators and stakeholders across the city. Many individuals involved in the ECoC remain employed within the city's cultural sector and many of the partner organisations and cultural operators are more engaged than previously in the civic life of the city. The development of the city's cultural sector remains a high political priority at local level and there is a strong support for a city development strategy based on culture. However, the new cultural strategy for the city remains to be developed and the financial support for that strategy (and the projects therein) remains to be confirmed.

Istanbul 2010

Istanbul is the financial, media, communications, cultural and tourist centre of Turkey and the largest metropolis in Europe with a population over 12 million people. Since the 1990s, Istanbul has reformed itself with new communications infrastructure, greater environmental awareness and an increased role for cultural and culture in the every day life of the city. The city has a very long and rich cultural heritage, dating from Neolithic times and having been the capital of the Roman, Byzantine, Latin Empire and Ottoman Empires. It features architecture from all these periods, most notably in the historic peninsula (a UNESCO World Heritage Site), and a cosmopolitan culture reflecting the prominence of Islam and the presence of many ethnic and religious minorities. Despite this heritage, it is only in the last decade or so that Istanbul has truly developed a vibrant modern and contemporary cultural scene. Whilst the state continues to oversee the major cultural institutions, the private and NGO sectors have played an increasingly important role in recent years, particularly popular music and avant-garde theatre.

Following the 1999 Decision, which enabled non-Member States to hold the ECoC title, a number of independent cultural operators and NGOs came together to discuss the possibility of an ECoC application, later gaining the support of the metropolitan municipality of Istanbul and the Government of Turkey. Although the city has a rich cultural heritage, the motivation for the ECoC centred on establishing Istanbul as a centre for modern and contemporary culture reflecting the diversity of cultures and ethnic groups in Istanbul as well as its young, dynamic population. More specifically, the objectives of the ECoC were to:

- Generate transformative energy and build capacity;
- Restore cultural and industrial heritage;
- Address the urban and cultural dimensions of citizenship;
- Function as a bridge connecting Europe to its East.

Istanbul was one of two cities in non-Member States to apply for the 2010 ECoC title, the other being Kiev (Ukraine). Since Decision 1419/1999/EC allowed only one city from outside the EU to host the event in any given year, the European Selection Panel was required to choose between these competing bids. The Panel chose to recommend Istanbul in its report of April 2006 and Istanbul was duly designated as ECoC by the European Council later that year.

An executive body "Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Agency" was set up by law in 2007 to implement the ECoC programme. This agency enjoyed the strong political and financial commitment of the national government, as well as a significant degree of autonomy at least at the outset. Whilst the agency was successful in implementing a very extensive cultural programme and marketing campaign, certain features of the governance arrangements proved problematic and led to the overall impact of the ECoC being less than anticipated; as the government became the supplier of 95% of the funding, the state bodies exert increasing control over the ECoC to the frustration of the independent cultural operators, several of whom resigned their positions within the agency in 2009; the method of allocating and accounting for funding tended to follow conventional government procedures with the emphasis placed on accountability and value for money, which proved particularly problematic when applied to many of the cultural activities; the disbanding of the Artistic Committee hindered the pursuit of a single, coherent artistic vision and tended to discourage co-ordination across different strands of activity; the absence of a clear artistic vision also resulted in weak co-ordination between the cultural programme and the marketing campaign, with the latter not tending specifically to promote the former. However in mitigation, it must be said that the functioning of the agency did represent somewhat of a departure from the usual *modus operandi* of the state institutions and by the end of the title year, artistic and administrative staff had learned from the experience and begun to understand the others' point of view better.

Istanbul 2010 was one of the largest and most substantial ECoC to date, featuring both a diverse cultural programme with many innovative elements and an extensive programme of renovation and refurbishment of cultural heritage sites and venues. The programme was focused on four elements, namely earth, air, water and fire, which were said to have special meaning to Istanbul, although activities encompassed a broad range of artistic and cultural disciplines and took place across the full twelve months of the title year. In size and form, it represented something of a first both for the city and for Turkey more generally; some 586 projects were implemented in total during the years 2008-2011, which between them involved nearly 10,000 discrete activities or events attended by nearly 10m people.

Within this broad cultural programme, a number of elements were particularly significant. First, there was an extensive programme of renovation and restoration of Istanbul's cultural and industrial heritage, including the four UNESCO World Heritage Sites on Istanbul's historic peninsula (which were at risk of losing their designation). Second, there were a number of high-profile cultural events including some featuring performers of international renown, such as the opening events and a number of international festivals. Third, a large number of cultural events showcased the traditional and historical culture of Istanbul and of Turkey to a wider audience. Fourth, the ECoC supported the commissioning and performance or exhibition of new artworks, including those developed by local artists and cultural institutions and/or specifically relating to contemporary Istanbul.

Whilst the European dimension did not permeate the entire cultural programme, it did feature in some significant ways; there were many collaborations with artists and operators in other countries and with the other cities holding the ECoC title; 36 of Istanbul's municipalities implemented transnational cultural projects in collaboration with their sister cities in Europe, many for the first time; a specific suite of projects was implemented with EU co-financing under the umbrella of "Civil Society Dialogue – Culture and Art" to

strengthen the role of civil society initiatives at the local level. Elements of the cultural programme also contributed to the objective of redefining citizenship in the context of Turkey's hoped-for accession to the EU, through projects that emphasised values of tolerance, celebrated the diversity of cultures and ethnic groups present in the city, and promoted access to and participation in culture. An extensive volunteer programme was also operated.

As a result of 2010, there is evidence that culture and art are higher on the agenda of the media and the general public than ever before and that the city's cultural scene will be more vibrant. There is also a legacy of experience, networks and dynamism, though there is no specific plan for the continuation of activities initiated by the ECoC. Istanbul 2010 will however leave a very significant legacy, in terms of the restoration and renovation of many cultural heritage sites and this legacy will be supported by more strategic and informed management of cultural heritage. But overall, the end of the title year and the demise of the agency represent a "missed opportunity" in terms of changing the model of cultural governance in the city – though progress has been made, informal networks strengthened and lessons have been learned by all the different actors involved.

Conclusions and recommendations

Key Conclusion 1

The European Capital of Culture Action remains a key mechanism by which the EU contributes to the Treaty objective of contributing to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States and bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore.

The possibility for cities in European non-Member States to hold the title (under the terms of Decision 1419/EC/1999) has also strengthened the contribution of the ECoC Action to the Treaty objective of fostering co-operation with third countries.

The selection criteria specified in Decisions 1419/EC/1999 and 1622/EC/2006 have ensured that the cultural programmes of title-holders are relevant to the detail of Article 167 – though the criteria allow each ECoC the freedom to interpret the Treaty objectives in their own unique way.

Recommendation 1.1

Given the contribution of the ECoC to the EU's policy objectives as set out in Article 167, the Action should be continued beyond 2019.

Recommendation 1.2

The Istanbul ECoC has demonstrated the enthusiasm for ECoC which exists in European cities outside the EU. The Commission should therefore consider whether the new legal basis for ECoC should reintroduce the possibility for cities in non-Member States to apply for the title.

Key Conclusion 2

Through its high profile and symbolic value as well as through transnational cultural activities implemented by the title-holders, the ECoC Action makes a positive contribution to the specific objectives of the EU's Culture Programme 2007-13.

The ECoC demonstrates that investments in cultural heritage and cultural infrastructure, including

those made by the European Structural Funds, can contribute to a broader process of urban development and regeneration. The ECoC themselves also have the potential to be reinforced by and to add impetus to such investments, for example through providing greater impetus to and a clear deadline for the completion of projects.

Recommendation 2

In designing the new legal basis for the ECoC, the Commission should continue to emphasise the importance of fulfilling the criteria related to the long-term development of the city.

Key Conclusion 3

The human and financial resources necessary to achieving a critical mass of impacts vary according to the size and nature of the territory of the ECoC. Covering a very large territory (and/or population) will naturally require extensive resources, but future ECoC should give careful consideration to the nature of the impact that they wish to achieve; it is likely either to be concentrated in one particular area or to consist of effects such as enhanced networking and profile across the territory, rather than in a step-change in cultural vibrancy.

Recommendation 3

The ECoC Action should remain primarily focussed on cities, but allow the flexibility for cities to involve a wider area.

Key Conclusion 4

The EU budget for the event appears appropriate and proportional and the Action as a whole is very cost-effective when compared to other EU policy instruments or mechanisms.

The selection processes specified by Decision 1419/EC/1999 enabled great interest in the ECoC to be generated in Member States and in some European non-Member States but did not ensure that all applications were developed with the European criteria in mind. The new processes for monitoring and co-financing ECoC (introduced by Decision 1622/EC/2006) have played a part in strengthening the ECoC, including their focus on the European dimension.

Recommendation 4.1

The Commission should consider the continuation of the Melina Mercouri Prize beyond 2019 in its current format.

Recommendation 4.2

In designing a new legal basis for the years beyond 2019, the Commission should ensure that the selection process requires all applications to be assessed against the criteria set at EU level.

Key Conclusion 5

ECoC continue to provide social and economic benefits in terms of increased tourism, improved infrastructure, increased international profile and stronger cultural and creative industries. In that way, it is reinforced by and adds value to investments in cultural heritage and infrastructure made by the European Structural Funds.

However, such benefits do not necessarily and automatically accrue to the cities holding the title. The extent to which social and economic development is stimulated – and the nature of that development – continues to depend on the articulation of a clear development "vision" by the stakeholders as well as appropriate and co-ordinated activities that are implemented in concert with the cultural programme.

The ECoC retains great potential to widen the participation of citizens in culture across very different contexts, particularly where such activities emphasise tolerance and celebrate the diversity of cultures and ethnic groups present in the city.

Key Conclusion 6

The ECoC Action creates a legacy in the host cities through new cultural activities that endure beyond the title year, improved networking and co-operation between stakeholders in culture, and new and improved cultural facilities.

Beyond these benefits, the creation of a sustainable legacy is more uncertain. It typically requires the key stakeholders to come together around a long-term vision and strategy and to establish a structure for the ongoing governance and co-ordination of culture in the city, often involving the creation of a specific legacy body.

Recommendation 6.1

In designing the new legal basis for the ECoC, the Commission consider giving explicit encouragement in the criteria to reward cities which have already developed a long-term cultural policy strategy for their city.

Introduction

1.0 Introduction

Ecorys UK is pleased to present this final report for the *Ex-post Evaluation of 2010 European Capitals of Culture* undertaken on behalf of the European Commission DG Education and Culture (DG EAC). The evaluation is intended to support the Commission in meeting the requirement set by Decision 1622/2006/EC of the European Council and the European Parliament each year to “ensure the external and independent evaluation of the results of the European Capital of Culture event of the previous year in accordance with the objectives and criteria of the action”.⁵

It is also intended that the results of the evaluation will be used to draw lessons for the future development of the initiative and help to improve understanding of the impact of the initiative with a view to feeding into the policy-making process at European level in the field of culture. The current legal basis for ECoC (Decision 1622/2006/EC) lists the Member States entitled to host the European Capitals of Culture (ECoC) until 2019, but no provision is currently foreseen for the years 2020 onwards. Taking into account the six years' preparation time necessary for an ECoC, and the time needed for negotiations in the Council and the Parliament, the Commission is therefore intending to adopt a proposal in the second semester of 2011, so that the selection procedure for 2020 can be launched at the end of 2013.

In that context, the current evaluation must be seen as complementing two other studies commissioned by DG EAC as it considers the future of ECoC beyond 2019. The first of these, the *Interim Evaluation of Selection and Monitoring Procedures of European Capitals of Culture*, has considered the implementation of the new processes for selecting, monitoring and financing ECoC introduced by the 2006 Decision. Such an evaluation was important for two main reasons: first, the previous processes were found to be insufficient to identify problems systematically and prescribe remedial action;⁶ second, there was the need to draw lessons from the current system in order to inform the Commission proposal for the continuation of the ECoC beyond 2019. The second other study, the *Support for the Ex-Ante Evaluation of ECoC legal basis after 2019*, constitutes an external, independent analysis and comparison of the likely social, economic and environmental impacts of policy options relating to the ECoC beyond 2019.

As recommended by the Terms of Reference (ToR), the approach taken to the current evaluation has applied the intervention logic and indicators of the evaluations of the 2007-08 and 2009 ECoC as well as following as much as possible the methodology and reporting structure used in those studies.⁷ This evaluation has sought to fulfil the functions of accountability and learning and be subject to the rigour of the application of the DG Budget evaluation model now firmly embedded within European Commission custom and practice. In that way, it is hoped that the results of the current evaluation will both build on and be comparable with the results of the previous evaluations.

⁵ Decision No 1622/2006/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 24 October 2006 establishing a Community action for the European Capital of Culture event for the years 2007 to 2019.

⁶ Ex-post evaluation of the 2009 ECoC; ECOTEC Research & Consulting on behalf of the DG Education and Culture of the European Commission; 2010.

⁷ Ex-post Evaluation of 2007 & 2008 European Capitals of Culture; study prepared for the European Commission; ECOTEC Research & Consulting; 2009.



Evaluating European Capitals of Culture



2.0 Evaluating European Capitals of Culture

2.1 The European Capitals of Culture Action

2.1.1 Origins and context of the Action

*“Throughout its history, Europe has been the site of exceptionally prolific and varied artistic variety; whereas urban life has played a major role in the growth and influence of the European cultures”.*⁸

Since the earliest days of European integration, European policy has recognised the existence within Europe of both a “common cultural heritage” and a diversity of national and regional cultures. Indeed, under the terms of Article 167 of the Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union,⁹ the EU has sought to bring that heritage to the fore and to respect such diversity, by encouraging co-operation between Member States and by taking cultural aspects into account in its other actions. We present an extract of Article 167 in the box below.

Article 167 of the Treaty (extract)

1. The Community shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States, while respecting their national and regional diversity and at the same time bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore.
2. Action by the Community shall be aimed at encouraging co-operation between Member States and, if necessary, supporting and supplementing their action in the following areas:
 - improvement of the knowledge and dissemination of the culture and history of the European peoples
 - conservation and safeguarding of cultural heritage of European significance
 - non-commercial cultural exchanges
 - artistic and literary creation, including in the audiovisual sector
3. The Community and the Member States shall foster cooperation with third countries and the competent international organisations in the sphere of culture.

Within that context, the special role that cities play in culture was recognised by a 1985 Resolution¹⁰ that introduced the “European City of Culture” concept – a year-long event during which a city would operate a programme of events to highlight its contribution to the common cultural heritage and welcome people and performers from other Member States.

⁸ Decision No 1419/1999/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 May 1999 establishing a Community action for the European Capital of Culture event for the years 2005 to 2019.

⁹ Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union

¹⁰ European Commission (1985) Resolution of the Ministers Responsible for Cultural Affairs Concerning the Annual Event European City of Culture (7081/84).

Since Athens in 1985, the European City of Culture has had “a positive impact in terms of media resonance, the development of culture and tourism and the recognition by inhabitants of the importance of their city having been chosen”.¹¹ In recognition of this success, a 1999 Decision of the Parliament and of the Council transformed the concept into the European Capital of Culture (ECoC) and sought to create a more predictable, consistent and transparent rotational system for the designation of the title. The 1999 Decision introduced an “order of entitlement”, whereby each year one Member State would be entitled to nominate one or more cities to the European Parliament, the Council, the Commission and the Committee of the Regions. The 1999 Decision also maintained the possibility for non-Member States to nominate candidates for the ECoC title. Nominations received each year (from Member States and non-Member States) were to be considered by a selection panel composed of seven leading independent experts in the cultural sector, which would then issue a report on the nomination or nominations judged against the objectives and characteristics of the ECoC Action. On the basis of this report, the Parliament would then issue an opinion to the Commission, which would then make a recommendation to the Council. The Council, acting on this recommendation would then officially designate the city (or cities) in question as European Capital of Culture for the year for which it was nominated. The 1999 Decision was amended in 2005 in order to integrate the ten Member States that acceded to the EU in 2004.¹²

Under the process introduced by the 1999 Decision, three cities were designated for 2010 – Essen for the Ruhr (Germany), Pécs (Hungary) and Istanbul (Turkey) - this last city being designated under the terms of Article 4 which allowed for the participation of cities from non-Member States.¹³ Whilst a further Decision was made in 2006, this specifically stated that for the 2010, 2011 and 2012 titles, the 1999 Decision would apply in respect of the criteria relating to the cultural programmes, unless the cities chose to base their programmes on the criteria in the 2006 Decision. However, the 2010 ECoC would be co-financed and monitored according to new processes set out in the 2006 Decision. Future ECoC will be designated, co-financed and monitored according to new processes set out in the 2006 Decision (although transitional provisions for selection and designation were applied in the case of the 2011 and 2012 titles). For example, calls for submission of applications at national level and a European selection panel have been organised for the 2013 onwards.

The 2006 Decision also introduced a new EU funding mechanism for the ECoC in the form of the “Melina Mercouri Prize”: a conditional prize of €1.5m to be awarded to designated cities before the start of the year, on the basis of the reports delivered by the monitoring panel. This prize was awarded for the first time to the 2010 titles.

At the same time that the ECoC has been in operation, two other important policy developments have taken place: first, the introduction of the EU’s Culture Programme 2007-13, which co-finances cultural actions with a European dimension across the whole range of artistic and cultural fields, including transnational co-operation projects, literary translations, European prizes and organisations active at European and international level in the field of culture and which also provides the funding for the Melina Mercouri Prize during the current programming period; second, the adoption by the Commission in 2007

¹¹ Decision No 1419/1999/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 May 1999 establishing a Community action for the European Capital of Culture event for the years 2005 to 2019.

¹² Decision 649/2005/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 13 April 2005 amending Decision No 1419/1999/EC establishing a Community action for the European Capital of Culture event for the years 2005 to 2019.

¹³ Under the terms of the 1999 Decision, two other cities in non-Member States had previously been awarded the title – Sibiu, Romania 2007 (though the start of its title year in fact coincided with Romania’s entry to the EU) and Stavanger, Norway 2008.

of a *European agenda for culture in a globalising world*¹⁴ which defines three broad objectives for the EU's interventions in the field of culture:

- promotion of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue;
- promotion of culture as a catalyst for creativity in the framework of the Lisbon Strategy for growth and jobs; and
- promotion of culture as a vital element in the Union's international relations

Although the European Agenda was adopted only after the 2006 Decision establishing the ECoC Action in its current form, it forms a vital part of the political context within which the ECoC Action has been implemented. In particular, the Agenda reinforces the overall objective of the ECoC Action, with its focus on cultural diversity and mutual acquaintance between European citizens (intercultural dialogue). It also gives explicit recognition to a dimension of culture that the ECoC have increasingly emphasised over the years, i.e. the wider social and economic benefits that culture can generate.

2.1.2 Objectives of the Action

In approaching the evaluation, the starting point for this evaluation has been the legal basis for the 2010 ECoC. As noted in the ToR, this is Decisions 1419/1999/EC and 1622/2006/EC of the European Parliament and the Council. Amongst other things, the 1999 Decision sets out the overall objective of the Action (Article 1) and a set of objectives that each ECoC must address (Article 3).

Table 2.1 Articles 1 and 3 of the 1999 Decision

Article 1
'...to highlight the richness and diversity of European cultures and the features they share, as well as to promote greater mutual acquaintance between European citizens'
Article 3
The nomination shall include a cultural project of European dimension, based principally on cultural cooperation, in accordance with the objectives and action provided for by Article 151 of the Treaty. The submission shall specify how the nominated city intends: • to highlight artistic movements and styles shared by Europeans which it has inspired or to which it has made a significant contribution • to promote events involving people active in culture from other cities in Member States and leading to lasting cultural cooperation, and to foster their movement within the European Union • to support and develop creative work, which is an essential element in any cultural policy • to ensure the mobilisation and participation of large sections of the population and, as a consequence, the social impact of the action and its continuity beyond the year of the events • to encourage the reception of citizens of the Union and the widest possible dissemination of the various events by employing all forms of multimedia • to promote dialogue between European cultures and those from other parts of the world and, in that spirit to optimise the opening up to, and understanding of others, which are fundamental cultural values to exploit the historic heritage, urban architecture and quality of life in the city.

¹⁴ Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions on a European agenda for culture in a globalizing world; COM(2007) 242 final.

We must also note the general and specific objectives laid down by the 2006 Decision. The general objective of the 2006 Decision reiterates the overall objective of the 1999 Decision, whilst the specific objectives consist of criteria relating to “the European Dimension” and “City and Citizens”.

General objective

The overall aim of the Action is to highlight the richness and diversity of European cultures and the features they share, as well as to promote greater mutual acquaintance between European citizens.

Specific objectives

- I. As regards ‘the European Dimension’, the programme shall:
 - foster cooperation between cultural operators, artists and cities from the relevant Member States and other Member States in any cultural sector;
 - highlight the richness of cultural diversity in Europe;
 - bring the common aspects of European cultures to the fore
- II. As regards ‘City and Citizens’ the programme shall:
 - foster the participation of the citizens living in the city and its surroundings and raise their interest as well as the interest of citizens from abroad;
 - be sustainable and be an integral part of the long-term cultural and social development of the city.

In addition, the evaluation of the 2007-08 ECoC found that ECoC had over the years adopted a third broad objective, i.e. that of “*supporting social and economic development through culture*”. In this context “culture” covers both cultural programmes and associated infrastructure developments. This objective brings to the fore elements already contained in other parts of the 1999 and 2006 Decisions.

2.2 Conceptual framework

In developing our approach to the evaluation, we took as our starting point the DG Budget model that is the basis for all evaluations carried out at the present time for DG EAC. Under this model, clear links are established between high-level global and intermediate objectives (generally reflecting wider policy goals) and specific and operational objectives at the level of the intervention itself. This ‘hierarchy of objectives’ is directly linked to the typology of effects used in EU evaluation theory, whereby:

- Operational objectives specify outputs directly produced/supplied through the implementation process;
- Specific objectives specify the short-term results that occur at the level of direct beneficiaries/recipients of assistance;
- Intermediate objectives specify short to medium-term effects (or intermediate impacts) on both direct and indirect beneficiaries/recipients of assistance; and
- Global objectives specify longer term and more diffuse effects (or general impacts).

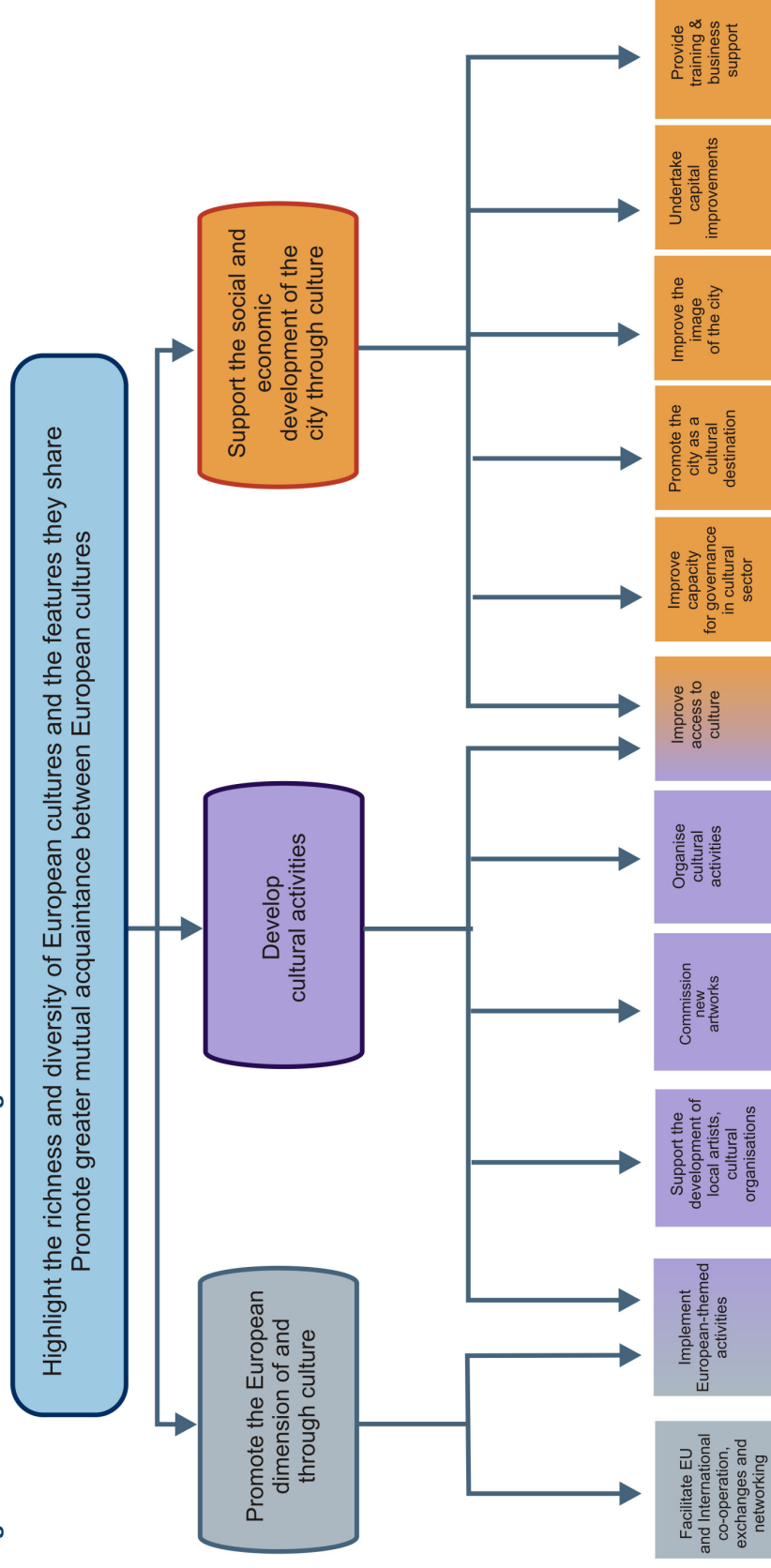
As recommended by the Terms of Reference (ToR), the intervention logic and indicators of the 2007-08 and 2009 evaluation were applied to this evaluation. The experience of the 2007-08 and 2009 evaluations

suggested that the somewhat rigid DG Budget model needed to be applied flexibly in the context of the ECoC, in which an EU-level hierarchy of objectives was not fully developed and in which each ECoC was given considerable freedom to define their own objectives and implement their programme of activities. Our approach was thus to derive common sets of specific and operational objectives using the elements of Article 3 and a detailed examination of the objectives of the ECoC in question. Although each ECoC has a different set of objectives, it becomes clear from an inspection of the objectives that they (not surprisingly) cover similar territory: differences between them are a question of emphasis within a more or less common set of objectives rather than fundamental differences, although this clearly results in a very different 'spin' placed on the ECoC and what it might achieve within very different contexts.¹⁵

The intervention logic is shown in summary form in Figure 2.1 below. It includes three main specific objectives and nine operational ones, reflecting the breadth of actions taken by the ECoC. The diagram indicates the main logical connections between these objectives, and it should be noticed that each specific objective does not have a separate set of operational objectives through which they were designed to be achieved - there is overlap. In particular, we have indicated that the operational objective of implementing European-themed activities relates strongly to the specific objectives of both developing cultural activities and promoting the European dimension; and improving access to culture to both developing cultural activities and supporting social and economic development.

¹⁵ It should be stressed that we are seeing this very much from the point of view of carrying out an evaluation using a pre-set model (albeit applied flexibly) and a set of criteria that – as always – have to be laid over the subject matter of the evaluation. Clearly there is enormous variety across the ECOC whose complexity and multiple objectives and outcomes, some have argued, 'makes judgements of overall success and the merits of one city against another superficial and misleading' (Palmer/Rae Associates, 2004, p39). Clearly our task here is not to compare cities in this way, but it is to try to judge overall success in order that the accountability function can be fulfilled.

Figure 2.1 Generic ECoC Intervention Logic



Having defined the objectives and set out the connections between them, the next task was to determine a logical set of intended effects that would have flowed from them. Table 2.2 provides this, identifying for each specific objective the relevant operational objectives and sets of corresponding outputs, results and impacts. It should be noted that for the purpose of this table we assigned an operational objective to only one specific objective, so it needs to be seen together with the intervention logic diagram. Similarly, the table also simplifies the linkages that would exist in reality between the operational objectives and their outputs, results and impacts; again, the table is schematic and shows the main links.

Table 2.2 Table of objectives and intended effects

SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES	OPERATIONAL OBJECTIVES	OUTPUTS	RESULTS	IMPACTS
Promote the European dimension of and through culture	Implement activities with a specific European theme (diversity and commonalities)	Events with European themes	Effects on participants – more aware of European diversity and common cultural heritage	More cultural activities taking place with a European theme More European outlook of city residents
	Facilitate international exchanges and create international networking structures	Individuals and organisations on exchanges Transnational activities	Effects on participants – more likely to participate in exchanges in future	Sustainable platform for international cooperation established
Develop cultural activities	Support the development of local artists and cultural organisations	Individuals/organisations receiving support	Larger/stronger/more skilled sector	International/national profile and importance of city's cultural sector
	Commission new artworks and encourage new forms of cultural expression	New artworks New forms of cultural expression	Ongoing process/trend for stimulating new artworks / forms of cultural expression	Recognised & ongoing contribution to artistic innovation
	Organise cultural events, activities and projects	Cultural events, activities and projects Individuals accessing events, activities and projects	Positive effects on participants	More cultural activity taking place on on-going basis / Step change in vibrancy of cultural scene
Support the social and economic development of the city through culture	Improve access to culture	Events, activities and projects to widen participation and improve access to culture Individuals from target groups accessing activities, events and projects New approaches to participation Volunteering activities	Positive effects on participants More people from target groups accessing culture	Step change in cultural participation

SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES	OPERATIONAL OBJECTIVES	OUTPUTS	RESULTS	IMPACTS
	Improve the capacity for governance in the culture sector	Effective delivery mechanisms	Greater engagement with the cultural sector	Sustainable platform for cultural activities established
	Promote the city as a cultural destination nationally and internationally (especially in the EU)	Marketing campaigns to promote the city and its cultural programme to visitors and tourists (including those specifically stressing the European dimension) and activities to improve the visitor experience	Increase in visitors and tourism (from within country, EU and outside EU)	City recognised internationally (and especially in the EU) as a cultural destination
	Improve image of the city	Information/promotion activities focussed on improving image of the city (including city branding)	Residents' perceptions and media coverage more positive	Improved civic pride and image (internally and externally)
	Undertake capital improvements to cultural infrastructure	New and refurbished facilities	Increased physical capacity for cultural events	Improved cultural and tourist offering
	Provide training and business support in the cultural field	Individuals and businesses trained, supported	Stronger businesses, higher skills levels	Greater economic success of cultural sector

Finally, Table 2.3 presents indicators that were piloted for each of the types of intended effect and their potential data sources. These take into account state-of-art academic work, notably the work of the European Capital of Culture Policy Group.¹⁶ Particular account was taken of the impact of the ECoC on the socio-economic development of the cities, as far as the data gathered by the cities allows. The data sources in Table 2.3 show that the evaluation was heavily reliant on information already gathered by the ECoC themselves and/or the views of stakeholders. Moreover, it should be noted that not all indicators applied to all ECoC, since each ECoC was free to strike its own balance in the emphasis placed on different objectives and thus featured its own particular mix of activities against each operational objective. For each ECoC, a "table of effects" includes evidence against the indicators which was made available by the ECoC themselves (see Annex). The tables of effects in the Annex provide the link from the indicators below (Table 2.3) to the reports for each ECoC (sections 3, 4 and 5). Given the number of indicators (and the fact that data was not available for each indicator across all three cities), we present in the conclusions section of this report a selection of what we consider to be the most important

¹⁶ International Framework of good practice in research and delivery of the European Capital of Culture Programme; Key recommendations from the European Capitals of Culture Policy Group (2009-10)

indicators.¹⁷ This subset will thus offer an overall picture of the Action as a whole, as well as a degree of comparison between the individual ECoC.

Table 2.3 Table of effects, indicators and data sources

Output / Result / Impact	Pilot indicators	Data source / evaluation collection tools
Outputs		
Individuals/organisations receiving support	Number of local artists and organisations supported	Review of ECoC cultural programme Interviews with stakeholders
New artworks / forms of cultural expression	Number / value of original artworks commissioned Number of performances / display of new commissions	Review of ECoC cultural programme Interviews with stakeholders
Cultural events, activities, projects	€ value of cultural programmes No. events (managed, funded or branded by the ECoC)	Review of ECoC cultural programme Interviews with stakeholders
Individuals accessing in cultural events, activities and projects	Audiences at events/exhibitions Number of active participants in cultural activities	Review of ECoC documents Interviews with stakeholders
Events with a European theme	Number of cultural events/activities with a European theme Number of cultural events/activities featuring artists from other countries	Review of ECoC cultural programme Interviews with stakeholders
Individuals and organisations on exchanges	Number of individuals or organisations undertaking exchanges	Review of ECoC documents Interviews with stakeholders
Transnational activities	Number of transnational partnership projects	Review of ECoC documents Interviews with stakeholders
New approaches to improving access / widening participation in culture	Number of people accessing cultural events (or new genres of cultural events) for the first time Number of individuals from target groups accessing cultural events (or new genres of cultural events) for the first time Number of schools involved in ECoC projects Number of school pupils involved in ECoC projects Number of cultural events featuring cultures of minorities and marginalised groups	Review of ECoC cultural programme Interviews with stakeholders
Effective delivery mechanism	Inclusive and effective consultation process Representative partnership Board of key stakeholders	Review of ECoC documents Interviews with

¹⁷ See Table 6.1

Output / Result / Impact	Pilot indicators	Data source / evaluation collection tools
	Dedicated delivery body	stakeholders
Marketing campaigns to promote the city and its cultural programme to visitors and tourists (including those specifically stressing the European dimension) and activities to improve the visitor experience	Number of international promotional activities (e.g. events attended, advertisements in international media)	Review of ECoC documents Interviews with stakeholders
Information/promotion activities focussed on improving image of the city (including city branding)	Numbers/types/quality of activities and merchandise products	Review of ECoC documents Interviews with stakeholders
New/refurbished facilities	Number of new/refurbished facilities € value of investment	Review of ECoC cultural programme Interviews with stakeholders
Individuals / businesses receiving training and support	Number of cultural employees receiving training Number of cultural businesses receiving business support Number of non-cultural businesses receiving support	Review of ECoC documents Interviews with stakeholders
Results		
Larger/stronger more skilled cultural sector	Number/size of cultural sector organisations Diversity of cultural sector organisations Number of employees Skill levels of cultural sector	Review of ECoC cultural programme Interviews with stakeholders
Ongoing process/trend for stimulating new artworks / forms of cultural expression	New works commissioned after title year New/stronger culture of commissioning Richer ongoing programme/life of cultural activity in the city New/emerging cultural activities/sectors	Review of ECoC cultural programme Review of ECoC documents Interviews with stakeholders
Positive effects on participants in cultural activities, events and projects	Participants reporting positive experience Peer reception of activities, events and projects	Quantitative Data Review of ECoC documents Interviews with stakeholders
Effects on participants - more aware of European diversity and common cultural heritage	Participants reporting increased awareness Increase in number of cultural activities with a European dimension (post-ECoC compared to pre-ECoC)	Quantitative Data Review of ECoC documents Interviews with stakeholders
Effects on participants - more likely to participate in exchanges in future	Long-term increase in / ongoing co-operation with cultural bodies abroad Ongoing partnership with other European cities	Quantitative Data Review of ECoC documents

Output / Result / Impact	Pilot indicators	Data source / evaluation collection tools
		Interviews with stakeholders
Positive effects on participants in activities, events and projects to widen participation	Participants reporting positive experience	Quantitative Data Review of ECoC documents Interviews with stakeholders
More people from target groups accessing culture	Target groups continuing to access culture Ongoing activity to improve access and widen participation	Quantitative Data Review of ECoC documents Interviews with stakeholders
Greater engagement with the cultural sector	Continued operation of the ECoC organising body (or similar) Improved marketing/promotion of cultural strategy/activities Improved management of cultural strategies/programmes in the city	Review of ECoC documents Interviews with stakeholders
Increase in visitors and tourism	Increased numbers of visitors Increased expenditure Increased hotel occupancy	Quantitative Data Review of ECoC documents Interviews with stakeholders
Residents' perceptions and media coverage more positive	% public awareness of ECoC branding % improvement in positive opinion of city on the part of residents % improvement in awareness / positive opinion of the city internationally	Opinion surveys (already undertaken by ECoC) Review of ECoC documents Interviews with stakeholders
Increased physical capacity for cultural events	Better cultural facilities / infrastructure Better tourist facilities / infrastructure Better other facilities / infrastructure	Review of ECoC cultural programme Interviews with stakeholders
Stronger businesses, higher skills levels	Business reporting positive benefits Employees reporting benefits Skills data for the sector	Interviews with stakeholders at all levels Studies undertaken or commissioned by ECoC
Impacts		
International/national profile and importance of city's cultural sector	ECoC recognised as a flagship / focal points of European cultural interest Positive media coverage Positive results of resident opinion surveys	Review of EU-level documents Interviews with stakeholders at all levels
Recognised & ongoing contribution to artistic innovation	Positive media coverage (local, national, international) Recognition of national / international experts Richer ongoing programme/life of cultural activity in the city	Interviews with local stakeholders Studies undertaken or commissioned by ECoC
More cultural activity taking place on on-going	Long-term increase in number of cultural activities	Quantitative data Interviews with local

Output / Result / Impact	Pilot indicators	Data source / evaluation collection tools
basis / Step change in vibrancy of cultural scene	Positive media coverage	stakeholders Studies undertaken or commissioned by ECoC
More cultural activities taking place with a European theme	Long-term increase in cultural activities with a European theme Number or % of individuals or organisations continuing to participate in exchanges and networking	Quantitative data Interviews with local stakeholders Studies undertaken or commissioned by ECoC
More European outlook of city residents	Local media coverage Residents and stakeholders reporting they are/feel more "European" Residents and stakeholders reporting that the city is/feels more "European"	Opinion surveys (already undertaken by ECoC) Interviews with local stakeholders Studies undertaken or commissioned by ECoC
Sustainable platform for international cooperation established	Ongoing partnership / strategy for transnational co-operation with other ECoC Ongoing partnership / strategy for transnational co-operation with other cities	Review of ECoC documents Interviews with stakeholders
Step change in cultural participation	Long-term increase in audience numbers Long-term increase in participation activities	Quantitative data Interviews with local stakeholders Studies undertaken or commissioned by ECoC
Sustainable platform for cultural activities established	Continued operation of the ECoC organising body (or similar) Improved marketing/promotion of cultural strategy/activities Improved management of cultural strategies/programmes in the city	Review of ECoC documents Interviews with stakeholders
City recognised internationally (and especially in the EU) as a cultural destination	City moves up international rankings for popularity as cultural destination Positive media coverage	Interviews with stakeholders at all levels Studies undertaken or commissioned by ECoC Other studies
Improved civic pride and image (internally and externally)	Resident opinion surveys Stakeholders feedback on identity/self-confidence Positive media coverage	Interviews with stakeholders at all levels Studies undertaken or commissioned by ECoC
Improved cultural and tourist offering	Increase in large and international events and activities hosted by the city	Interviews with local stakeholders Studies undertaken or commissioned by ECoC
Greater economic success of cultural sector	Larger/stronger/newly-emerging cultural industries sector (number of jobs, companies, etc.) Revenue of cultural sector GVA of cultural sector	Interviews with local stakeholders Studies undertaken or commissioned by ECoC

2.3 Evaluation Questions

The Terms of Reference (ToR) recommended that the evaluation should provide answers to the questions also addressed by the 2007-08 evaluation, as shown in Table 2.4. The questions are grouped under the headings of relevance, efficiency and effectiveness in line with the DG Budget model.

As in the 2007-08 evaluation, in considering the evaluation questions, it was clear that some apply more to ECoC and others to the EU level. We have thus indicated for each question in Table 2.4 the level at which the conclusions drawn will mainly apply. Table 2.4 also indicates the main source of data for each question. As can be seen, this is most significant in relation to the EU level questions where conclusions were drawn from a mix of evidence drawn from the ECoC, from a "meta-evaluation" exercise (see Section 2.4 Methodology) which enabled us to draw generalised conclusions in some cases from across all three ECoC, and from additional research at EU level. An important consideration throughout has been that of *timing*; in answering questions at ECoC level, we have had to take into account potential changes in each ECoC's objectives between those set out in the application and those pursued in practice during the title year. Moreover, whilst the 1999 Decision forms the reference point for the ECoC under consideration, we have had to note a number of changes already introduced into the implementation of the ECoC Action by the 2006 Decision and applicable to the 2010 ECoC onwards.

Table 2.4 Catalogue of evaluation questions

	Evaluation Question	Level	Data sources		
			ECoC	Meta-level evaluation	EU-level research
Relevance					
EQ1	What was the main motivation behind the city bidding to become a European Capital of Culture?	ECoC	X		
EQ2	What was the process of determining objectives? Was there a process of consultation in each city to define aims and objectives?	ECoC	X		
EQ3	What were the objectives of the city in being an ECoC? (refer to list in intervention logic) What was the relative importance of each objective?	ECoC	X		
EQ4	Have any specific objectives of the ECoC event been related to social impacts?	ECoC	X		
EQ5	In this connection, did the objectives of the ECoC event include reaching out to all sectors of society, including the excluded, disadvantaged, disabled people and minorities?	ECoC	X		
EQ6	To what extent have the specific themes/orientations of the cultural programme proved to be relevant	ECoC	X		

	Evaluation Question	Level	Data sources		
			ECoC	Meta-level evaluation	EU-level research
	to the objectives defined?				
EQ7	To what extent were the objectives consistent with the Decision and with the ECoC's own application? (special focus on the European dimension)	ECoC	X		
EQ8	To what extent were the activities consistent with the ECoC's own objectives, with the ECoC's application and with the Decision? (special focus on the European dimension)	ECoC	X		
EQ9	How was the European dimension reflected by the themes put forward by the ECoC event and in terms of cooperation at European level? How did the Capitals of Culture seek to make the European dimension visible?	ECoC	X		
EQ10	As far as the conclusions made for the three cities allow it, to what extent have the general, specific and operational objectives of the Community Action for the European Capital of Culture have been proved relevant to Article 167 of the EC Treaty?	EU	X	X	X
EQ11	As far as the conclusions made for the three cities allows it, to what extent has the Action proved to be complementary to other EU initiatives in the field of culture?	EU	X	X	X
Efficiency					
EQ12	How have the organisational models of the formal governing Board and operational structures played a role in the European Capital of Culture? What role have the Board and operational structures played in the European Capital of Culture's implementation? At what stage were these structures established?	ECoC	X		
EQ13	Who chaired the Board and what was his/her experience? What were the key success and failure elements related to the work of the	ECoC	X		

	Evaluation Question	Level	Data sources		
			ECoC	Meta-level evaluation	EU-level research
	Board and operational structure used and personnel involved?				
EQ14	Has an artistic director been included into the operational structure and how was he/she appointed? What were the key success and failure elements related to the work of the artistic director and personnel involved?	ECoC	X		
EQ15	What was the process of designing the programme?	ECoC	X		
EQ16	How were activities selected and implemented?	ECoC	X		
EQ17	How did the delivery mechanism contribute to the achievement of outputs?	ECoC	X		
EQ18	To what extent has the communication and promotion strategy been successful in/contributed to the promotion of city image/profile, promotion of the ECoC event, awareness raising of the European dimension, promotion of all events and attractions in the city?	ECoC	X		
EQ19	To what extent has the communication and promotion strategy successfully reached the communication's target groups at local, regional, national, European and international levels?	ECoC	X		
EQ20	What was the process of securing the financial inputs?	ECoC	X		
EQ21	What was the total amount of resources used for each ECoC event? What was the final financial out-turn of the year?	ECoC	X		
EQ22	What were the sources of financing and the respective importance of their contribution to the total?	ECoC	X		
EQ23	To what extent were the inputs consistent with the Action and with the application? (special focus on the European dimension)	ECoC	X		
EQ24	What was the total expenditure strictly for the implementation of the cultural programme of the year	ECoC	X		

	Evaluation Question	Level	Data sources		
			ECoC	Meta-level evaluation	EU-level research
	(operational expenditure)? What is the proportion of the operational expenditure in the total expenditure for the ECoC event?				
EQ25	What proportion of expenditure was used for infrastructure (cultural and tourism infrastructure, including renovation)	ECoC	X		
EQ26	What were the sources of funding for the ECoC event? How much came from the European Commission structural funds?	ECoC	X		
EQ27	Was the total size of the budget sufficient for reaching a critical mass in terms of impacts? Could the same results have been achieved with less funding? Could the same results have been achieved if the structure of resources and their respective importance was different?	ECoC EU	X	X	X
EQ28	To what extent have the human resources deployed for preparation and implementation of the ECoC event been commensurate with its intended outputs and outcomes?	ECoC EU	X	X	X
EQ29	Could the use of other policy instruments or mechanisms have provided greater cost-effectiveness? As a result, could the total budget for the ECoC event be considered appropriate and proportional to what the action set out to achieve?	EU	X	X	X
EQ30	To what extent have the mechanisms applied by the Commission for selecting the European Capital of Culture and the subsequent implementation influenced the results of the ECoC event?	ECoC EU	X	X	X

	Evaluation Question	Level	Data sources		
			ECoC	Meta-level evaluation	EU-level research
Effectiveness					
EQ31	Provide typology of outputs, results and possible impacts of the action at different levels (European, national, regional etc.)	-			
EQ32	How did the delivery mechanism improve management of culture in the city during the ECoC event? (explore role of Board, Chair, Artistic Director, decision-making, political challenges, etc.)	ECoC	X		
EQ33	What quantitative indicators (number of visitors, overnight stays, cultural participation of people, etc.) of the social, tourist and broader economic impacts of the event have been gathered by the ECoC?	ECoC	X		
EQ34	To what extent did the ECoC achieve the outputs hoped for by the city and as set out in the application (refer to list in the intervention logic)?	ECoC	X		
EQ35	To what extent has the ECoC event been successful in attaining the objectives set (general, specific and operational) and in achieving the intended results as set out in the application or others (refer to list in the intervention logic)?	ECoC	X		
EQ36	To what extent have the ECoC been successful in achieving the intended impacts as set out in the application or others (refer to list in the intervention logic)?	ECoC	X		
EQ37	To what extent have specific objectives related to social impacts been met?	ECoC	X		
EQ38	To what extent were the objectives related to reaching out to all	ECoC	X		

	Evaluation Question	Level	Data sources		
			ECoC	Meta-level evaluation	EU-level research
	sectors of society, including the excluded, disadvantaged, disabled and minorities, met?				
EQ39	What were the most significant economic outcomes of the Capital of Culture experience?	ECoC	X		
EQ40	What have been the impacts of the ECoC event on regional development?	ECoC	X		
EQ41	Can impacts on tourism be identified? What was the total number of visitors (from abroad and from the country) to the ECoC event: before the title year, during the title year, after the title year?	ECoC	X		
EQ42	Are there any instances where the ECoC event has exceeded initial expectations? What positive effects has this had?	ECoC EU	X	X	X
EQ43	Where expectations have not been met, what factors have hindered the development of the action?	ECoC EU	X	X	X
EQ44	To what extent has the implementation of the action contributed to the achievement of the objectives of Article 151 of the EC Treaty?	EU		X	X
EQ45	As far as the conclusions made for the 3 cities allow, what is the Community added value of the European Capital of Culture?	EU		X	X
EQ46	What lessons can be learnt in terms of how to deliver ECoC effectively which might have wider applicability to future ECoC events?	EU	X	X	
Sustainability					
EQ47	Which of the current activities or elements of the action are likely to continue and in which form after the Community support is	ECoC	X		

	Evaluation Question	Level	Data sources		
			ECoC	Meta-level evaluation	EU-level research
	withdrawn?				
EQ48	Has any provision been made to continue and follow up the cultural programme of the ECoC event after the closure?	ECoC	X		
EQ49	How will the city continue to manage its long-term cultural development following the ECoC event?	ECoC	X		
EQ50	What will be the role of the operational structure after the end of the ECoC event and how will the organisational structure change?	ECoC	X		
EQ51	What has been the contribution of the ECoC event to improved management of cultural development in the city? (in the long-term)	ECoC	X		
EQ52	What are the likely impacts of the ECoC event on the long term cultural development of the city?	ECoC	X		
EQ53	What are the likely impacts of the ECoC event on the long term social development of the city?	ECoC	X		
EQ54	What are the likely impacts of the ECoC event on the long term urban development of the city?	ECoC	X		
EQ55	What lessons have been learnt from the 2010 ECoC in terms of achieving sustainable effects that might be of general applicability to future ECoC events?	EU	X	X	

2.4 Methodology

The evaluation methodology was developed in light of our assertion that the evaluation should primarily consider the ECoC *discretely and in their own particular context* in the first instance, before going on to draw generalised conclusions (illustrated by reference to the cities) and that the evaluation will contribute to the debate about a new legal basis after 2019.

2.4.1 Data sources

Data was gathered at two levels: a small amount of data at EU-level; and more extensive data from the ECoC themselves. The key sources were as follows:

- *Background literature at European level*; this included key EU policy and legislative documents relating to ECoC, which were essential in determining the evaluation questions and the criteria against which to evaluate the ECoC, notably the 1999 and 2006 Decisions; the reports of the selection panels; previous research into ECoC at European level, most notably, the Palmer/Rae Associates study produced in 2004 on behalf of the European Commission, as well as ECOTEC's evaluations of the 2007-08 and 2009 ECoC; academic literature relating to ECoC and the role of culture in cities more generally.
- *Background literature at ECoC-level*; this included the original applications and grant agreements covering the EU co-financing, as well as studies and reports commissioned or produced by the ECoC, events programmes, promotional materials and websites;
- *ECoC quantitative data*: in all three cases, data relating to number and type of cultural events, income and expenditure, visitor numbers and profile, etc. was recovered from either the ECoC's own reports or the ECoC co-ordination teams; surveys of audiences and/or residents, which provided valuable evidence; these were treated as key data sources and provided evidence to 'populate' our own evaluation model, for example, in terms of basic data on outputs and results, as well as on the views of visitors and residents, which we were not able to gather as primary data within the scope of this evaluation.
- *Interviews of managing teams*; the delivery agencies in all three cities were still in operation at the time of the evaluation and we were able to interview the key individuals whilst still in post; in most cases, the individuals involved, once identified and contacted, proved co-operative indeed were keen to share openly their experiences of planning and implementing the cultural programmes.
- *Consultation of key stakeholders and cultural operators*; interviews with key stakeholders were essential in that they offered an alternative and in-depth perspective on the ECoC to that offered by the delivery agencies; they allowed us to explore particular issues in more depth, for example, relating to the effectiveness of the governance structure, or the strength of artistic direction; key interviewees included municipalities, chambers of commerce, tourist offices, national ministries and cultural operators.

The full list of data sources is presented as a bibliography as an annex to this report. It is important to note that, as part of the interim reporting stage, Ecorys requested from each ECoC a check on the data being used to address each evaluation topic. A template was sent to each ECoC showing the data sources used (covering reports, data sets, interviewees, etc.) asking for confirmation that the dataset was complete and/or for any gaps to be filled.

2.4.2 Key research tasks

Drawing on these sources of data, the research involved the following key stages:

- Inception and background research, including the refinement of the conceptual framework and methodology, as well as the review of policy documents and academic literature;
- Desk research on all three ECoC; the purpose here was to gather basic factual information about the activity undertaken, in order for the research team to become familiar with the cultural programme in each city but also to serve as a source of evidence to inform the later analysis and underpin any conclusions.
- Fieldwork in all three cities; this stage of the evaluation took the form of telephone interviews, consultation of local, regional and national stakeholders and two visits to each city. Interview questions

focused less on *what* activities took place (this information had been gathered by the desk research) and more on the *results and impact* of that activity, in the view of the stakeholders. In short, the interviews aimed to answer key questions related to the relevance, efficiency and effectiveness of each city's programme.

- Analysis and final reporting, including a comparative review and meta-evaluation, which considered the conclusions emerging from all three ECoC, compared and contrasted approaches, and verified the quality of our own research; all three ECoC were invited to comment on matters of factual accuracy before the report was finalised.

Having followed this methodology, we now present the findings of the research in the form of a discrete report for each ECoC, conclusions and recommendations at EU level and a post-script on leaving a legacy.



Zollner

Essen



3.0 Essen for the Ruhr

3.1 Background

3.1.1 The region

The Ruhr is a largely urban area in the State of North Rhine-Westphalia, consisting of an agglomeration of formerly industrial cities of which Essen and Dortmund are the largest, followed by Duisburg and Bochum. The region has a polycentric urban form and fragmented governance, consisting of 53 municipalities and a population of over 5 million people. The cities have no significant green spaces between them and if seen as a single metropolis it is the EU's third largest after London and Paris.

The region saw massive industrial development in the 19th century around the industries of iron, coal and steel making it the largest industrial region in Europe and attracting workers from across the continent. Given its industrial significance, the region was heavily bombed during the Second World War, with some cities almost totally destroyed (one estimated the level of destruction at 97%). After the war the city's coal and steel industries again provided a major economic impetus to the 'Wirtschaftswunder' of the Federal Republic of Germany, but also the development of the European economy and European integration, which started with the European Coal and Steel Community. The Ruhr also received a second wave of migration at this time, with large numbers of 'Gastarbeiter' coming from Southern Europe and Turkey, and creating a strong multi-cultural legacy. This ethnic and linguistic diversity and tradition of hard, manual work have combined to create a unique sense of identity amongst residents of the Ruhr, built around a shared 'language' that is more of a fusion than dialect of German.

In common with many of Europe's industrial heartlands the area saw rapid and devastating industrial decline stemming from structural economic changes associated with the end of coal mining and the steel crisis of the 1970s. This created high levels of unemployment and out-migration, but also problems around the region's sense of function and self-confidence (exacerbated by a decentralised urban form and strong local affiliations) as well as its external image. This also left a legacy of obsolete industrial premises, pollution and a scarred landscape. However, the processes of environmental remediation and economic recovery are well under way, with the energy sector complemented by growing service sector, high-tech industries and creative economy.

3.1.2 Cultural sector

The Ruhr is home to a strong cultural sector, with some high quality institutions and offerings across the conurbation. The ECoC bid documentation lists the following assets.

- 100 concert halls
- 200 museums
- 120 theatres
- 100 cultural centres
- 250 festivals
- 19 universities
- 1,000 industrial monuments
- 1,000,000 football fans¹⁸

¹⁸ The Ruhr is home to several of Germany's largest and most successful football clubs, including BVB Dortmund and Schalke 04 in Gelsenkirchen.

Many of these institutions, such as the Museum Folkwang in Essen and the Bochum Schauspielhaus (playhouse/ theatre), have long been seen as strong cultural institutions and the Ruhr also has a long tradition of hosting cultural festivals, such as the Klavier-Festival Ruhr (Ruhr Piano Festival), Ruhrfestspiele Recklinghausen (Recklinghausen Theatre Festival) and the Ruhrtriennale linking art and industrial heritage. Despite this, our consultations have highlighted the fact that the Ruhr's cultural sector was not particularly well known in the rest of Germany or on the international stage. Furthermore it was not generally seen or marketed as a single set of assets, with limited co-operation between cultural promoters and organisations across the different cities. At the same time, the Ruhr lacked the required tourist infrastructure and integrated transport system that would enable people to take advantage of the cultural offer in neighbouring towns and cities.

The Ruhr is often described as a project or a laboratory, with new cultural forms and a creative economy emerging, often utilising former industrial sites. This creative economy was already becoming well-established in the region, with an estimated 13,000 companies, 70,000 employees and turnover of € 8.2m.¹⁹

3.2 Cultural programme

3.2.1 Original aims and objectives

The decision to apply for the ECoC title should be seen as part of a longer process of development in the Ruhr, beginning perhaps with the Internationale Bauausstellung Emscher Park (International Building Exhibition or IBA) between 1989 and 1999. This sought to develop approaches for the re-use of land destroyed by industry and former industrial buildings, supporting 120 projects that explored the ecological, economic and cultural redevelopment of a large part of the north of the Ruhr region. This has played an important role in demonstrating the potential of culture to support a wider transformation and provided a significant impulse for the decision to bid for ECoC.

This long-term process of transformation has been further supported through the development and implementation of the cultural festivals mentioned in section 1.1.2, with a number of consultations emphasising the importance of the Ruhrtriennale, a series of three-year long festivals with the first taking place between 2002 and 2004. The idea of linking an international arts festival with the industrial heritage of the Ruhr emerged during the IBA and it has since developed into a high-profile and well-regarded event. The current incarnation of Ruhrtriennale covers the period 2009 to 2011 and explores the tensions between art and creativity through the prism of Jewish, Islamic and Buddhist culture.

The original aim of those behind the ECoC bid was not to develop arts and culture for their own sake, but to use them as a unifying force, in order to achieve wider social and economic goals. These include:

- Promoting community cohesion and the integration of immigrant or ethnic groups, the need for which has been intensified by demographic changes creating a younger and more diverse population;
- Supporting economic regeneration after the end of coal and steel, through the creative economy and connecting culture with other disciplines such as science and education;
- Improving perceptions of the region and updating images, seeking to increase levels of tourism;
- Helping to bring the Ruhr together as a single metropolis, as a new type of decentralised post-industrial conurbation;
- Promoting new governance structures and networks; and

¹⁹ From an interview, in process of checking original source for this data

- Supporting the creation of a unified metropolis in people's minds, nurturing local identity and boosting self-confidence.

Our consultations reinforced the importance of these final points, suggesting that the ECoC presented a way to bring people together (administrators, civil society and residents), uniting them behind a single aim and utilising the potential and strengths already in existence across the region. To achieve this, the ECoC programme would need to generate significant levels of interest in the programme and broad participation by residents, through a focus on everyday culture as lived and experienced by people in the Ruhr.

ECoC status would also lever in substantial infrastructure investments to improve the cultural, tourism and transport offer, and was linked to ongoing environmental improvements. This physical legacy was only one element of longer-term sustainability, with the title year presented in the context of longer term developments and cultural programmes.

3.2.2 Application

Discussions began in earnest in 2001, with meetings between the cultural directors of the five largest municipalities in the Ruhr. Although the bid was explicitly regional in nature, the legal basis for ECoC required a single city to act as the main co-ordinator and leader of the event. By 2004, after a newspaper poll and discussions between members of the Regionalverband Ruhr (Ruhr Regional Association or RVR) it was decided that Essen would be the standard bearer, on behalf of the entire Ruhr region.

This "regional concept" would probably benefit from further clarification, as the Ruhr is not a region in the established geographical sense, either in terms of a sub-national administrative unit with separate cities and rural areas in between, neither is it a single city with a defined catchment area of linked suburbs and villages. However, it can perhaps be said that the Ruhr is (or at least is in the process of becoming) a new type of urban agglomeration, with a decentralised or polycentric urban form and very little undeveloped space between the major cities and towns.

Germany organised its own national competition before submitting bids at EU level. There were a total of 16 bids from German cities for European Capital of Culture 2010, and Essen for the Ruhr 2010 was subject to three selection rounds. This began with a regional competition in North Rhine-Westphalia against Cologne and Münster and continued with a national competition against nine other German cities. In March 2005, Essen for the Ruhr and Görlitz/Zgorzelec were nominated by the German jury and approved by Parliament before being submitted to the European institutions.

A number of reasons have been suggested for Essen for the Ruhr's success in the different competition stages. Local stakeholders commented that the Ruhr needed ECoC more than other cities ("we were hungrier" in the words of one team member), but also that places with greatest need, especially former industrial regions, would stand more of a chance of success in the national and European selection rounds. The fact that Essen for the Ruhr followed a regional approach was also felt to distinguish it from other bidders and meant that the Ruhr's application would have a wider, European significance as a role model for others.

The EU selection panel meeting of April 2006 considered the two German candidate cities submitted to the EU institutions, Essen for the Ruhr and Görlitz/Zgorzelec. Essen's underlying theme was "Change through culture - Culture through Change", with three key concepts: urbanism, identity and integration. These were to be transformed into three themes to structure the year and provide the basis for project selection: City of Possibilities; City of arts; and City of Cultures.

The bid had a strong spatial element, promoting regional development through culture, and sought to take advantage of the 1,000 plus industrial monuments, finding new cultural and economic uses. The region's approach to the regeneration and reinvention of post-industrial landscapes and societies was felt to have symbolic value as an example for Europe's other industrial regions. The region's 'place-making' aspirations were also important, and they sought to use the bid as a way to bring people, cities and institutions together, as well as creating and disseminating new (both internal and external) images of the Ruhr. This desire to encourage integration also had in mind the large communities (and growing numbers of young people) with a migration background. At the same time, it was clear from the bid that the whole project was managed and led by the city of Essen, and the project was named "Essen for the Ruhr", which meant that the title was held by the city of Essen, whilst involving the whole region, in line with Decision 1419/1999/EC.

The bid also had a strong international dimension, which was not about bringing high-profile international cultural operators to the Ruhr, but reinforcing the region's position at the heart of Europe and its international links.

The application sets out the ways in which ECoC would support the Ruhr's transition to a cultural metropolis, built around the following concepts:

Application concepts

A metropolis in the making, on the path to creating a new type of European metropolis, a quest for unity driven from the bottom up, using culture as the driving force

Culture as a motor, utilising industrial heritage, and linking it to a new cultural or creative economy and environmental remediation as an example to other European regions

A model for Europe, making the most of intercultural competences and tolerance to serve as a model for Europe at peace, enabling other regions to profit from experiences in using culture as an integrating force with MELEZ festival as an example

Exchange with Europe, strengthening alliances with European neighbours, co-productions, hosting European artists and other forms of cultural exchange such as TWINS 2010

European transit, exploring the Ruhr's position on Europe's major transit and migration routes

Creativity for Europe, the transformation from an industrial society to a society of creators and promoters, with culture as a motor for further transformation. Creative villages on former industrial sites

According to the panel report, Essen for the Ruhr was selected due to the innovative character of the programme and the great variety of projects and approaches. The panel saw the main challenge as using culture to regenerate an industrial region of 53 municipalities, 5.3 million people and 140 nationalities or ethnic groups and transform it into a new 'living metropolis'. Furthermore, Essen for the Ruhr would provide symbolic value of the role that culture needs to play in any European metropolis, through the transformation of what was once Europe's largest industrial region or "the coal pit" of Europe. Projects described as innovative included the "Flying City Hall", "The Invisible City" and "Melez" laboratory and festival (though the first and second of these were not subsequently implemented). The panel also recognised efforts to integrate the increasing numbers of young people with an immigration background through the use of culture and participation.

3.2.3 Changes to the objectives and themes

Analysis of programme materials shows that there were no significant changes to the objectives and themes between the selection of Essen for the Ruhr as ECoC for 2010 and the title year. Our consultations have suggested there was a general process of elaborating the overall programme from the “nucleus” provided by the application. This was probably assisted by the fact that Essen for the Ruhr’s bid was subject to a much rigorous multi-stage selection process (especially compared to the process in smaller Member States), which could only have meant that the Ruhr’s bid was better developed and required less ‘working up’ than is the case for many ECoC.

Alongside a general elaboration of artistic themes, content guidelines and objectives, a major development during this time was the promotion of the creative economy as a fourth artistic theme in its own right, with the final list as follows:

- City of Arts – identity
- City of Cultures – integration
- City of Possibilities – urban development
- City of Creativity – creative economy

The final hierarchy of objectives for Essen for the Ruhr 2010 is as follows:

	Application concepts
Leitmotiv	Change through culture – Culture through Change
Vision	On the way to / Becoming a cultural metropolis Ruhr 2021 – Europe’s new metropolis
Objectives	Distribute the image of a dynamic cultural metropolis world-wide
	Involve all citizens in cultural development
	Use the characteristics and commonalities of nations and cultures
	Permanently secure the industrial heritage for art and culture
	Invest in cultural education and facilities
	Encourage the avant-garde and independent scene
	Develop the creative economy
	Create models for Europe
	Drive the transformation from a conurbation to a polycentric metropolis

There were however a number of project ideas from the original application that could not be implemented in the final programme, at least in the originally foreseen, including the following:

- The Flying City Hall. This project sought to develop a mobile cultural civic hall that would travel around the region hosting the Capital of Culture Parliament. The costs associated with this were higher than anticipated.
- Invisible City. This planned to create new arenas for installations in tunnels and underground spaces, centred on the Zeche Zollverein World Heritage Site in Essen. This could not be implemented as

health and safety requirements would have restricted access, making the project less viable financially and meaning that the owner of the site was unwilling to take on long-term responsibility. However, this project was very popular with the national selection panel, leading to a formal complaint.

3.2.4 Activities during the development phase

One of the initial priorities in the development phase between 2006 and 2010 was the development of a suitable governance model, with particular focus on consultation and co-operation structures given the fact the ECoC would cover such a large area (53 towns and cities, with a population of 5.3 million people). However 2006 saw an (enforced) period of inactivity between the acceptance of Essen for the Ruhr's bid and the establishment of a legal basis for activity in November 2006.

The first monitoring and advisory meeting in December 2007 commended the co-operation structures that had been established (in the form of a network of representatives from all 53 cities, plus cultural, social and economic partners), stating that this was likely to continue to be of use after the title year. They also commented that this ambitious programme seemed to be well-developed, but asked about how the delivery agency was dealing with and satisfying the aspirations of 53 partner cities. In comparison with many other ECoC, communication and consultation played a major role in the success of Essen for the Ruhr, with building awareness and acceptance of ECoC amongst the general population felt to be a vital precondition for success. The monitoring panel also commented on the importance of the region's cultural diversity and the need for the ECoC to avoid a tokenistic approach to this issue.

The delivery agency – RUHR.2010 GmbH - was established in 2006. After extensive discussions, it was felt that the type of programme they wanted to create was too ambitious for one artistic director to manage, so the decision was taken to employ four high profile individuals each with a specific set of skills, who would work together on developing the programme. To begin the process of developing a programme, RUHR.2010 issued a general call for project ideas, receiving well over 2,000 applications which were many more than expected and creating a substantial amount of appraisal work. The general approach has been to use these applications as the starting point from which to construct a coherent cultural programme, by applying a stringent set of appraisal criteria.

Perhaps because of the size of the area covered and a desire to create a substantial body of activity during the title year, cultural activities were concentrated in the title year itself with little lead-in or momentum-building activity before 2010. Instead a great deal of emphasis was placed on using the opening ceremony at the Zollverein World Heritage Site (a former coal mine and coking plant complex) to generate interest amongst the public and media. By the time of the second monitoring and advisory meeting in June 2009, the panel praised the progress made, stable leadership and the novelty or innovative nature of the cultural programme. It also requested that the right title, "Essen for the Ruhr 2010", as presented from the very beginning, was used.

3.2.5 Financing

The original application set out a basic budget of € 48m, a development budget of € 60m (including match funding from other public and private sources) and targeted a final budget of € 78m (including all additional sources of revenue) for cultural activities during the title year. There was an appreciation amongst the main stakeholders that € 48m would not be sufficient (and this was discussed with the EU selection panel), but the multi-stage selection process made it very difficult to build an accurate picture of the funding that would be provided by the various levels of government while the selection processes were under way. The main target was to acquire a budget that was comparable to other ECoC (the figure of over €60m available to Linz was mentioned several times in discussions). While this may have

represented an adequate budget for small or medium-sized city hosting ECoC, it could be argued that even this figure is comparatively small for a large and populous area like the Ruhr. This meant that it would be crucial for Essen for the Ruhr 2010 to lever in other public and private investment to support the programme. As well as setting an ambitious target for commercial sponsorship (€11m plus in-kind contributions) the programme budget was complemented by a substantial spending on infrastructure projects as well as on linked cultural programmes. For example the federal programme “An Instrument for Every Child” mobilised an additional €47m for supporting music teaching in schools across the Ruhr up to 2010, of which €13.6m came from the state government of North Rhine-Westphalia and €10m from the Kulturstiftung des Bundes (Federal Cultural Foundation).

The process of securing the necessary resources for ECoC was further complicated by the global financial crisis starting in 2008. This created some reluctance amongst potential sponsors (including two large-scale contributors), but also created problems for municipalities that had agreed to provide funding to ECoC. Funding for culture is discretionary for local councils and this spending level could have had a major impact on their ability to provide core services. As a result of intensive discussions and political negotiations at regional level an additional €2 per citizen (a total of more than €10m) was made available from state and federal budgets²⁰. Although this was by no means a straightforward process, it was helped by the fact that those responsible for Essen for the Ruhr 2010 could use evidence from previous ECoC to demonstrate likely benefits and levels of return on investment for other parts of North Rhine-Westphalia. This additional funding has been used primarily to support activities with a specific local dimension, such as the Local Heroes weeks and projects under the TWINS umbrella.

The planned (basic) budget and final figures including refinancing are reproduced below.

Table 3.1 Planned and actual financing of Essen for the Ruhr 2010

Source	Basic budget (€ m)	%	Budget incl. refinancing (€ m)	%
Federal funding	€ 18.0	29%	€ 18.0	22%
Region/ state funding	€ 12.5	20%	€ 12.5	15%
Ruhr Regional Association	€ 12.0	19%	€ 12.0	15%
Sponsoring and other sources	€ 11.2	18%	€ 11.2	14%
City of Essen	€ 6.0	10%	€ 6.0	7%
EU funding	€ 1.5	2%	€ 1.5	2%
Cultural Capital Foundation	€ 0.8	1%	€ 0.8	1%
Project refinancing			€ 13.6	17%
In kind contributions			€ 5.4	7%
TOTAL	€ 61.9	100%	€ 81.0	100%

In addition to an ability to secure additional funding, a further major contributor to Essen for the Ruhr 2010's ability to support so many events across the region and cater for so many visitors (3.4 million) has been the mobilisation of large numbers of volunteers. This is dealt with in more detail in subsequent sections.

A breakdown of both planned (basic) and final expenditure is reproduced below.

²⁰ This subsidy was paid direct to municipal authorities and is not included in the budgets for RUHR.2010 GmbH.

Table 3.2 Planned and actual expenditure of Essen for the Ruhr 2010

Type of Expenditure	Basic spend (€ m)	%	Spend after refinancing (€ m)	%
Project costs	€ 36.7	59%	€ 49.2	61%
Marketing, communication and press	€ 12.4	20%	€ 16.2	20%
General staff costs	€ 8.3	13%	€ 8.3	10%
Operating costs	€ 3.8	6%	€ 3.9	5%
Projects of Cultural Capital Foundation	€ 0.8	1%	€ 0.8	1%
In kind contributions			€ 2.6	3%
TOTAL	€ 61.9	100%	€ 81.0	100%

3.3 Relevance

3.3.1 Developing cultural activities

As mentioned earlier the delivery agency began the process of developing a programme by issuing a general call for project ideas, receiving well over 2,000 applications. The appraisal criteria applied to all project ideas were as follows:

- The ability of proposed activities to provide a model for other parts of Europe;
- Creation of horizontal (i.e. geographical or international) and vertical (i.e. cross-sectoral or intercultural) connections; and
- The existence of plans for creating sustainable or legacy effects.

Our consultations have suggested that the artistic team took a very conceptual and rigorous approach to selection, with projects having to address all three criteria. The challenges included the need to support high-quality, interesting cultural activities, to sell and promote them effectively but also to consider the size of the area to be covered and logistical constraints posed by hosting events over such a wide area. Clearly geographical distribution was an important consideration in the deliberations by the artistic team, though there are differences of opinion over whether this was given precedence over the content or quality of the final programme.

The approach also ran the risk of disappointing the aspirations of a large number of potential project promoters, although consultations have suggested this was not as great as initially feared. The fact that the artistic team tried to take an active role in the development of projects may have helped to diminish this, as project ideas were discussed in regular conferences and the artistic directors actively suggested changes and improvements to content that would help ideas to address the three criteria more comprehensively. This also creates favourable conditions for achieving greater impact in these three specific areas.

The final cultural programme contained a vast number of cultural events, activities and projects, the majority of which involved local artists and cultural organisations (as well as many from outside the 'traditional' cultural sector), often featuring new forms of (inter-) cultural expression. The four artistic themes supported the following cultural forms:

- City of Arts – performing arts and music;

- City of Cultures – migration, European exchange, historical culture and literature;
- City of Possibilities – urban development, architecture, visual arts; and
- City of Creativity – music, film, design and other creative industries.

A number of comments were received in relation to the overall balance of the programme, with some stakeholders wishing for a greater emphasis on high-quality artistic products instead of popular events or entertainment. Another criticism related to a wish for better support for the existing cultural offer, instead of the tendency to favour new products and collaborations.

However, the promotion of cultural activity in and of itself was not the main objective of Essen for the Ruhr 2010 but rather the use of culture to support the achievement of wider social and economic goals. As such, culture was deliberately defined in the broadest terms as the everyday activities and interests of the general population, relevant to young and diverse groups of people. The programme not only sought to support cultural development, but bring it to new audiences, promoting popular participation and new connections between organisations and places.

3.3.2 Promoting the European Dimension of and through culture

The European dimension was a core component of Essen for the Ruhr 2010 and one of the main reasons for the success of the original application. This was principally through the exploration of issues and challenges affecting many parts of Europe, and ways in which culture can be used to address wider social and economic challenges. This includes dealing with structural economic change and industrial decline as well as exploring new forms of urban development and economic activity, but also the use of culture to promote the integration of a diverse (and young) population. This ability to provide 'A model for Europe' was one of the three selection criteria for projects, meaning that all activity had to address themes and issues of European interest in some way.

In terms of content, although it could be argued that Essen for the Ruhr's programme placed most emphasis on regional themes, it did seek to link these with European issues, particularly migration, identities and approaches to cultural education in a European context. One of the nine programme 'clusters' (detailed in section 2.4.2 below) was 'Moving Europe' which included TWINS and MELEZ dealing with international and intercultural exchange respectively, as well as Science and RUHR.2030 exploring emerging European (or even global) issues such as an aging society, renewable energies and climate change, cultural education and multilingualism.

Looking at mechanisms for developing the European Dimension, the programme as a whole placed most importance on cultural collaborations and "exchanges of creativity" rather than visits and tours by artists of European or international significance (though there were several examples of these types of activity). Essen for the Ruhr 2010 also sought to facilitate international exchanges and networking through transnational project activity such as (but by no means limited to) TWINS. The delivery agency also sought to develop links with other ECoC (past, present and future), and to boost the number of visitors from other parts of Europe and further afield. This was facilitated by the creation of an in-house International Relations team to support projects in their search for international partners and link to other ECoC, as well as through collaboration with external partners such as Ruhr Tourismus GmbH.

Finally, while the primary audience for Essen for the Ruhr 2010 was the local population, they did put significant effort and resources into attracting visitors from across Germany and further afield. Subsequent sections highlight the numbers of international visitors during 2010, although some consultations suggested this was seen as an additional (in some ways unexpected) benefit of ECoC,

rather than an explicit aim. This is more likely to be linked to growing interest in industrial heritage than high-profile artistic events and activities.

3.3.3 Supporting social and economic development

The delivery agency also placed great importance on addressing ECoCs social and economic objectives. One of the main inspirations for Essen for the Ruhr 2010 was the desire to improve access to culture, bringing high quality and innovative cultural products to the general population, and bringing in new audiences outside the groups seen as the “traditional cultural crowd”. This was one of the main preconditions for achieving any impact against their wider goals around bringing the metropolis together and helping to foster a Ruhr identity. The delivery agency also worked hard to ensure that smaller towns would feel part of the ECoC programme, primarily through the umbrella projects TWINS and the Local Heroes Weeks.

It is also worth mentioning the importance given to volunteering as a way of promoting active participation in ECoC projects, including amongst the local population.

A number of large-scale capital infrastructure and environmental projects are linked to Essen for the Ruhr 2010, and these are detailed in later sections. ECoC played an important role not only in encouraging the investment to take place in the first place, but in publicising these projects amongst the general public and encouraging people to visit new facilities or cleaned up green spaces and rivers.

As highlighted previously, the delivery agency also dedicated significant levels of resources to improving and updating images of the Ruhr and working with external partners such as Ruhr Tourism and the German National Tourist Board to promote the region as a cultural destination. This sought to exploit the region’s industrial history and heritage, despite the fact that there was doubt in some quarters whether there would be significant levels of demand for this new type of tourism.

Essen for the Ruhr 2010 also sought to improve the capacity for governance in the cultural sector primarily through the creation of networks and structures for collaboration that would not only bring together municipalities and established cultural operators, but wider civil society organisations with an interest in culture, such as youth groups, churches and sporting organisations.

The work on developing the creative economy can also be seen as contributing to this objective as it sought to recognise and showcase the cultural and economic impacts associated with this type of activity, articulating the needs of creative businesses and establishing support and advocacy systems that would continue to exist after 2010. Outside this theme, most of the training and support provided to businesses in the cultural field was undertaken in the context of specific project activity, and often dealt with practical issues such as the use of volunteers, finding partners, promotional activity and widening levels of participation.

3.4 Efficiency

3.4.1 Governance and management

The decision was taken at an early stage to deliver Essen for the Ruhr 2010 through a separate delivery agency, RUHR.2010 GmbH as this model has become an accepted way to manage ECoC in an efficient manner. The organisation’s main task of preparing and implementing ECoC 2010 was translated into two priorities: to be the main point of coordination for all activities under European Capital of Culture; and to further develop municipal and regional structures for culture.

The main shareholders of this organisation are the City of Essen, the Ruhr Regional Association, the federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia and the Initiativkreis Ruhr (Ruhr Initiative Circle) - an association of leading companies. These main shareholders are each represented on the Board of Directors, alongside a Board of Trustees composed of high-ranking personalities from the worlds of politics and business, culture, science and sport, providing advice on artistic and international matters. The delivery agency faced a number of issues and challenges, especially in terms of:

- Developing clear and logical decision-making processes, while ensuring the engagement of large numbers of local and regional stakeholders (and considering the huge levels of local interest);
- Ensuring rigorous financial and legal management, while providing support to project partners in a flexible and open manner; and
- Developing a programme that would contain the right balance of high-quality or high profile cultural activities while promoting broad participation of cultural actors and residents.

After extensive discussions, it was felt that the type of programme they wanted to create was too ambitious or multi-faceted for one artistic director to manage, so the decision was taken to employ four high profile individuals each with a specific set of skills, who would not leave their current employment and would be able to bring a substantial network of contacts with them. A group comprising the four artistic directors, chairman and managing director made the key decisions relating to the development of the cultural programme together. This functioned as a kind of “curator’s group” with each member having their own area of interest and perspective, providing creative input and scrutiny into the ideas developed under each cultural theme. A further important decision was the appointment of a programme coordinator to act as a bridge between management, artistic direction and wider regional consultation group, speaking on behalf of the Ruhr’s cities and towns and seeking to achieve greater reach and coverage.

The artistic directors also had an important external role, in that they were tasked with developing and maintaining contacts with external partners across the Ruhr. However the main responsibility for dealing with key external stakeholders (especially those providing funding) and “opinion formers” was handled by the chairman and managing director. Consultations have suggested that these played an important role in shielding the artistic teams from any political pressure or external influences on the final programme, helping to ensure that they had the freedom to develop the programme as they saw fit.

Arguably the main role of the delivery agency was as a coordination point, or interface between the stakeholders involved in delivering ECoC, especially the cities, other local partners, project promoters, international partners, commercial sponsors and the media. In some ways RUHR.2010 represents a decentralised model, where many of the (especially smaller) projects were administered externally although many of the key services such as communications and marketing, international relations, commercial sponsorship, and corporate or legal support were provided in-house. For larger or more complex projects RUHR.2010 played a more hands-on role, for example on the Odyssey Europe project which brought together six local theatres.

Each artistic director supervised an internal team, with every successful project allocated a representative within RUHR.2010. This meant that functional departments such as the media and marketing team had constant access to people with specific knowledge of projects. However the fact that direct responsibility for many projects was devolved to external partners added some complexity, especially for specialist functions such as the sponsorship team who were negotiating with commercial partners. For some co-operation projects, specialist services were bought in, including event management and marketing services (though in some cases this was provided as a contribution in kind by commercial partners).

Despite this, the delivery agency took on a considerable workload, sometimes appearing chaotic to outsiders and placing great pressure on employees, especially at key times such as late 2009 and early 2010. The capacity of the organisation increased as this became apparent, with the number of employees increasing from 25 in the early days of the organisation to around 200 (including freelancers, interns, part-time employees etc.) during 2010. There is however no evidence of excess capacity or administrative overheads being too large in relation to the scale of the programme, indeed some staff commented that they wished that the team had increased in size before the start of the year. Another important factor was continuity, with relatively little staff turnover.

The RUHR.2010 team worked hard to position themselves as partners rather than authority figures, providing advice and guidance for projects especially in terms of press and promotional activity, broadening promotion and partner selection as well as corporate, administrative and legal support. Our consultations amongst projects suggest that this was felt to be valuable, especially for smaller projects such as those taking place under TWINS or for smaller towns hosting Local Heroes events. The delivery agency sought to create a space for the development of project ideas as well as opportunities for networking and workshops that would enable projects to learn from each other on how to deal with specific issues or problems.

3.4.2 Communication and marketing

Among RUHR.2010's main objectives was the desire to communicate and market the programme nationally and internationally, using ECoC as a way to reposition images of the Ruhr but also to mobilise the local population. The longer-term aim was to support the development of a culture-tourism offer and infrastructure that would be able to continuing creating economic benefits after 2010. RUHR.2010 allocated a substantial budget to communication and marketing, using all the tools available to them:

- Press - press releases, conferences, visits, journalism awards, web sites, social media, newsletters and email newsletters
- Marketing - branding strategy, brand management, advertising campaigns, tourism co-operation, media co-operation (supplements and advertising), merchandising, program books and project publications and a call centre for dealing with enquiries

The communications/marketing and press/internet teams worked closely together and faced a number of challenges along the way. The first of these was a finding in the EU monitoring report noting an apparent misuse of the ECoC title, with branding often referring to RUHR.2010, and Dortmund claiming to be European Capital of Culture. The panel recommended consistently branding ECoC as Essen for the Ruhr 2010. This created a problem for the delivery agency as they felt the regional dimension of the bid had been clear from the outset and many of the marketing materials had already been produced and branded "RUHR.2010". The company then decided to use a dual approach, with Essen for the Ruhr 2010 used for European and international audiences and RUHR.2010 for domestic audiences.

The communications team faced a significant crisis during the year, after the tragic events at the Loveparade in Duisburg where 21 festival-goers were killed by overcrowding. This threatened to overshadow the whole year and presented a major problem for the delivery agency, especially the press team. This event was included under the ECoC banner and in promotional materials, but RUHR.2010 had no control over the organisation of this event. This created a vast amount of negative media coverage that the press team had to deal with sensitively, by liaising with journalists off the record, talking to people through social media and halting all promotional activity. This period came to an end with the Mahler Symphony of Thousands event.

A further challenge for the marketing team was finding a way to communicate such a diverse, multi-faceted and often experimental set of activities in a clear and meaningful way, or the creation of a coherent Essen for the RUHR.2010 'brand'. One of the main milestones in this was the decision to reissue the programme guide (after the first edition) and redevelop the web site, with activities structured into a set of 'marketing clusters' and activities grouped into cultural forms (art exhibitions, theatre etc.) under each:

- The Ruhr Mythology
- Re-designing the Metropolis
- Discovering Images
- Changing Stages
- Living Music
- Exploring Language
- Boosting the Creative Industries
- A Time To Celebrate
- Moving Europe

RUHR.2010 provided communications support to all projects by publishing them in the programme books, on the web site, in brochures and in the monthly calendar of events. Furthermore, 30 projects with the most potential for generating interest and media coverage were promoted through special media and advertising campaigns, including radio spots, direct mailings and outdoor media such as illuminated billboards. As most activities took place during the title year the focus of the communications in 2008/2009 was on communicating the RUHR.2010 brand. An important factor in the success of RUHR.2010 as a tourist destination was becoming the partner region for the ITB 2009 in Berlin (the world's largest International Tourism Fair).

At the start of 2010 an opening ceremony at Zeche Zollverein played an important role in kicking off the title year. Although some of those consulted stated that they would have like more high-profile events to work with, several mentioned the value of three specific projects in generating interest amongst the local population and media:

- Still-Life A40/B1 – which opened up the region's main motorway for a street party
- !SING – DAY OF SONG events
- Shaft Signs – with yellow balloons over the Ruhr's mineshafts

Research conducted by RUHR.2010 demonstrated that 89% of respondents were aware of ECoC by 2010, which represented a 20% increase over 2009. Along with the opening ceremony, the three projects highlighted above were the most widely known amongst the population.

The fact that Essen for the Ruhr 2010 covered such a large area created further challenges for communication efforts, firstly by making it difficult to communicate a coherent image of 53 towns and cities, but also to unify all local partners behind a single communications strategy. The first consideration was assisted by the industrial heritage available in the Ruhr, and the fact that they could use images like those of Zeche Zollverein, Gasometer Oberhausen and Dortmunder U. The press team commented that the post-industrial landscapes helped to attract the interest of overseas journalists, especially those from countries with their own industrial heritage. They also highlighted the importance of packages and press trips for international journalists, to demonstrate how the region had changed, but also how green it is.

On the second point, the RUHR.2010-team had meetings every six weeks with the RUHR.2010-commissioners of the 53 cities. Given the level of interest in ECoC in general and the fact that all city representatives had an interest in marketing and communication, it would certainly have been very difficult for the communications teams to get local and regional partners to agree on a single strategy. Rather than seeking to achieve consensus, RUHR.2010 focussed on presenting their plans to partners and encouraging them to use the marketing materials available to them.

The marketing team also worked closely with partners such as Ruhr Tourism, attending trade fairs and developing a tourism strategy and tourism packages in conjunction with tour operators. They also decided to use specialist skills from external agencies, including both events management and advertising. The advertising agency was selected after a Europe-wide tendering process, and was tasked to support the advertising strategy, create the corporate design, produce advertising materials, provide layouts for books and brochures, as well as develop the web site.

The communications team took a number of decisions designed to make the marketing budget go as far as possible, by working with commercial and press partners to create special ECoC supplements in national German publications but also by utilising online and social media. The focus on the creative economy in the cultural programme also supports the decision to devote significant attention to new and interactive forms of media.

Our consultations have highlighted that there was substantial residual interest in ECoC amongst journalists, especially from national and regional media. Indeed, much of their press team's time (estimated at 95%) was spent reacting to enquiries, and they made an early decision to treat all journalists' enquiries in the same way.

The results of press and marketing activities include:

- In total more than 66,000 media reports (from September 2009 until January 2011), German national print media generated €90m equivalent advertising value
- 2,510 print and online articles in 40 countries (most in USA, Austria, Turkey, UK and Netherlands)
- 225 hours of TV reports in Still-Life A40/B1
- 30.200 fans on facebook
- 11,500 subscribers to email newsletter
- 4.100 followers on Twitter
- iphone app downloaded 14,000 times
- 1.5 million merchandising items sold (with pins and bags the best sellers)
- Series of special supplements in Welt am Sonntag, Die Zeit and Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung

3.5 Effectiveness

3.5.1 Developing cultural activities

Clearly Essen for the Ruhr 2010 promoted significant numbers of cultural events, activities and projects, with 5,500 individual projects under the ECoC banner, and many more taking place across the region during 2010. The ECoC events in total received an estimated 10.5 million visitors and participants, while ECoC also served to increased attendance at non-ECoC events like the Ruhrtriennale and Ruhr Piano

Festival. As it is so difficult to compile an aggregate list of outputs and results from such a diverse programme, the main artistic highlights are as follows²¹:

City of Possibilities

- 260 artists architects and designers involved, 140 with an international background
- 220 artists from 15 regional artist associations (and 800 members) exhibited works at 13 sites (Powerful Places for the Arts), attracting 10,000 visitors
- 20 works of art installed along the Ruhr Art Trail and cycle path
- Numerous exhibitions, many in unusual spaces, such as private dwellings and public spaces, roads, cycle paths, bridges, canals, an island and harbour, but also across the Ruhr's art museums
- Exhibitions dealing on light art, creative neighbourhoods, urban photography, housing culture, administrative borders, transport, sculpture, green spaces

City of Arts

- 350 theatre and dance events
- 240 musical events
- 50 events under 'An instrument for every child'
- 600 performances under !SING– DAY OF SONG

City of Cultures

- At least 9 historical culture projects with 424,000 visitors
- At least 9 literature projects with over 1,000 literary events and 67,000 visitors

As highlighted above, many events involved the creation or exhibition of new artworks, and development of new and often experimental forms of cultural expression. The final theme, City of Creativity focussed more on creating platforms, structures, networks and initiatives than specific cultural products or offerings though these are likely to have an impact on stimulating new forms of expression in the future.

Outside the financial and other types of support provided to local organisations and cultural actors in the context of specific projects, we have less evidence of systematic impact on the cultural sector in the Ruhr, in terms of capacity or skills. RUHR.2010 did put significant efforts into developing partnership and networking structures, with the intention of boosting cultural activities in the future.

The delivery agency also commissioned research amongst the local population to gather opinions on the programme, with the following main observations:

- 91% of respondents aware of ECoC said the entire event was either good or very good
- 96% agreed that there were many events to get involved in
- 61% attended an ECoC event, 57% two or more
- 53% visited more or many more events than would have done normally
- 59% discovered new interesting places in the region

²¹ This is not yet based on a complete sample of activities

3.5.2 Promoting the European Dimension

As highlighted earlier, all projects had to deal with issues of wider European interest, though this was applied very flexibly and created activities addressing a huge variety of topics linked to the main themes of migration and integration, industrial transformation, urban development, the new economy and so forth. The programme also devoted significant attention (and one of four artistic themes) to the awareness of diversity and cultural heritage. Research conducted by the delivery agency showed that 58% of respondents aware of ECoC had experienced stronger inter-cultural exchange during 2010.

Transnational activities were another major focus of activities, although it is difficult to compile aggregate result and impact indicators for such a diverse range of activities. However, TWINS was clearly a major element of transnational working and required all projects to involve at least one Ruhr city, another ECoC or a representative from Israel. TWINS generated the following results:

- 100 multilateral art and cultural projects, many with multiple events, activities and opportunities for participation
- 20,000 artistic participants from 257 cities in 39 countries across 4 continents
- 1,700 regional and international partners
- 330,000 visitors

TWINS also differs from the majority of town twinning initiatives in that it specifically targets the mobility of cultural operators and citizens, rather than mayors and officials. It is estimated that 40,000 people made international journeys in the context of TWINS activity, improving their language skills, cultural skills and intercultural competences. We have little quantitative data on the likelihood of further participation by citizens, though 50% of project promoters have declared a desire to continue European collaboration after 2010.

Another element of transnational working was the work of the international relations team, which worked closely with stakeholders, projects and other ECoC. This included 37 contacts with other ECoC between 2008 and 2010, and 29 contacts with candidate cities. Other ECoC have been successfully integrated into project activity, such as Kosice in the Lab.tv project, while others have worked closely with RUHR.2010 around governance issues. For example, Marseille/ Provence have understandably been very interested in regional approaches to implementing ECoC.

3.5.3 Supporting social development through culture

Arguably the essence of the programme was the use of culture to promote the integration of different social, ethnic and community groups, in order to create longer-term social impacts around developing a sense of identity, feelings of togetherness and self-confidence in the region.

Certainly the programme contained large numbers of events, activities and projects designed to widen participation and improve access to culture. The programme explicitly aimed to involve more people from target groups, with many activities designed specifically to bring groups together. For example the City of Cultures theme included numerous projects and exhibitions dealing with youth, multiculturalism, ethnic arts and music and interreligious programmes. Nevertheless we have little data on the demographic background of participants.

Many activities explored approaches to participation, either in terms of visitors, involvement in cultural activities and creative collaborations or through the engagement of large numbers of volunteers. Events

under the Local Heroes weeks took place across all 53 towns and cities, comprising 1,578 individual events attended by 850,000 visitors and mobilising the 'active involvement' of 27,500 people. Also, the volunteering scheme can be seen as a major contributor to the success of the programme, which used an innovative database model to achieve the following results:

- 1,165 active volunteers
- 1,155 additional applicants
- From 6 German states
- From 7 foreign countries
- 45 nationalities/ ethnic groups
- Largest groups were students, teachers and retired or semi-retired people
- 9,600 events supported
- 25,200 volunteer assignments
- 175,000 working hours
- Main tasks were in welcome centres, organisational support, set-up and dismantling, translators, artist support and bus tours.

The cultural programme consisted of an extremely diverse set of actions, delivery mechanisms and governance models, ranging from the devolved management of large projects and events to more hands-on support for smaller organisations under TWINS and Local Heroes. As highlighted above, greater engagement with the cultural sector was reinforced through partnership structures, which included representatives from a variety of organisations with an interest in cultural issues such as youth groups, churches and sporting associations. It is likely that these structures will continue beyond 2010, though there are currently discussions taking place on this issue.

Research conducted by the delivery agency containing the following findings in relation to the social dimension:

- 20% increase in numbers of people attending a cultural event in a neighbouring city
- 60% visited a neighbouring city, 20% more than 2009
- 79% stated that the region had presented itself as a single metropolis
- 86% that image had improved
- 59% agreed region should be treated as a metropolis
- 79% region portrayed itself as a unit
- 64% increased self-confidence in the region
- >50% got to know new people
- 82% that ECoC led to a new self-confidence in the region

3.5.4 Supporting economic development through culture

RURH.2010 placed significant emphasis on marketing campaigns promoting the Ruhr and its cultural programme to visitors and tourists, while a number of initiatives sought to improve the visitor experience, such as the creation of five visitor centres and 49 visitor lounges and info points across the region.

As well as generating large numbers of visitors for individual events, there was a substantial increase in tourism, with 6.5 million overnight stays generating an estimated €90m additional gross revenue. This number of visitors constitutes a record year and an increase of 13.4% compared to the previous year. There was also an 18.5% increase in overseas visitors during 2010, with large numbers coming from the UK, Netherlands, Belgium and Poland, as well as much further afield. Several stakeholders were surprised by the level of international interest and see this as an additional or unexpected benefit, as they

felt that industrial heritage was a largely untested market. A number of tour operators now have Ruhr travel packages available for the first time and while tourism will fall in 2011, tourism partners are projecting that the region will receive more tourists in 2011 than they did in 2009.

Certainly the information and promotion activities played an important role in improving the external image (or brand) of the Ruhr, helping to create positive media coverage. The Ruhr brand will continue to be promoted after 2010.

Economic development has also been supported through was the creation and refurbishment of cultural facilities during this period, all of which have created additional capacity for culture. These include:

- Modernisation and extension of Museum Folkwang, Essen
- Opening of Ruhr Museum, Essen
- Extending the Küppersmühle Museum
- New building for Federal Archive of North Rhine-Westphalia in Duisburg inner harbour
- New mosque and Islamic centre in Marxloh
- Creation of house of Jewish culture at Old Synagogue, Essen
- New Emil Schumacher Museum and extension to Karl Ernst Osthaus Museum in Hagen
- Conversion of Dortmunder Union brewery into Dortmund U creative quarter and exhibition space
- Angerpark Landmark
- Rehberger Bridge

We have less quantitative evidence of ECoC resulting in the training of individuals and businesses, outside specific cultural projects. Certainly the creative economy work sought to create stronger businesses and develop skills in these industries, but this is designed to have impact over a much longer time period.

3.6 Sustainability

3.6.1 Cultural activities

Essen for the Ruhr 2010 has undoubtedly provided a major boost to the region's cultural sector, its national and international profile, while providing a powerful demonstration of the value of culture in supporting wider social and economic objectives. It is more difficult to assert that there is more cultural activity taking place on on-going basis or that there has been a step-change in the region's cultural sector, especially considering the challenging funding environment many cultural operators now find themselves in. Nevertheless, the delivery agency targeted projects with specific plans for sustainability and evidence of this is provided by the number of examples of cultural activities continuing after 2010, including the following:

- RuhrArtMuseums
- Emscher Art
- Ruhrlights: Twilight Zone
- Biennale for International Light Art
- Culture Canal
- Powerful Places for the Arts
- Walking on Water
- Several TWINS projects
- A Night of Youth Culture
- !SING – DAY OF SONG

- Kreativ.Quartiere (Creative Neighbourhoods)
- European Centre for the Creative Economy (ecce).

An estimated 30% of project promoters under TWINS are continuing (including Seven European Gardens), while discussions are currently taking place in Oberhausen about extending the TWINS approach to heritage tourism.

There are a number of examples of cultural activities influenced - but not directly managed - by RUHR.2010 that are currently being established or continued. For example Ruhr Tourism is promoting cultural activities with relevance to regional tourism, such as ExtraSchicht - the night of industrial culture, while the Zukunftsakademie (Future Academy) NRW is being set up in Bochum. Another example is the "Faire Kulturhauptstadt RUHR.2010" network (Fair Capital of Culture²²). This explored fair trade, socially responsible purchasing in the Ruhr and the fight against child labour overseas during 2010. This work is continuing from 2011 as the Fair Ruhr Metropolis network.

3.6.2 Cultural governance

Many of those consulted highlight a general increase in the level of co-operation between cultural operators but also between the cities and towns of the Ruhr and with wider civil society and NGOs involved in cultural activities. Stakeholders are engaged in learning the lessons of ECoC and while there is likely to be less cultural activity in coming years than was the case in 2010, the plan is to do things better or more efficiently. Some commented that this co-operation is also having an impact outside the culture sector, particularly in tourism, but also in the provision of local government services.

The main functions of RUHR.2010 GmbH are in the process of being transferred to regional partners such as Kultur Ruhr GmbH (the organiser of Ruhrtriennale) and Ruhr Tourism GmbH, and the delivery agency will be formally wound up at the end of 2011. However the Federal State of North Rhine-Westphalia and the Ruhr Regional Association are leading the transfer of elements of the RUHR.2010 programme in order to continue developing the region's cultural offer. The cities through the Ruhr Regional Association have committed an annual budget of €2.4m, which has recently been matched by the state of North Rhine-Westphalia.

Alongside a number of ambitious long-term goals in relation to culture, this repeats the formula from Essen for the Ruhr 2010 of seeking to unify the region around a single goal, specifically plans to host an international climate exhibition in 2020. Other key priorities for the future include collaboration on tourism, a desire to make the volunteering programme sustainable in the longer term and plans to continue promoting and supporting the creative economy.

3.7 Conclusions

3.7.1 Success of the ECOC

Though there was some evidence of conflict between the main stakeholders in the early stages of implementation around the approach to artistic direction and the type of programme required, the delivery agency has largely been successful in balancing the requirements for high-profile, international events and the regional development objectives which drove the original application by the city of Essen and the Ruhr Regional Association.

²² www.essen-fuer-das-ruhrgebiet.ruhr2010.de/en/whats-going-on/fair-ruhr-metropolis.html

Certainly, Essen for the Ruhr 2010 promoted and supported great numbers of cultural events and activities during the title year, attracting higher than expected levels of attendance and participation. Surveys demonstrated that there were high levels of awareness (and approval) amongst the local population, while large numbers of visitors from elsewhere in Germany and further afield created significant economic benefits for the Ruhr.

The ECoC also sought to support longer-term processes and goals, in relation to the development of the Ruhr metropolis and a Ruhr identity, as well as supporting social, spatial and administrative integration. While preliminary results from surveys and our consultations suggested that the ECoC is likely to have played a constructive role in this process, these are long term aspirations with many other factors likely to exert an influence, and it is far too soon to make judgements.

The approach to artistic direction has been characterised as an inductive, collaborative and bottom-up approach which invited project ideas from local cultural actors then sought to build this up (through the application of selection criteria and provision of intensive, sometimes mutual, support) into a coherent programme. This defined culture in the broadest possible way and served to create a programme which was unique to the Ruhr and made the most of local assets (though some argue that the local arts scene could have played a more prominent role).

Despite the fact that the final budget could be considered small, given the size of the area and population covered, Essen for the Ruhr 2010 created a significant impact. A number of factors made a contribution to this, from the successful raising of private sponsorship, funding from federal cultural programmes and increased state contributions, a widespread and innovative use of volunteers, and press work that made extensive use of collaborations with private and media partners as well as social media. Some consultations also highlighted staff continuity as a major factor in the success of Essen for the Ruhr 2010.

3.7.2 Lessons Learnt

- The model for programme development, bringing together two directors of the delivery agency, 'curatorium' of four artistic directors and a programme coordinator acting as a link between them and to local municipalities is an interesting approach to managing the conflicting interests of stakeholders and balancing priorities, while assuring artistic independence and a degree of freedom from external political influence.
- In some ways the delivery agency could be said to have followed a decentralised approach, with many activities managed by external partners and RUHR.2010 providing coordination and specialist or professional support. As the delivery agency could not reasonably be expected to have the resources required to manage such a large number of activities directly, this approach served to increase the volume of activities and the visibility of the ECoC brand.
- This approach can also serve to diminish the delivery agency's input into or control over ECoC activities. For example, consultations suggested that it was difficult for the sponsorship team to meet the requirements of commercial sponsors, as responsibility for project implementation was often devolved to project promoters.
- This lack of direct control over some cultural activities, combined with the fact that large numbers of non-ECoC funded activities were included under the ECoC banner also presents a risk that problems at project level will be linked to the ECoC brand, even when the delivery agency has no control over their implementation. This was certainly the case with the tragic events surrounding the Loveparade in

Duisburg, an event which had been included in promotional materials and therefore had to be treated with extreme sensitivity by the communications team.

- The fact that the programme was built in a bottom-up manner, based on project ideas that were often experimental, multi-disciplinary or simply difficult to explain, complicated communications and marketing. As a result communications work often focussed on the more accessible or high-profile activities, while the use of marketing clusters in the revised programme book, with activities grouped under themes and cultural forms, was helped to promote the programme in a clearer and more accessible way.
- It is clear there were significant misunderstandings over the regional (or more accurately 'metropolitan') dimensions of Essen for the Ruhr 2010. The fact that the ECoC was branded as "Ruhr 2010" and other Ruhr cities promoted themselves as capital of culture in the early stages of implementation was not consistent with the legal basis for ECoC or with the understanding of the selection panel. Nevertheless, local stakeholders felt that this 'metropolitan' dimension was of great interest to the selection jury and was one of the main reasons behind the success of the original application. While a compromise solution was found, the fact that metropolitan approaches are likely to be adopted by other conurbations (e.g. Marseille/Provence or Katowice in Poland) means that this may require further attention if such misunderstandings are to be avoided in future.



Pécs



4.0 Pécs

4.1 Background

4.1.1 The city

Pécs is located in the south-west of Hungary, close to the Croatian border. It is the fifth largest city in Hungary, the largest city of the Transdanubian region in Western Hungary and the seat of Baranya county. The current population is around 160,000 people. The city played an important role in early Christianity and by the 11th century had become a Catholic Episcopal seat. The remains of early Christian Burial Chambers were included in the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2000. Just over the border, the war in the former Yugoslavia created significant external turmoil for the city and had an impact on its development. In response, Pécs provided very important support for the refugees and ethnic minorities, which was the main reason for it receiving the UNESCO Cities for Peace Prize in 1998. Hungary's first university was founded in Pécs and is now among the largest universities in the country. It hosts around 29,000 Hungarian and foreign students every year and is the only university in Hungary with a Faculty of Visual Arts and Music and an affiliated Master's School of Fine Arts.

Until the 1990s, mining played a key role in the economic life of Pécs. After the mining industry declined in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the city struggled to establish a new and stable economic structure. There are a limited number of strong, innovative, high-technology based companies in Pécs and its micro-region. The city and Baranya county have less medium and large companies than the national average (1/6 of the national average in 2006). It attracts significantly less foreign investments than other parts of the country.

The former industrial characteristic of the city started to change from the mid-1990s due to economic and social changes. A number of strengths have been identified for future development: education, health care, cultural service provision, retail, commercial services and tourism. In 2008, 72% of employees in Pécs were in services. This is significantly higher than the national average of 67%. Industrial production is significantly lower than similar-sized Hungarian cities and public sector employment is dominant in the city. Hosting the ECoC title was therefore seen as an opportunity to strengthen the cultural sector and increase its importance to the economic development of Pécs.

4.1.2 Cultural sector

Pécs was one of the most culturally progressive cities in Hungary in the 1970s and 1980s. It hosted a number of high level exhibitions of contemporary Hungarian art in Pécs Gallery (Pécsi Galéria). Performances of Pécs Ballet (Pécsi Balett), readings and theatre openings and arts workshops attracted significant attention not only from the surrounding region but also from Budapest.²³ However, the industrial decline the city experienced was also reflected in some adverse effects on the city's cultural life. Therefore, hosting the ECoC title was perceived by stakeholders' as an opportunity to revive and further develop the cultural life of the city.

The ECoC application highlights that the cultural life of Pécs is among the most developed in the country after Budapest. It is characterised by a comprehensive network of artistic institutions where many intellectuals are involved in artistic activities. Before hosting the ECoC title, the city had five theatres and hosted the annual POSZT theatre festival. Pécs is also home to the regional Pannon Philharmonic

²³ Krisztina Somogyi (2010), *Space_Public*, Hungary.

Orchestra. In 1988, the European Federation of Choirs acknowledged the performances of the city's choirs in granting Pécs the opportunity to host the festival Europa Cantat.

Pécs is also home to a number of leading publishing houses, for example Jelenkor Publishing House which publishes one of the country's leading literary journals. Alexandra Publishing House is similarly prominent in the book market whilst Pro Pannonia specialises in publishing the city's cultural heritage. The national film festival was held in Pécs before it was transferred to Budapest and a new international film festival was launched in 2005 to fill the gap. Museum Street of Pécs is one of the most important artistic sites in the city. It includes Csontváry Museum, Zsolnay Museum, Vasarely Museum, Amerigo Tot Museum and Martyn Ferenc Museum.

It is important to highlight that the governance of Hungary is very centralised. Local authorities demonstrate some commitment to support the culture sector at a local level albeit with limited funding available. Therefore, the implementation of the ECoC programme and development of the cultural activities were dependent on the support provided at national level.

4.2 Cultural programme

4.2.1 Original aims and objectives

The initiative to apply for the ECoC title dates back to 2003-04. A number of civil society organisations (including a wide group of private, public and not-for-profit organisations) saw the ECoC as an opportunity to strengthen civic participation and the role of civil society organisations in the development of the city. To that end, they initiated the idea of an application for ECoC, which was then supported by the municipality. The stakeholders responsible for its initiation then became responsible for preparing the application.

Hosting ECoC title was seen as a key part of the city's economic development. The aim of fostering economic development was strongly linked to the implementation of large-scale infrastructure projects. It was originally expected that such projects would be supported by the European Structural Funds. The concurrent discussions at national level regarding the development of the New Hungary Development Plan (the National Strategic Reference Framework (NSRF) for 2007-2013)²⁴ had a significant effect on developing the content for Pécs' application. For example, significant attention was given to the development of cities other than Budapest, such as Pécs, that would serve as regional centres and would contribute to the decentralisation of the country. Culture, health and a green environment were identified as offering a basis for its future development. These were therefore incorporated in the original ECoC application for Pécs.

A number of other aims for applying to host ECoC title, identified during the consultation of stakeholders, included:

- Strengthening the international relations of the city, especially with regard to neighbouring countries;
- Highlighting the multicultural character of Pécs;²⁵

²⁴ For the programming period 2007-13, each EU Member State has produced a National Strategic Reference Framework (NSRF). This is a reference document for programming Structural Funds and Cohesion Fund interventions in a manner consistent with the EU's Strategic Guidelines on Cohesion 2007-13. The NSRF defines the strategy of the Member State and presents a list of national and regional Operational Programmes (OPs), as well as an indicative annual financial allocation for each OP.

²⁵ It was considered by the stakeholders that Pécs had not made the most of being awarded the UNESCO Cities for Peace Prize in 1998 in its efforts to promote the city internationally.

- Highlighting the rich cultural life of the city and re-enforcing its role as the cultural and education centre for the region; and
- Decentralisation of the country and decision-making supported by culture-based development.

The rationale and original aims identified above were incorporated into the application of Pécs. They are presented in the next sub-section.

4.2.2 Application

Hungary was given the right to nominate a city as ECoC 2010 by Decision 649/2005/EC, which added the ten states acceding to the EU in 2004 to the chronological list of Member States set out in Decision 1419/1999/EC. The government did at first consider the possibility of nominating Budapest without a competition. But at the time of the selection process, it was felt that the ECoC title might contribute to the national policy objective of decentralising the economic development of the country. As a result, the government decided to launch a competition to select which Hungarian city would be nominated to the European institutions. The national competition attracted applications from eleven cities in Hungary, including Budapest.

Among the main reasons for selecting Pécs were the following:

- the link made in the application between the development of the city and its cultural activities;
- the proposal to work together with the other applicant cities and incorporate their projects into the cultural programme if selected; and
- the characteristics of the city, as presented below.

Key characteristics of Pécs (highlighted in the application)

Lively public spaces and medium size allowing the presentation of a cultural life which is different from that of a metropolis or small city

Rich history of artistic innovation

Multicultural character of the city which accommodates cultural heritage of Latin, Turkish, German, Croatian and Hungarian origins

Support for the idea of regionalism and decentralisation

Role as a cultural gateway city open to the Balkans and parts of Europe which do not yet belong to the EU

Source: Pécs application for the ECoC title

The latter of these characteristics formed the central idea of the cultural programme, represented by the slogan "borderless city". It embedded the city's ambition to re-establish international relations with neighbouring countries and regions, which were damaged during the war in the former Yugoslavia. In its proposal, Pécs thus presented itself as a "gateway to the Balkans". In addition, Pécs would look at development based on cultural activities and strengthening the culture sector. The cultural programme focused on redesigning the urban character of the city, putting culture at the centre of urban development and transforming the cultural policies of the city.

The application defined the objectives for Pécs in a very broad and complex way. It provided the overall picture and general aims for the city. However, it has been difficult to identify the specific objectives that were to be pursued, since they were not explicitly mentioned in the original application. However, based

on the information provided in the application, we can identify the key areas that Pécs 2010 aimed to focus on. These are presented below.

Aims of Pécs 2010 (highlighted in the application)

Regional development through culture (decentralisation)

- Establishing centres of cultural and artistic activity based on old and empty industrial facilities and factories
- Artistically transforming the city environment
- Renewal of buildings and public places in historic city districts
- Accessibility/inter-city transport development
- Development of creative industries
- Development of cultural tourism
- Development of information technology
- Social rehabilitation of urban neighbourhoods

Foster co-operation in the Southern Cultural Zone (Hungary, Romania, Serbia, Montenegro, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Slovenia, and Italy)

Source: Pécs application for the ECoC title

As mentioned above, the implementation of large-scale infrastructure projects was seen as being of key importance in achieving the aim of long-term development. The application included five such projects²⁶:

- Kodály Centre (concert and conference venue)
- Zsolnay Cultural Quarter
- New "Grand Exhibition Space"
- Regional library and information centre
- Revival of public squares and parks

The implementation of the above projects was seen as being of key importance for Pécs remaining one of the cultural centres of the region. Importantly, the stakeholders regarded the projects as necessary pre-conditions for hosting cultural projects of the title year. They also would help Pécs to connect the university and the city, provide impetus for the development of creative industries, create jobs, increase access to the cultural activities and contribute to the development of tourism in the city. All but one of the five projects were implemented in practice; instead of the creation of a new Grand Exhibition Space, a number of existing cultural facilities on Museum Street were refurbished.

4.2.3 Changes to the objectives and themes

Interviews identified that the overall objectives (identified above) stayed largely unchanged during the development stage. The approach identified in the original application was followed during the development and implementation phases of the ECoC. However, the second monitoring report provided to the Monitoring Panel in 2009 explicitly mentioned five objectives that incorporate the main ideas from the original application. These are presented below²⁷:

- Position of the city of Pécs in Europe
- Consolidation of the creative industries

²⁶ Pécs application for the ECoC title

²⁷ Second Monitoring Report prepared by Pécs

- Involvement of citizens
- Establishment of a new international cultural region: the "Southern Cultural Zone" with cross-border and inter-regional co-operation
- Co-operation with the partner capitals of culture

One of the main differences in the objectives was the inclusion of co-operation with the partner cities hosting the ECoC title in 2010 as an explicit objective for Pécs. Moreover, such co-operation went on to become a very important aspect of the European dimension of the programme. The greater emphasis placed on this objective perhaps reflected the fact that at the time of the application, the other title-holders had not been selected and most of the common projects and programmes were thus only initiated during the development phase rather than prior to designation.

The other important difference is that regional decentralisation was no longer explicitly mentioned as an objective. This was partly because the development of regional growth poles had not been taken further at national level. Nevertheless, positioning the city of Pécs in Europe was interpreted very broadly and included most of the elements related to the initial idea of regional decentralisation. The stakeholder consultations indicated that it included such issues as the development of cultural infrastructure and of the local transport system, as well as support for the development of local businesses in the hospitality sector. Indeed, the interviews showed that the five key infrastructure projects received significant focus during the preparation of the title year and that their implementation was perceived as a prerequisite for the success of the ECoC.

The stakeholders consulted indicated that consolidation of creative industries was the most difficult to achieve and this objective did not receive as much attention as initially intended. Due to the difficult overall situation, the development of creative industries has been identified as being very challenging.

In addition to the objectives above, stakeholders mentioned that bringing cultural operators together, strengthening civic initiatives and facilitating the creation of the networks of culture projects and project promoters, up-scaling cultural life and changing the paradigm related to culture were seen as objectives of the ECoC. It was not explicitly mentioned in the official documentation, however, the interviews and the overview of wider literature indicates that this was an important objective for ECoC.

On the one hand, there is no evidence of significant changes to the objectives when compared to the original application and the main elements identified initially were still important at the delivery phase. On the other hand, the formulation of the objectives in the documents available and during the interviews was very broad and complex making it difficult to see the specific objectives that Pécs 2010 aimed to achieve. This raises the question as to the extent to which the objectives identified in the original application have been further developed during the development phase. Moreover, the attention given to each of the objectives and the extent to which they have been pursued during the implementation of the title year is not entirely clear.

4.2.4 Activities during the development phase

As the main themes and objectives of the ECoC stayed largely unchanged during the (post-designation) development phase for ECoC, the main focus during that time was on the selection and development of the projects for the cultural programme. Importantly, the development of the programme was strongly related to the establishment of the management structures, the division of the roles and responsibilities among the main institutions such as Pécs 2010 Management Centre (Pécs2010 Kht.) and the Hungarofest (Hungarofest Kht.), artistic direction, securing the funding and the development of the infrastructure projects (as we discuss later).

Project selection

The interviews identified that the projects for the cultural programme were selected and developed through:

- Annual calls for proposals that were organised annually since 2007. Separate calls for proposals were issued for each source of funding, namely the national government, Pécs city municipality and the National Cultural Fund. The main aims of launching the calls for proposals were the selection of projects to be implemented during the development phase and the stimulation of project ideas for the title year itself. In addition, a separate call for proposals specifically targeting third sector organisations was launched in 2009 on the initiative of the Mayor of Pécs. The aim of the call was to provide the opportunity for non-governmental organisations based in Pécs to implement their projects in the framework of the ECoC programme, to strengthen local identity, promote active participation and promote use of refurbished public spaces for cultural activities.
- Projects developed together with the Pecs2010 Management Centre and Hungarofest. These included projects with international partners and local stakeholders who were expected to be engaged in the programme by the decision-makers.

The interviews identified that the projects selected for the title year were expected to contribute to one of the five characteristics of the city presented in the application. It was also recognised that relating to one of these pillars was, to some extent, natural for cultural operators in the city and therefore most of the projects addressed it. In addition, the calls for proposals included additional selection criteria such as involvement of civil society, a focus on people with disabilities, disadvantaged communities or young people, use of unconventional venues, responding to the needs of local people, focussing on cultural diversity and strengthening of regional, national and international relationships.

As indicated above, a wide variety of criteria were used to select projects for the cultural programme. However, it is not clear which of the criteria and themes were prioritised in the selection process and to what extent the same criteria have been used for all calls for proposals. Stakeholder consultation implies that the experts selecting the projects enjoyed a high degree of discretion in applying the criteria, which may later have weakened the overall coherence of the programme.

Projects implemented during preparatory years

The original application of Pécs planned to devote each of the preparatory years to specific themes that are presented below:

- 2006 – the year of cultural heritage
- 2007 – the year of education and learning
- 2008 – the year of environmental culture and health care
- 2009 – the year of religious culture

According to the information provided by Pécs 2010 Management Centre (the main delivery agency for the ECoC), some 360 projects were implemented between 2007 and 2009. There is limited evidence of extent to which they address the themes presented above. For example, there were no specific calls for proposals devoted to these themes and no funding was available for projects in 2006. However, the stakeholders indicated that in 2009 there were relatively more projects implemented devoted to the theme for that year (religious culture) than had been the case in previous years. The reasons for this greater

emphasis on the theme in 2009 were reported to be the approach of the title year, the celebration of the millennium of the Bishopric of Pécs and the relevance of the theme to local stakeholders.

Some of the projects supported during the development phase were expected to grow, so that in 2010 they would constitute a bigger and fully-developed programme. Projects such as the World Music Festival and the International Dance Festival of Pécs are good examples of projects that were initiated during the development phase and had the opportunity to increase in scope and scale as the title year approached and during the title year itself.

Challenges experienced during the development of the cultural programme related to such issues as the lengthy decision-making process, establishment of governance and management structures, changes of key stakeholders and difficulties related to infrastructure development. These issues took priority during the development phase meaning that less attention was perhaps devoted to the development of the cultural programme than had been intended. As a result, significant delays were reported in developing the programme and most of the efforts were mobilised only in 2009. At this late stage, it proved difficult to develop new projects based on co-operation with cultural operators at local level and to identify and build on the potential of the cultural sector in the city to develop a bigger and better cultural offer. The approach was thus adjusted to place more emphasis on the inclusion of existing projects and events in the eventual cultural programme.

4.2.5 Activities during the title year

Despite the difficulties during the preparatory years, the eventual cultural programme incorporated a wide variety of projects addressing the themes identified in the application. According to data provided by the Managing Centre, some 650 projects including 4,675 events were implemented in 2010. The same data also identified that the cultural programme included events that were of high cultural quality and/or attracted large audiences, as well as projects facilitating long-term co-operation with European partners. Highlights of the cultural programme during the title year included:

- General art festivals and major events, e.g. opening ceremony, International Dance Festival, East-West Passage – Balkan World Music Festival, Ars Geometrica, Travel Around the Turkish Crescent
- Music, e.g. Hungarian Wind Music Grand Prix, Pécs Cantat
- Theatre, dance and film, e.g. Pécs National Theatre Festival, 2nd Cine Pécs International Film Festival, Borderless City – Borderless Theatre
- Visual and applied arts, e.g. "From Art to Life" – Hungarians in the Bauhaus exhibition, permanent exhibition of the Gyugyi exhibition, Arts in Difference, Europe of "the Eight", Architecture and context
- Scientific programmes, e.g. "Blossoming Almond Trees" science days, Bridges World Conference – Mathematical connection between art, science and culture
- Literature, e.g. Writers in Residence, 2nd Pécs Literary festival
- The city and its residents, e.g. Pécs, Funfkirchen, Pecuh, European Neighbours' Day
- Exporting culture, e.g. winter festival in Sarajevo, Budapest/ Pécs – between eras and worlds in Karlsruhe, international puppet theatre festival in Istanbul, Csontváry Exhibition in Istanbul
- Programmes organised by non-governmental organisations, e.g. CanDoCo – contemporary dance workshop and performance, Pécs Living in Poems
- Partner programmes, including projects prepared by other stakeholders in the region, e.g. traditional projects such as Buso Carnival in Mohacs, the Kaspovar Theatre programmes, Villany-Siklos Wine Route
- Official projects with Essen for the Ruhr 2010, overall 18 projects were implemented in cooperation with Essen for the Ruhr 2010

4.2.6 Financing

The original application of Pécs foresaw an allocation of € 36m between 2006 and 2011 for the ECoC. In addition, € 140m was allocated for the development of key infrastructure projects. The majority of the funding for the infrastructure projects (75%) was to be allocated from the EU Structural Funds, 20% from the state budget and 5% from city and county. The funding sources of the operational costs of ECoC are presented in the table below.

Table 4.1 Funding sources provided in original application of Pécs

Expenditure item	%
National level (state support)	40.0
County and partner cities	7.5
City	33.0
Direct EU support	3.8
Other EU funds (grant applications)	1.5
Sponsorship (cash)	5.0
Sponsorship (in-kind, services)	5.7
Other donations, foundations	1.5
Revenues from merchandise and ticket sales	2.0
Total	100.00

The financial commitments for the implementation of the ECoC were included in the agreement between the Municipality of Pécs and the Government signed in December 2006. According to the agreement, the Ministry committed to cover 40% of the planned operating costs for the period of 2007-11. The Municipality of Pécs agreed to cover 33% of planned operating costs for the same period. The remaining funding was to be mobilised from other sources, including the county, region, co-operating cities, the EU Melina Mercouri Prize, sponsors and the National Cultural Fund. In addition, EU Structural Funds were to constitute the main source of funding for the infrastructure projects.

The agreement also defined the rules regulating the use and the availability of the funding. Funding provided by the national government was managed by Hungarofest Non-profit Ltd., whilst the funds from the municipality were managed by the Pécs2010 Management Centre. There were effectively, then, two delivery agencies. Moreover, some of the funds were also provided by the National Cultural Fund on the basis of open tenders.

The financial data supplied to date is not complete and features a number of gaps especially regarding the financial and the in-kind support received from sponsors. The table below presents an overview of the budget based on the data available.

Table 4.2 Actual funding for Pécs 2010 (2007-11)

Funding source	€	%
Ministry of Culture	€ 13.69 m	38.8
City of Pécs	€ 11.30 m	32.0
National Cultural Fund	€ 1.60 m	4.5
EU Melina Mercouri Prize	€ 1.50 m	4.2
Other (project-based funding associated with the ECoC)	€ 6.27 m	17.8
Sponsorship	€ 0.91 m	2.6
Merchandise	€ 0.04 m	0.1
Total	€ 35.31 m	100
In-kind contributions	€ 1.13 m	

Source: Pécs2010 Management Centre

Attracting funding from private sponsors was identified as being a challenge before 2009 and the funding secured until then was below the original expectations. However, in 2009-10 the projects became more visible, as marketing and communication activities were carried out that increased the visibility of ECoC and helped to increase the funding from private sponsors. The private sponsors either provided support to the municipality of Pécs, Pécs2010 Management Centre or directly to project promoters. There was the main sponsor of Pécs2010 programme, namely E-ON, which contributed around € 150 k for the programme. The sponsorship funding was provided either through direct financial support of the delivery of the projects or in-kind support mainly for the marketing and communication activities.

Information from the Managing Centre highlights that funding committed in the application was actually provided by all major sources. It was ensured through signing the contract in 2006 between the municipality and national government that defined the financial commitment for ECoC. However, the institutional setting meant that funds allocated to the ECoC were managed by different stakeholders with no single organisation responsible for the overall budget or, indeed, for the overall programme. The municipality, on its own, was not able to provide the financial resources needed for the programme and therefore had to rely on other funding sources, notably national and European. The national government provided the funding necessary for the programme but retained a significant degree of control over how it would be spent. Moreover, key stakeholders also reported that decision-making processes were complicated and lengthy and weakened the overall programme. Of particular concern was a perceived lack of clarity, especially at the beginning, on how the funding would be allocated and used.

The economic situation in Hungary deteriorated significantly during the development phase, in part as a result of the global financial crisis. Nevertheless, neither the government nor the municipality reduced their respective financial commitments or the importance placed on the objectives and projects of the ECoC. This commitment put significant financial pressure especially on the municipality and raises significant issues in relation to the sustainability of any legacy of the ECoC. As a result, the stakeholder consultation indicated that core funding for some local cultural operators had to be found from within the budget of Pécs 2010.

In addition, due to the financial regulations it was not possible to sign contracts with the project promoters before the start of the year in which the project was to be delivered. Indeed, some of the project promoters mentioned delays in signing contracts and changes in funding conditions that had an adverse impact on the implementation of the projects.

As mentioned above, some € 140 m was allocated for the development of infrastructure projects. All five infrastructure development projects that have been foreseen in the original application were implemented. The allocation of this funding was strongly linked to the preparation of the NSRF for the funding period 2007-13 and the definition of the National Development Programme. Due to uncertainty in how these projects would be funded, significant attention during the development phase was, by necessity devoted to them. As a result two of the infrastructure projects (namely Revival of Public Spaces and Parks and the South-Transdanubian Regional Library and Knowledge Centre) were completed in time to host events in 2010. The other projects were delayed and therefore not fully operational in 2010; the Kodály Conference and Concert Centre did not open until mid-December 2010 and therefore hosted only a limited number of events during the title year; similarly only parts of Zsolnay Cultural Quarter were opened to the public in 2010. One of the few events taking place in Zsolnay Cultural Quarter was the Golden Age of the Zsolnay Exhibition, which received numerous visitors in 2010.

Among the benefits and effects of using EU Structural Funds for the ECoC programme, it was identified that the ECoC provided a very clear deadline for the completion of infrastructure projects, which thus provided greater impetus to implement them than would otherwise have been the case. The ECoC also attracted a lot of interest in these developments on the part of the general public. Importantly, the ECoC also provided the opportunity to implement “soft” elements of infrastructure projects, such as making sure that the local community accepted and used the newly-developed spaces.

Funding received through the Melina Mercouri Prize was used to finance a wide variety of cultural projects, e.g. exhibitions of fine arts, film, theatre or music festivals and concerts, and international meetings of scientists or young people. These included, for example:

- Pécs Spring Festival 2010 organised by the Pécs Cultural Centre
- International Conference on Regional Sciences, Regional Sciences Association organised by the Regional Research Centre of the Hungarian Academy of Science
- Hungarian Wind Music Grand Prix, International Music Competition and Festival organised by the Art Department of the University of Pécs
- 15th International Adult Puppet Theatre Festival organised by the Bóbita Puppet Theatre
- Open Opus Festival organised to open the Pécs Conference and Concert Centre by the Pannon Philharmonic Orchestra
- ‘East-West Passage’ Balkan World Music Festival organised by the Pécs Cultural Centre
- 2nd CinePécs International Film Festival organised by the Cultural Innovation and Competence Centre

The overview of actual expenditure based on the information that was available at the time of the evaluation is presented in the table below.

Table 4.3 Actual expenditure of Pécs 2010 (2007-11)

Expenditure Item	HUF	€	%
Cultural Programme	€ 3866.87 m	€ 14.59 m	41.2
Marketing	€ 2025.24 m	€ 7.64 m	21.6
Personnel	€ 771.20 m	€ 2.91 m	8.2
Operating Expenditure	€ 660.50 m	€ 2.49 m	7.0
Improving institutional structure, networking and New Jobs for Success programme	€ 1500.00 m	€ 5.66 m	16.0
Reserve (2011 programmes and marketing)	€ 138.00 m	€ 0.52 m	1.5
Other general	€ 16.00 m	€ 0.06 m	0.2
Operating costs for 2011	€ 400.00 m	€ 1.51 m	4.3
Total	€ 9377.81 m	€ 35.39 m	100

Source: Pécs2010 Management Centre

4.3 Relevance

Turning to the question of relevance, we consider the extent to which the objectives and activities of Pécs 2010 corresponded to the specific objectives for the ECoC set at EU-level, namely promoting the European dimension of and through culture, developing cultural activities and supporting the social and economic development of the city.

4.3.1 Promoting the European Dimension of and through culture

Two objectives of Pécs 2010 were explicitly linked to the European dimension. First, there was the aim of fostering co-operation in the Southern Cultural Zone (covering Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Hungary, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia and Slovenia). This was perceived as being a very important objective for the city in terms of defining and reinforcing the international relations of Pécs. Co-operation with neighbouring countries had existed historically but been disrupted by the war in the former Yugoslavia. Hosting the ECoC title was seen as an important opportunity for developing common cultural projects and other forms of co-operation with cities in these neighbouring countries.

Co-operation with the other cities hosting the ECoC title in 2010 was the other objective of Pécs relevant to the European dimension. It was addressed through implementation of common projects such as NRW Virtual Heart, Bochum Musiksommer with Ruhr area and Travel Around the Turkish Crescent, Turkish Film Week in Pécs with Istanbul, the Temporary City project as well as the Pécs-Ruhr-Istanbul Music Caravan. Importantly, Pécs was among the founders and active members of the informal ECoC network that serves as a platform for the co-operation and exchange of experience among the cities holding the title.

Developing links with other European countries and delivering activities relevant to the European dimension was also an important element for the University of Pécs. Being one of the largest institutions in the city and the co-owner of two out of five infrastructural developments, the university was considered an important partner in delivering the title year. As a result of the ECoC, the university played a key role in establishing the University Network of the European Capitals of Culture (UNeECC) and was able to expand its international networks and promote itself abroad.

4.3.2 Developing cultural activities

The application of Pécs 2010 featured objectives that related to the development of the city through culture, rather than to the showcasing of the city's culture or to the exploration of particular artistic themes. Moreover, some of the stakeholders consulted indicated that Pécs, even before hosting the ECoC title, had enjoyed a well-developed and vibrant cultural scene. The tendency was thus for less attention to be paid to the development of an exciting and extensive cultural programme than to the development of large infrastructure projects, which were seen as having greatest symbolic importance. This tendency was reinforced by the difficulties in securing the key senior staff responsible for development of cultural programme and stable governance structures. For example, the departure of the Artistic Director in 2007, the difficulties in establishing the Artistic Board, the complexity of institutions and the large number of individuals involved in the development of the culture programme served to weaken the artistic focus of the ECoC. As a result, there was, in practice, higher support for existing cultural projects than for the development of new cultural activities and bringing different stakeholders together to develop new projects and co-operations.

Importantly, the development of the infrastructure projects was seen as the pre-requisite for the success of ECoC and the development of the cultural activities of the city. However, most of the new venues were not been opened in time to host cultural events, though in due course it can be expected that these venues will have a positive impact on the cultural offering of Pécs.

4.3.3 Supporting social and economic development

Supporting the development of the city was a very important objective of Pécs 2010. As mentioned above, significant attention was paid to the development of key infrastructure projects such as South-Transdanubian Regional Library and Knowledge Centre, Kodály Centre, Zsolnay Cultural Quarter, the reconstruction of Museum Street and the Revival of Public Spaces and Parks. The cultural programme also included a specific focus on the use of the refurbished public spaces and the so-called “soft” elements of the infrastructure developments.

The development of the creative industries was also foreseen in the original application. However, interviews identified that it was difficult to pursue this objective to any great extent during the title year. First of all, Zsolnay Cultural Quarter, which was expected to foster the development of creative industries, was not finished in time for 2010. Moreover, it is expected that only limited opportunities for the development of business activities will be available in Zsolnay Cultural Quarter because of regulations relating to the use of EU Structural Funds. Secondly, the cultural industries are very underdeveloped in the region. Finally, organisations at local level tend to be rather small in size and often struggle to satisfy the technical criteria identified in the calls for proposals, especially regarding bigger contracts. Nonetheless, a cluster of creative industries was established during the development phase. Local organisations also contributed to the ECoC through providing services for individual projects. It is also expected that they will be further developed when the Zsolnay Cultural Quarter becomes operational.

With regard to social development, a specific call for the non-governmental organisations and smaller scale projects that target local communities was launched in 2009. As a result, the eventual cultural programme included projects specifically targeting local communities, deprived areas and especially former mining communities, areas where minority groups are based and other disadvantaged communities. The volunteers programme also made a significant contribution to the social development of the city. In addition, the ECoC aimed to make a contribution to the employment and skills situation of the city through projects focussed on training and labour market insertion in the context of the ECoC.

4.4 Efficiency

4.4.1 Governance and management

Management of an event of such scale as ECoC was a challenge for all key stakeholders involved at both national and municipal level. It was one of the first opportunities for national, regional and municipal institutions to work together to deliver such an event. The ECoC provided significant experience and proved to be very challenging, however, as indicated in the interviews it was an important process for all those involved. As with other ECoC, setting up the governance structures, finding ways for different stakeholders including civil society representatives to work together and establish a dialogue and co-operation structures was one of the challenges during the development phase.

First of all, different organisations were established to manage the budget of ECoC. As mentioned above, Hungarofest Non-profit Ltd. was responsible for managing the national contributions to the budget and the Pécs2010 Management Centre was responsible for municipal contributions. There was therefore no single body responsible for the overall management of the programme, which resulted in a lack of clarity for example, over the responsibility for artistic direction. Decision-making in respect of allocating funding tended to remain with the public authorities at national and municipal level and the managing agency enjoyed only a limited degree of autonomy. Some stakeholders also complained about a degree of political interference in the artistic direction of the ECoC. These difficulties were compounded by changes in the leadership of the key institutions and organisations during the development phase, which made the preparation of the cultural programme especially challenging.

Secondly, the selection of an Artistic Director and the leadership of the development of the cultural programme proved to be challenging and there were changes in the individuals responsible for the development of the programme and the institutional set-up. Moreover, some stakeholders perceived that there had been of lack of clarity in the processes by which key members of staff were appointed. Initially, the role of Artistic Director was established and the person for this position was appointed at the end of 2006. However, it was later decided that a Managing Director would also be needed and this position was then filled in 2007. A lack of clarity over the division of responsibilities between these two roles contributed to the resignation for the Artistic Director at the end of 2007. It was then decided to establish an Artistic Board consisting of six members initially, but later also including the Cultural Director and Managing Director of Pécs 2010 Management Centre and the Director of Hungarofest. This resulted in two parallel structures for the development of the cultural programme namely Pécs 2010 Management Centre and the Artistic Board, although with the latter appearing to become more dominant. It was not until the end of 2008 that the institutional set-up and the personnel responsible for the programme became settled and attention could turn to the development of the cultural programme. However, by this stage it was already too late to mobilise many cultural operators at local level and realise some of the original project ideas.

In addition, Hungarofest was also responsible for the development of the programme and the person responsible for it started working in 2009. However, as mentioned above, at the time it was then fairly late to start building the culture programme from scratch and establish effective co-operation with local stakeholders. As a result, the tendency was thus to prioritise the selection of existing cultural activities from outside the city or even abroad. At the same time (and perhaps as a result of these operational difficulties), the press and public started to develop a negative reputation of ECoC during the development phase, which aggravated the difficulties in overcoming distrust between different local and national actors.

The interviews also suggested that the decision-making process was very complicated and lengthy. These difficulties were compounded by changes at the political level in Pécs, with two changes in the mayor within a short period. Overall, the effect seems to have been to worsen delays in decision-making and increase the perception of a lack of transparency. In addition to this local complexity, separate structures were also set up at national level including a Project Steering Committee and an Inter-Ministerial Committee to discuss the issues relevant to the ECoC and the associated infrastructure development projects.

In addition to the above, the separate management structures for the development of infrastructure projects were put in place initially but also changed during development phase. In 2008, it was decided that Pécs 2010 Management Centre should be responsible for both the cultural programme and infrastructure developments. The management of these projects also proved to be challenging, not least since the national arrangements for handling EU Structural Funds during the 2007-13 period were still being developed and thus subject to change. Arrangements for public consultation regarding the infrastructure projects also proved problematic, with some stakeholders reporting that local people had felt alienated from the decision-making process. However, to put these difficulties in context, it was also reported that arrangements were perhaps more transparent than for other developments of this type in Hungary in recent years; there was a reasonable degree of awareness on the part of the media and the public, even if that awareness was not translated into influence on decisions taken at “a higher level”.

Importantly, one of the expectations of the ECoC was an enhancement of the democratic processes in the city through increasing civic participation in the decision-making process and increased co-operation among different stakeholders involved in delivering the ECoC programme. However, the stakeholders identified that this proved to be very challenging, partly due to the lack of capacity and experience among all the stakeholders including decision-makers as well as civil society representatives in respect of engaging in public dialogue, as well as a lack of the framework for such engagement and partly due to the challenges faced in developing the ECoC. Nevertheless, it is important to highlight that some progress in this respect has been made and all stakeholders gained significant experience in terms of working together to ensure the development of the city.

4.4.2 Communication and marketing

In November 2008, the Pécs 2010 Management Centre issued an integrated marketing and communication strategy for the ECoC with the funding for the communication activities allocated by the national government. According to the communication strategy, the main marketing objective was to raise the profile of the city of Pécs and place the city on the cultural “map” of Europe. Marketing and communication was built on three pillars:

- Developing the image of Pécs and the country;
- Communicating the cultural programme; and
- Communicating issues related to infrastructural development.

This last task was incorporated into the five key infrastructural development projects financed by European Structural Funds. According to the communication strategy, the main target audiences were citizens of Pécs, people in other parts of Hungary that might visit Pécs, the media, public opinion formers and people linked to Pécs, foreign tourists visiting Hungary who can be attracted to Pécs.

The strategy intended to communicate both the overall image of Pécs and specific cultural projects within the programme. Among other means, a national promotion campaign titled ‘Head to Pécs’ was

implemented. Within two months, around 70,000 people registered via the internet for the Pécs2010 newsletter. Some 70 stands were set up in Budapest and other Hungarian cities where informed and trained hostesses made over 400,000 personal contacts. The image and design of the cultural programme was also further developed, in part to serve the initial marketing of the Zsolnay Cultural Quarter. There was continuous co-operation between the communication unit and the cultural programme providers throughout the year to serve the success of the cultural projects. In 2010, there was a budget of 180 million HUF (€ 0.63 m) available for printed materials. Publications included books, programme booklets, maps, and tourist brochures printed in 5 different languages.

One of the main messages for the communication of ECoC programme was related to the concept of the "Borderless City". Hosting the ECoC title was seen as a unique opportunity to increase the visibility of Pécs and Hungary in other European countries and present them as attractive tourist destinations.

There was increased media publicity related to Pécs 2010. Some 7,939 national and 1,642 international media articles were registered between January and November 2010. Regarding the international media, Pécs 2010 was mentioned most often in German (38%), English (18%) and Turkish (11%) language media – perhaps in part reflecting the location of the two other title-holders. After the official opening, national media coverage became increasingly focused on the cultural programmes and its successes. Media coverage reached its peak during summer 2010 when most of the cultural activities took place. In the autumn and winter, the media still covered cultural events but also started to discuss the future use of new infrastructure and cultural facilities. Altogether, 21% of registered media coverage was positive, 71% neutral and 8% negative.

Pécs 2010 Management Centre organised over 20 thematic programmes and trips for journalists and representatives of the media related to significant cultural projects and events over the year. The priority cultural events achieved the highest media coverage such as the opening ceremony, the show of Seal, the Munkacsy and the Bauhaus exhibitions, the Circus and Street Theatre Festival, the Neighbour' Day and PLACCC Pecs.

One of the challenges for the communication of the ECoC was negative media coverage at national level during the development phase. However, the interviews identified that this changed for the better at the beginning of the title year. This change was partially linked to the fact that tangible progress had been made in the infrastructure developments, the culture programme had started to be implemented and public perceptions on the ECoC overall had thus changed.

The interviews identified that some criticisms from stakeholders related to the communication and marketing activities of ECoC. Among the issues highlighted was the focus on media coverage and publications with less attention given to other tools for promoting the programme and the country as an attractive tourist destination. For example, it was identified that limited attention was given to co-operation with travel agencies in order to attract group visits. Some stakeholders highlighted a lack of information on the cultural programme in public spaces, as well as limited availability of practical information for visitors in general. It would appear, however, that the communication activities met with a degree of success; a national opinion poll taken at the end of 2010 showed that 83% of people asked had heard about Pécs holding the ECoC title. Some 56% of respondents considered Pécs to be Hungary's second most important city from a cultural point of view, after Budapest. This represented a significant increase compared to the previous year's figure of 35%. Another opinion survey in 2010 also found that 68% of respondents had a positive attitude towards the ECoC programme, which again marks a significant increase when compared to 35% shown in the surveys undertaken 2-3 years earlier and 43.5% at the beginning of 2010.

4.5 Effectiveness

4.5.1 Developing cultural activities

The cultural programme in 2010 included 650 projects that delivered 4,675 events. In addition, during the preparatory years 2007-09 a total of 360 projects were also implemented. Nearly 400 organisations received funding for their projects in the framework of ECoC, of which around 200 were based in Pécs. Individual artists did not receive funding for their activities due to legal regulations and the cultural programme did not directly commission the new works and compositions. However, such commissioning was supported indirectly through projects.

The programme included projects that aimed to attract a mass audience as well as more innovative and avant garde events. Some projects were delivered by non-governmental organisations and specifically targeted local communities especially deprived areas, members of minority groups, and disadvantaged people.

The best-attended events included the following:

- Opening ceremony - between 18,000 and 20,000 people
- Hungarians in the Bauhaus – 16,350 visitors in 3 months
- Mihály Munkácsy's Christ Trilogy - 70,000 visitors in 6 months
- The Golden Age of the Zsolnay Exhibition (from the collection of László Gyugyi) - 12,600 visitors in 4 months
- Europe of the Eight – 9,600 in 2.5 months

Overall, the cultural programme provided the opportunity for local cultural operators to implement bigger projects and receive funding for new activities that had not previously been implemented in Pécs. For example, Sopianae Heritage Nonprofit Ltd. was able to provide programmes attracting wider audiences to the UNESCO Heritage Site, further embedding the site into society and promoting active participation. Another project, the Pan-Balkan Art Picnic features a mix of professional performances and citizen participation in various public spaces around the city. Some nine pianos were made available in the city and some professional performances were provided but most of the time the pianos were available for anyone to play. The interaction between different art forms such as street art, visual art and music was also an important part of the cultural programme.

The ECoC also supported projects that commissioned new art works. For example, the Architecture and Context project initiated an international arts prize named after Victor Vasarely in co-operation with the Vasarely Foundation in Aix-en-Provence (France). It is expected that the prize-winning design will be implemented in and presented to the city in due course.

The interviews identified that some organisations taking part in the culture programme provided very good projects and gained very important experience. However, others provided existing activities that already featured in the cultural life of Pécs before the title year. Indeed, a major criticism for the programme was linked to the fact that insufficient attention was given to bringing cultural operators from the city together to develop new projects. The reason for this was reported to be in part to the delays in preparation for the culture programme and the unclear distribution of responsibilities between different stakeholders.

The new venues and development of new cultural facilities were perceived as being key for the cultural development of the city. It was expected that the new venues will provide the opportunities to deliver higher quality cultural events and provide higher quality training facilities for arts students in future.

However, only two of the new venues were finished in time to host events in 2010. Nevertheless, a lot of attention was given to implementing events in the refurbished public spaces and those facilities that were finished in time for 2010. It is also expected that new facilities will significantly contribute to the cultural life in Pécs after 2010.

4.5.2 Promoting the European dimension

Two objectives of Pécs 2010 have been specifically linked to the European dimension. First of all, co-operation with the neighbouring countries was already identified in the original application and remained as an important objective. Secondly, the co-operation with the other cities hosting the ECoC title became an objective of ECoC during the development phase. Overall, 270 projects included participants or partners from other countries.

Co-operation with the Balkan countries was a very important part of the programme. Some of the most important projects that were implemented include Pan-Balkan Art Picnic, ICWiP 2010 – Balkan: Reloaded with Goran Bregovic, East-West Passage – Balkan World Music Festival and Conference at the gate to the Balkans. The Management Centre worked closely together with the General Consulate of Croatia in Pécs which facilitated development of common projects together with Croatian partners. Around 80 events developed in Croatia were presented in Pécs as well as around 70 by the Croatian minority groups in Hungary. These included exhibitions, most notably one focused on Contemporary Croatian Sculptors and which travelled around Europe during 2010, theatre performances, concerts, literary presentations, conferences and promotional forums.

The establishment of a new international cultural region the "Southern Cultural Zone" was related not only to cultural co-operation but also to closer co-operation at the political level more generally. As a result, a number of high-level visits of delegations from other countries within the Zone were hosted in Pécs. During the interviews it was also mentioned that this co-operation will be taken further in the framework of a European Grouping of Territorial Co-operation (EGTC).

Regarding co-operation with the other cities hosting the ECoC title, some 18 projects have been organised together with the Ruhr and around 30 projects with other German cities. These include NRW Berlin Festival, Virtual Heart, Wind Music, Bochum Musiksommer, European Accents in Perm, Temporary City Project. Some 20 projects were also implemented with Istanbul, for example, Travel Around the Turkish Crescent, Turkish Film Week in Pécs, 16-17th Century Ottoman Art and Architecture in Hungary and the Central Regions of the Ottoman Empire, or the Csontváry Exhibition in Istanbul. In addition, 12 projects were implemented together with both Istanbul and the Ruhr, for example the Pécs-Ruhr-Istanbul Music Caravan.

Building links with European partners was very important for the University of Pécs. It established the University Network of the European Capitals of Culture (UNeECC) that currently includes 49 members, which has helped the university to develop its international networks further and raise its international profile. There was also a suggestion that the ECoC may have helped stimulate an increase in the number of international students studying at the university, though this could not be verified by any data.

Importantly, a number of stakeholders mentioned that developing relationships with cultural operators in other countries had also proved beneficial in terms of increasing the potential for bilateral co-operation in future. However, the view was also expressed that more attention could have been devoted to such projects in the cultural programme of Pécs 2010.

Overall, the European dimension was an important part of Pécs 2010. It helped to reinforce the international role of the city and strengthen relationships with neighbouring countries. It was perceived as an important part of the programme and helped some stakeholders to develop further their international networks.

4.5.3 Supporting social and economic development through culture

Developing the five infrastructure projects was seen as the most important investment in the economic and social development of the city, indeed, a pre-condition for the success of the ECoC. As mentioned above, all five projects identified in the application were implemented at a cost of around € 140m, with the support of the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF). Two of five projects were finished in time to host ECoC events namely the South-Transdanubian Regional Library and Knowledge Centre, and the Revival of Public Spaces and Parks. The Kodály Centre and Reconstruction of Museum Street were finished at the very end of 2010 and therefore not used to host events within the ECoC cultural programme. Finally, the reconstruction of the Zsolnay Cultural Quarter is expected to be finalised in 2011. In addition, the approach of the title year also gave greater impetus to complete the motorway from Budapest to Pécs earlier than might otherwise have been the case.

As mentioned above, the development of the infrastructure projects took place in parallel to the preparation of the New Hungary National Development Plan (2007-13). Even though the original application included five key infrastructure projects, the development of the framework and legal basis for the Structural Funds could not take place until 2006-07. Indeed, the first time the five projects were identified in the NSRF biannual action plans was in 2007 when the time remaining for the basic preparatory work for the infrastructure projects was becoming increasingly limited. The development of the projects was thus very challenging for all stakeholders involved and took longer than expected.

Despite these difficulties, a number of stakeholders were of the view that the ECoC had provided an impetus for their commencement and completion, given the timing of the title year. Significant attention was thus given to co-operation among stakeholders and preparation of the legal framework which served to speed implementation when compared to other similar projects. Partly due to the ECoC, the developments attracted significant attention from the media and the general public. Moreover, the use of the cultural projects to “embed” the new developments in the city was another important effect of the ECoC. The benefits of the infrastructural developments for cultural activities have also been widely recognised and led to the introduction of a fund for civil society projects that complement future infrastructural developments.

Overall, it is too early to assess the economic impact of the infrastructure projects, given their very recent completion. There are nonetheless some positive indications. For example, the refurbishment of the public spaces was highly praised by stakeholders interviewed within the context of this evaluation. Similarly, the Kodály Centre has taken a high number of bookings and around 170 events are already planned for 2011. Some interviewees did, however, express doubts over the need for, likely impact of, and sustainability of the new developments. In particular, concern was expressed over the financial burden borne by the municipality in developing and maintaining the new developments. Another concern focussed on the extent to which the new venues would generate additional activities as opposed to merely displacing activities from existing premises.

In addition to the economic impact of the infrastructure projects, there is evidence of an increase in tourist visits to Pécs during the title year. According to data from the National Statistical Office, 124,050 people visited Pécs in 2010 representing a 27.5% increase compared to 2009, with the free events on offer being

reported as a particular motivation for visiting. The majority of the visitors (72%) in 2010 came from elsewhere in Hungary, though the number of foreign visitors coming to Pécs increased by 71% compared to 2009. Most came from Germany, Austria, Italy and Romania, though relatively few from the other countries in the Southern Cultural Zone.

Turning to the contribution of the ECoC to the social development of the city, we see that there was a degree of success in widening the participation of citizens in culture - not only those in Pécs but also in Hungary as a whole. The extent to which this positive outcome will constitute a "step-change" in participation in the long-term remains to be proven, particularly since fewer cultural events will be free of charge.

Some of the projects supported through the mainstream funding aimed to widen participation in culture. One such project was that implemented by Parti Gallery, which aimed to highlight the value of individuals that play a key role in serving the local community. Nominations from the public were invited and the individuals selected were then featured on posters around the city. The project was very successful in attracting the attention of people, particularly in former mining communities.

The view of many stakeholders was that most impact was achieved through the projects implemented by non-governmental organisations and through the volunteers programme. The call for proposals for the non-governmental organisations in 2009 attracted 233 applications of which 113 received funding.

The volunteers' programme proved to be very successful in providing a resource for the implementation of cultural activities as well as for the work of Pécs 2010 Management Centre. At the close of the year, around two-thirds of volunteers stated a desire to continue in their role beyond 2010. To facilitate the continuation of volunteering in future, a database of 780 volunteers was established towards the close of the title year.

A degree of social and economic impact has also been achieved through projects focussed on training and labour market insertion in the context of the ECoC. For example, the "New Jobs for Success" programme, which was implemented through co-operation between Pécs2010 Management Centre and South Transdanubian Regional Labour Centre, was said to have enabled 150 people to gain access to the labour market over the years 2009-11. In addition, foreign language training was provided for a diversity of professionals such as policemen, fire-fighters, health-care workers, people working in disaster protection, taxi and bus drivers and people working in institutions such as museums, theatres.

4.6 Sustainability

4.6.1 Cultural activities

The legacy of Pécs 2010 is strongly linked to the infrastructure projects and restored facilities. The new cultural infrastructure has the potential to increase both the quantity and the quality of the city's cultural offer in the long-term. For example, the Kodály Centre is able to host prestigious concerts and provide better facilities for local organisations, such as Pannon Philharmonics, and music students. As mentioned earlier, some 170 conferences and cultural events are already planned for 2011. Whilst the Kodály Centre, as a national institution, will receive funding from the national government, some stakeholders questioned the capacity of the municipality to meet the operational costs of the other new facilities, since these have proved higher than originally anticipated. Moreover, some stakeholders also suggested that insufficient planning had taken place at the outset regarding the long-term demand for and sustainability of such facilities.

Whilst the stakeholders reported that they wished to continue the cultural projects that had been initiated in 2010, they tended to report a shortage of concrete funding opportunities – particular the smaller cultural operators. In the absence of an overall plan for ECoC legacy projects, it would appear that the sustainability of cultural projects depends very much on the success of individual project co-ordinating bodies in securing ongoing funding.

There were instances of projects proving successful in their search for sustainability. For example, the university is planning to continue some of the conferences and events initiated in the framework of ECoC, such as the scientific conference *Blossoming Almond Trees* and the *Cultural Bridges* conference. The activities related to the development and building of international networks look likely to be sustained by the bodies participating therein. Similarly, the co-operation within the context of the Southern Cultural Zone looks set to continue, perhaps even expand, with the support of EU funding in the framework of the EGTC; within that context a further Balkan World Music conference is planned for 2011. The Delivery Agency reported that the national links with Croatia and co-operation with Essen are likely to be sustained. The volunteering programme also looks likely to be sustained informally, through the choice of many volunteers to continue in their roles, as well as formally through the implementation of a project funded by the European Social Fund (ESF).

4.6.2 Cultural governance

Overall, hosting the ECoC title is reported as having been very beneficial for Pécs in terms of the very significant experience gained by cultural operators and stakeholders across the city. The individuals involved in the management of ECoC perhaps gained most experience and most remain employed within the city's cultural sector, including some within the new cultural facilities. The Pécs 2010 Management Centre has been re-organised and two organisations have been established, the first being City Development Ltd and the second overseeing the Zsolnay Cultural Quarter, the Kodály Centre, the UNESCO World Heritage Sites and the House of Arts in Literature. Most of the members of staff that were involved in the infrastructure projects are currently employed by City Development Ltd and thus involved in new developments. Similarly some individuals responsible for the cultural projects are currently employed by Kodály Centre. There is also evidence that many of the partner organisations and cultural operators are more engaged in the civic life of the city.

The completion of the reconstruction of Zsolnay Cultural Quarter will lead to many cultural operators choosing to locate there, with the possibility of increased co-operation between them. It is also reported that the municipality is planning to create an overarching “umbrella” structure to support cultural operators across the city, though these plans (as well as those related to the use of the new facilities) retain a degree of uncertainty for financial reasons. The municipality also enjoys a stronger working relationship with the university in respect of culture, not least since the university remains a co-owner of some of the new infrastructure developments, as well as a partner in the EGTC.

As a result of 2010, it was also reported that the development of the city's cultural sector remains a high political priority at local level and there is a strong support from other stakeholders for a city development strategy based on culture. However, the new cultural strategy for the city remains to be developed and the financial support for that strategy (and the projects therein) remains to be confirmed.

4.7 Conclusions

4.7.1 Success factors

Hosting the ECoC title was an important opportunity for the development of Pécs and the experience of hosting such a large-scale event was unique not only for Pécs but for Hungary as a whole. The city hosted a significant number of cultural events, made investments in cultural infrastructure that offer a substantial legacy of the title year and facilitated cooperation among stakeholders that had previously not had much experience of working together.

The commitment of the funding early during the development phase was a crucial success factor for the ECoC. The major funders, namely the national government and Pécs City Municipality, signed a contract in 2006 detailing the financial commitments which were delivered in practice. Nevertheless, the management of the funding proved to be challenging and affected by the wider issues related to the relationship between national government and the municipality. Both stakeholders provided significant funding for the ECoC and supported its implementation. However, both aimed to retain control over its development and the key decisions. This led to a somewhat complex and lengthy decision-making process. Separate governance structures for managing national and local funding were established and there was thus no single delivery agency responsible for the overall implementation of the programme.

In addition, the establishment of management structures for the development of artistic direction proved to be challenging. First, the process of recruiting senior staff responsible for managing the delivery of the ECoC and the development of artistic direction lacked transparency and key members of the team changed several times during the preparatory years. Second, the institutional set-up for the development of the cultural programme changed during the development phase. For example, the Artistic Director was initially responsible for development of the culture programme but it was then decided in 2008 to establish an Artistic Board that was responsible for the implementation of the programme.

Importantly, the relationships between the wider group of stakeholders at local level and decision-makers played a key role in the preparation of the title year. The application of Pécs was initiated by stakeholders at local level who considered the ECoC as important for the development of the city and aimed to engage with key decision-makers in discussing issues related to that development. However, there was a lack of experience and frameworks for such engagement and cooperation and therefore it proved to be very challenging; some of the key stakeholders that had been involved in the initial development of ECoC later felt alienated from the process. Nevertheless, the experience gained during the preparation and delivery of the ECoC was challenging for most of the stakeholders but was an important process to go through that helped to achieve some of the ambitious aims that were set for the ECoC.

The development of the European dimension and in particular the co-operation with neighbouring countries and other cities hosting the ECoC title were successful effects of the ECoC. This contributed to strengthening and redefining the international relations for the city, creating foundations for co-operation beyond the title year.

As noted above, the new infrastructure projects represent perhaps the most important legacy of the Pécs ECoC; all the projects planned in the original application were implemented (with the exception of the new exhibition space, which was replaced by refurbishment of existing facilities). Whilst this is a very substantial legacy, it could have been strengthened had more attention been given in the planning stage to the long-term sustainability of the new developments. At the time of the evaluation, it was too early to assess the extent to which the ECoC would generate lasting effects for the cities development and it likely to strongly depend upon the initiative and determination of key individuals. On the one hand the new

infrastructure projects have put significant pressures for the municipality which results in challenges for the sustainability of the new venues as well as the support for the culture based development. On the other hand there are some indications on the initiatives to learn from the experience in order to progress with the culture based development.

4.7.2 Lessons learnt

The experience of Pécs highlights a number of important lessons from which future ECoC can learn, particularly relating to finance and governance. Early commitment of funding is essential and should be followed by the establishment of stable and clearly-defined management structures, with changes in key senior personnel kept to minimum. As far as possible, the ECoC management should also enjoy operational autonomy and discretion over expenditure and be free from political influence during the preparation for the title years and in artistic choices. Similarly, establishment of strong artistic direction early on during the development phase is very important for the development and coherence of the eventual cultural programme.

The experience of Pécs also provides significant insights into the use of the European Structural Funds for the development of cultural infrastructure projects related to the ECoC. The main benefits of this approach proved to be the potential for the ECoC to help "embed" the newly-developed infrastructure into the social and cultural life of the city, e.g. through facilitating cultural projects and events that encourage the use of the new buildings and refurbished spaces by a diverse public. The ECoC, through its publicity and communication activities, also helped raise the interest of the media and the public in such developments and provoke a public debate around them. It also provided a clear deadline for the completion of developments and thus also a clear focus for all stakeholders involved.

However, the incorporation of large infrastructure projects into the ECoC illustrates a number of practical challenges that will need to be taken into account by future ECoC. First, the timescales for planning infrastructure projects and preparing the cultural programme for the ECoC title year are different. This is relevant not only to the implementation of the projects themselves but also the development of the regulatory basis. For example, the legal basis for Structural Funds was finalised relatively late in the preparation phase of Pécs 2010, making it difficult to complete all the infrastructure projects in time for the title year. Second, separate institutional arrangements are generally required for managing ECoC and Structural Funds, creating the need for effective co-operation between the two.



Istanbul



5.0 Istanbul

5.1 Background

5.1.1 The city

Istanbul is not only the largest city in Turkey with a population over 12 million people but also one of the largest metropolises in Europe. It is unique in being situated on two continents, either side of the Bosphorus strait that forms part of the boundary between Europe and Asia. During the second half of the 20th century, the city underwent dramatic transformation. Due to internal migration after World War II the population of the city increased from 2m to 12m leading to a more diverse social mix within the city. Istanbul also became the industrial and commercial centre of the country during this period. Since the 1990s, Istanbul has reformed itself again with new communications infrastructure, greater environmental awareness and an increased role for cultural and artistic events in the every day life of the city. Today Istanbul is the financial, media, communications, cultural and tourist centre of the country.

5.1.2 The cultural sector

Istanbul has a very long and rich cultural heritage, the city dating from Neolithic times and having been the capital of the Roman Empire (330–c.395), Byzantine Empire (c.395–1204 & 1261–1453), Latin Empire (1204–1261) and the Ottoman Empire (1453–1922). It features architecture from all these periods and also, as a result of its imperial past, a cosmopolitan culture reflecting the prominence of Islam but also many religious minorities including Greek Orthodox Christians, Armenian Christians, Catholic Levantines, Ashkenazi Jews and Sephardic Jews. Reflecting this rich diversity, Istanbul is home to one of the largest archaeological museums in the world, the Istanbul Archaeology Museum (İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri) established in 1881. Despite this heritage, it is only in the last decade or so that Istanbul has truly developed a vibrant modern and contemporary cultural scene. For example, the Elgiz Museum of Contemporary Art opened in 2001 and two museums of modern art - the Istanbul Modern Art Museum (İstanbul Modern Sanat Müzesi) and the Doğançay Museum (Doğançay Müzesi) - opened in 2004, whilst the Pera Museum opened in 2005. Whilst the state continues to oversee the major cultural institutions, the private and NGO sector has played an increasingly important role in recent years (notably the Istanbul Foundation for Culture and the Arts (İstanbul Kültür Sanat Vakfı), founded in 1973), particularly in fields such as popular music and avant-garde theatre.

5.2 Cultural programme

5.2.1 ECoC Application

Following the 1999 Decision of the European Council and of the European Parliament, which enabled non-Member States to hold the ECoC title, some thirteen cultural operators and representatives of NGOs came together over six months to discuss the possibility of an ECoC application, later joined by a representative of the metropolitan municipality of Istanbul (İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi). This informal group appointed a lead co-ordinator to liaise between the NGOs and the government, as well as visit the European Commission in Brussels, notably to consult the applications of previous ECoC. A platform was then established comprising local municipalities, NGOs, cultural operators and businesses and chaired by the vice president of a prominent Media Group. This platform gained the support of the government for an ECoC, with the Ministers for Foreign Affairs and for Culture specifically involved. Prior to the application,

there was an open call for projects aimed at NGOs, universities and cultural operators from which a number of projects were selected for inclusion in the proposed cultural programme.

Istanbul is already a well-known city and attracts a large number of tourists and visitors each year. The main motivation of the ECoC was not therefore to put Istanbul “on the map” nor was it particularly about attracting tourists. Although the city has a very rich cultural heritage, at the time of the application its contemporary cultural sector and its cultural and creative industries were thought to be under-developed in relation to Istanbul's size, historical importance and ambitions (in the context of Turkey's candidature for EU membership). So the motivation centred on establishing Istanbul as a centre for the creation and exhibition of modern and contemporary culture. Another motivation, given the diversity of cultures and ethnic groups in Istanbul as well as the city's young, dynamic population, was to create a cultural scene that reflected and drew on the population. A prerequisite to fulfilling these ambitions was considered to be the development of a coherent cultural policy for the city, with the active participation of central and local government, business and NGOs.

The ECoC application did not include explicit overall objectives for Istanbul 2010, but it did list three main ways by which to make the most of being an ECoC. From these three main ways, we can extract the four implicit objectives of the ECoC at the time (the first “main way” being divisible into two objectives):

- Generate transformative energy and build capacity;
- Restore cultural and industrial heritage;
- Address the urban and cultural dimensions of citizenship;
- Function as a bridge connecting Europe to its East.

5.2.2 Reports of the selection, monitoring and advisory panel

Istanbul was one of two cities in non-Member States to apply for the 2010 ECoC title, the other being Kiev (Ukraine). Since Article 4 of Decision 1419/1999/EC allowed only one city from outside the EU to host the event in any given year, the European Selection Panel was required to choose between these competing bids. The Panel considered both bids at its meeting of 14-15 March 2006; it chose to recommend Istanbul in its report of April 2006 and Istanbul was duly designated as ECoC by the European Council later that year.

In its report, the panel noted the long and careful preparation of Istanbul's proposal and its in-depth reflection on the nature and purpose of the ECoC. The report went on to praise Istanbul for its clear view of the ECoC concept and the tools and methodologies needed to implement it, as well as for the innovative character and strong European dimension of the proposed programme. Strong points of the application were reported to include the bottom-up dimension (including the prominent role for civil society), involvement of citizens, sustainability and communication strategy. The panel recommended that particular attention be paid to the process of selecting projects and also reminded Istanbul, as it did the other two cities nominated for the 2010 title, of the need to intensify preparations and further develop contacts. It also called on regional and national authorities to give the necessary support.

The first meeting of the monitoring and advisory panel took place on 21 November 2007. In its report, the panel noted in particular the establishment of the legal framework, progress made in setting up management arrangements and the proposed approach to intercultural dialogue. It stressed the importance of protecting artistic autonomy, ensuring openness, transparency and accountability of management, and of securing public funding for core expenditure.

The second meeting of the monitoring and advisory panel took place on 2 June 2009. In its report, the panel noted richness and vibrancy of the proposed cultural programme, the focus on heritage conservation, co-operation between cultural stakeholders, adequacy of resources and efforts made to stabilise governance after a number of high-profile resignations. The panel made three main recommendations, which were to:

- maintain stable governance, with special attention paid to artistic coordination;
- keep the programme clear and focussed without overloading it; and
- put in place a communication campaign able to brand such a complex programme.

5.2.3 Activity during the title year

The eventual cultural programme – as foreseen in the application - was focused on four elements, namely earth, air, water and fire, which were said to have special meaning to Istanbul. The four key elements are also linked to the four seasons of the year and were linked in the programme as follows:

- “Earth – Tradition and Transformation” during winter, focusing on history, traditions, cultural heritage;
- “Air – Heaven Sent” during the spring period, with a focus on the city's spiritual wealth;
- “Water – the City and the Sea” during the summer period, with the aim being to bring together as many different cultures of Europe as possible and give everybody a chance to see the art and culture of different European countries;
- “Fire – Forging for the Future” during the autumn period, with forward-looking projects which seek to create sustainable cultural assets and urban renewal.

In total, the agency received applications for 2,484 projects of which 719 were accepted. Of these, 586 were implemented and the remaining 133 later cancelled. A small number of additional projects were not financially supported by Istanbul 2010 but were permitted to use the ECoC logo. The supported projects were implemented by a diversity of co-ordinating bodies as shown in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Projects supported by type of co-ordinating body

Type of co-ordinating body	%
Istanbul 2010	17
Non-governmental organisation	18
University	11
Municipality	7
Other public body	17
Commercial company	22
Individuals	8
Total	100

Table 5.2 below presents the full breakdown of completed and ongoing projects according to the different directorates within the agency. The table highlights a number of interesting features about the cultural programme; first, the programme covered a broad range of artistic and cultural disciplines; second, many of the restoration projects proved very difficult to deliver by the end of 2010 and the majority of the budget for Urban Projects Co-ordination – some € 59m - remained unspent (although committed to ongoing projects); in contrast, around 90% of the cultural and artistic projects were completed within the title year.

Table 5.2 Projects supported by Istanbul 2010 (situation as of 31.12.2010)

Directorate	Completed	TRY	Euro	Ongoing	TRY	Euro
Visual Arts	49	8,144,182	4,072,091	0	0	0
Music and Opera	43	11,962,677	5,981,339	0	0	0
Urban Culture	42	14,232,626	7,116,313	0	0	0
Cultural Heritage and Museums	30	14,183,083	7,091,542	7	3,813,034	1,906,517
Literature	26	6,370,265	3,185,133	1	1,770,000	885,000
Traditional Arts	20	3,096,829	1,548,415	0	0	0
Promotion and Marketing	1	125,000	62,500	0	0	0
Tourism Promotion	33	6,855,207	3,427,604	0	0	0
Theatre and Performing Arts	25	12,716,979	6,358,490	0	0	0
Cinema Documentary Animation	40	41,326,232	20,663,116	0	0	0
International Relations	30	2,340,461	1,170,231	1	154,294	77,147
Urban Projects Coordination	37	14,849,743	7,424,872	51	118,690,290	59,345,145
Public Relations	5	590,890	295,445	0	0	0
Corporate Relations	51	8,926,381	4,463,191	9	11,396,299	5,698,150
Urban Applications	23	3,910,614	1,955,307	7	5,978,807	2,989,404
Education	10	10,372,152	5,186,076	0	0	0
Projects Belonging to the Agency	18	11,819,239	5,909,620	0	0	0
Classical Turkish Music	19	3,887,412	1,943,706	0	0	0
Activity	5	11,263,830	5,631,915	0	0	0
Projects related to article 14 of law no. 5706	2	258,200	129,100	0	0	0
Closing Activities	1	724,590	362,295	0	0	0
Total	510	187,956,592	93,978,296	76	141,802,724	70,901,362

Source: Istanbul 2010

5.2.4 Financing

Istanbul's application committed a budget of € 31.1m for the core operational costs (salaries, overheads, project implementation, information and marketing, travel) over 2006-2011. It also allowed an additional € 64.9m for the implementation of the programme during the title year (covering administration, implementation, marketing, and contingency). This funding for these activities was expected to be provided by sponsors (€ 10m), central government (€ 10m), the EU (€ 0.5m) and a special levy (€ 99.8). This last item was to consist of a levy of 1 kuruş (0.4 euro cents) on each litre of gas or oil sold in Istanbul from the date of designation. A similar levy had been applied across the country by the government since 1992 in support of the development of Olympics sports in Turkey. The intention of those individuals leading the submission team was to achieve a degree of independence from political control, by having a dedicated funding stream rather than relying on core government funding. Since the income of € 120.3m was expected to exceed the total costs of € 96m, it was proposed that any surplus would be used to finance additional new projects.

The eventual financing of Istanbul 2010 was very different to that proposed in the application, as the table below shows. The government chose not to implement the fuel levy in practice on the basis that the use of funding from such a levy solely in Istanbul rather than in the entire territory of Turkey would be unconstitutional. Instead, virtually all the funding of Istanbul 2010 was instead provided by the Ministry of Finance (Maliye Bakanlığı) from general taxation. This funding was to far exceed the sum of the fuel levy and the grant funding from central government stated in the application. As a result, Istanbul 2010 enjoyed the largest budget of any ECoC to date. Other national or local funders were less forthcoming than was the central government: the eventual contributions of the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, the Istanbul Provincial Administration and the Chambers of Commerce and of Industry were very much less than anticipated.

Income from donations and sponsorship was far less than originally envisaged at € 2.26m rather than € 10m, despite a government law making all corporate sponsorship fully tax-deductible, though in-kind contributions were received in addition to this sum (e.g. related to communications, tourism, marketing). The reason suggested by interviewees from the Agency for the reluctance of potential sponsors included the global economic situation in the years leading up to 2010, managerial instability within the Agency and the dominance of the government amongst the funders. This view is supported by the two corporate sponsors interviewed: both reported that they had been excited by the original vision of Istanbul, but that once some of the key individuals departed the Agency in 2009, the Agency did not maintain a constructive dialogue with them. As a result, both sponsors reported their overall frustration and dissatisfaction with their experience as corporate sponsors.

Since Istanbul is located in a non-Member State, there was no possibility of receiving EU Structural Funds for any aspect of its ECoC or associated infrastructure developments. However, since Turkey participates in (and contributes to the budget of) the EU's Culture Programme 2007-13, Istanbul was eligible to receive the Melina Mercouri Prize (which is financed by the Culture Programme), in accordance with Decision 1622/2006/EC. In addition, the ECoC received EU funding from the Instrument for Pre-accession (IPA).

Table 5.3 Actual funding of Istanbul 2010 (2008-11)

Financing sources	TRY (m)	Euro (m) ²⁸	%
Ministry of Finance	548.68	274.34	95.04
Istanbul Provincial Administration	1.38	0.69	0.24
Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality	0.35	0.18	0.06
Istanbul Chamber of Commerce	1.00	0.50	0.17
Istanbul Chamber of Industry	0.05	0.03	0.01
Donations and Sponsorship	2.26	1.13	0.39
Sales and other revenue	0.40	0.20	0.07
Interest and other income	19.92	9.96	3.45
EU (Melina Mercouri Prize) ²⁹	3.26	1.50	0.56
Total³⁰	577.30	288.65	100.00

Source: Istanbul 2010³¹

The table below presents the breakdown of expenditure of Istanbul 2010. From the figures, the most striking observation is that around one-third of the total funding available (€ 93m) remained unspent. The main reason given by the Agency for this difference was the difficulty in implementing a number of restoration and renovation projects; whilst budgets were allocated, practical difficulties meant that some activities did not take place or were not completed by the end of 2010.

Despite such difficulties, the restoration and renovation of existing heritage accounted for around 60% of total expenditure in 2009 and 70% in 2010. Promotional activities were also well-supported both in Turkey and internationally; indeed, some 25m TRY (€ 12.5m) was reported to have been dedicated to international marketing of Istanbul 2010.

EU funding in the form of the Melina Mercouri Prize was used to fund a suite of projects across different strands of the cultural programme:

- Theatre and Performing Arts: European Universities Theatre Festival
- Visual Arts: Lives and Works in Istanbul
- Cinema & Documentary & Animation: Essen-Pecs-Istanbul On Bike Film
- Literature: European Writers Parliament
- Music Opera: Arvo Pärt: Adam's Lament World Premiere
- International Relations: "Cultural Policies in Turkey and Europe" Symposium 2009; New Approaches to Cultural Governance Symposium 2010
- Cultural Heritage and Museums: The Prince Islands Museum

²⁸ Using exchange rate of 1 TRY = € 0.5 (based on average annual bid rate over the period 1.1.08 to 31.01.11); source: www.oanda.com/currency/historical-rates/

²⁹ EU funding of € 1.5m represents actual value of funding.

³⁰ Totals differ slightly from sum of rows above due to rounding.

³¹ Quoted in Ernst & Young (2011), Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Impact Assessment Report, p.31.

- Urban Projects: Armenian Architects of Istanbul Exhibition; Hasköy Mayor Synagogue Restoration; Preparing a Management plan for Istanbul historical peninsula; European cultural heritage summit in Istanbul; Underground Revolution Exhibition, Brussels

Istanbul 2010 also received EU funding of € 1.5m from the Instrument for Pre-Accession (IPA), which was used to support projects under the umbrella of “Civil Society Dialogue – Culture and Art”. A call for proposals attracted 122 applications, of which 11 were supported involving multilateral partnerships between Turkey and civil society organisations in the EU’s Member States.

Table 5.4 Actual expenditure of Istanbul 2010 (2008-11)

Expenditure item	TRY	Euro (m)	%
Project Implementation	176.65	88.33	45.54
Ministry of Culture Transfers UNESCO	35.61	17.81	9.18
Topkapi Palace Museum Security-Cleaning	22.13	11.06	5.70
Promotion expenditures	83.64	41.84	21.57
General Management Expenditures	31.90	15.95	8.22
VAT	37.92	18.96	9.78
Total	387.90	193.95	100.00

Source: Istanbul 2010

5.3 Relevance

Having described Istanbul and its cultural programme, we can consider the relevance of its objectives and activities to the three specific objectives of the European Capitals of Culture.

5.3.1 Promoting the European dimension of and through culture

The European dimension formed an important part of the motivation of the partnership which developed the original ECoC application and featured prominently in the original objectives. There was a dual intention here: to remind Istanbul’s residents and people across the EU of Istanbul’s long history as a centre for European culture, perhaps even as the birthplace of European culture; to look forward and project a new and different image of Istanbul as a modern, contemporary European cultural centre. The intention was to cultivate and reinforce cultural links and collaborations and, in that way, bring about an ever-closer rapprochement between Turkey and the rest of Europe and ultimately support Turkey’s candidacy for EU membership.

The activities implemented within the eventual cultural programme retained a strong focus on the European dimension, though in practice the balance of emphasis was perhaps more towards the historical perspective and slightly less on modern and contemporary European culture. Nonetheless, the cultural programme did feature a suite of “International Relations projects” which involved extensive collaborations, particularly with other cities holding the ECoC title – Liverpool 2008, Pécs 2010 and Essen for the Ruhr 2010. Projects involving co-operation with artists and operators from other countries were also present in most of the other strands of activity, e.g. Visual Arts, Music and Opera, Theatre and Performing Arts.

Unlike some other titles holders of recent years, the key stakeholders in Istanbul saw no particular need to “put Istanbul on the map”, given its sheer size and its historical and contemporary significance. The

European dimension nonetheless featured strongly in the very extensive marketing activities aimed at attracting European tourists and visitors to Istanbul during the title year.

5.3.2 Developing cultural activities

As noted above, the original motivation of Istanbul's ECoC application centred on establishing the city as a centre for the creation and exhibition of modern and contemporary culture, as well restoring its cultural and industrial heritage. This motivation – coming as it did from a group of high-profile artistic operators from the civil society and independent sectors – ensured a strong relevance to the objectives for the ECoC set at EU level. Indeed, the intention was not merely to present Istanbul's existing and very rich European heritage to the world or to brand the city as a European cultural destination, though these did feature. It was above all to build the city's capacity for modern and contemporary culture as well as to develop an exciting and innovative cultural programme and in that way bring about a step-change in the city's cultural offering in the long-term.

During the development phase – and particularly following the departure of many of the key individuals in 2009 – the balance of emphasis tilted more towards the restoration of cultural and industrial heritage as well as the international promotion of the city. Overall, the programme retained a strong focus on bringing the “common aspects of European cultures to the fore”, though these aspects were perhaps more the historical rather than contemporary aspects of European culture. Some of the different strands did retain a focus on promoting innovative and contemporary culture, through attracting international artists, supporting for local artists and cultural organisations and the commissioning new artworks; but the tendency was for the strands to operate fairly discretely meaning that the programme as a whole retained less relevance to the original artistic vision.

5.3.3 Supporting the social and economic development of the city through culture

Istanbul was selected under the terms of the 1999 Decision, which placed the emphasis on the cultural and European objectives of the ECoC rather than on the social and economic development of the city through culture. The 1999 Decision did refer to the need to mobilise large sections of the population, but it was only in the 2006 Decision that “social development of the city” became an explicit criterion.

Whilst many ECoC over the years have adopted economic and social developmental objectives, there was no requirement for such objectives to be explicitly adopted by Istanbul 2010 and indeed they were not. Given the city's large and burgeoning population of more than 12m inhabitants and the dynamism offered by such a demographic, there was no particular need to regenerate the city through culture as had been the case in some previous ECoC (notably Glasgow 1990, Lille 2004 and Liverpool 2008). There was also recognition of the limited potential of the ECoC to bring about a very demonstrable economic impact on such a large area, though it was hoped that an increase in tourism would bring benefits. Similarly, in social terms, there was recognition of the limited potential for making the ECoC a meaningful part of the everyday life of such a large and diverse population, though there was a clear focus on making culture accessible and increasing participation for as many of Istanbul's residents as possible. This included an effort to increase the participation of residents of the city's urban fringe who had been found to participate less in culture than residents of the central areas.³²

The relevance of the ECoC to this objective thus related primarily to the creation of a new narrative rather than a demonstrable improvement in the economic and social conditions prevailing in the city. This

³² Ernst & Young (2011), Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Impact Assessment Report, p38.

narrative was based around a redefinition of citizenship, particularly in the context of social change (and even upheaval) as well as Turkey's hoped-for accession to the EU. For example, as one interviewee noted, "the city has received huge migration from Anatolia in the last twenty years, but many Anatolians still live in Istanbul as they used to live in their villages; some have never even seen the Bosphorus, despite living here for years". Another noted that "the arts provide a unique opportunity to unite people from diverse and contrasting backgrounds and perspectives in harmony and mutual understanding; Istanbul 2010 can serve as a showcase of living together".

5.4 Efficiency

5.4.1 Governance and management

An executive body to implement the ECoC programme, "Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Agency" ("İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı"), was set up by law in 2007. This agency featured a three-tier structure featuring a Co-ordination Board (presided over by a government minister and including other ministers and the Mayor of Metropolitan Istanbul), an Advisory Board (composed of representatives of national, provincial and local government, commerce and industry, academia, the NGO sector, different religious communities and other bodies in the cultural field) and an Executive Board (chaired by the same individual that had led the development of the bid and also comprised of representatives of the public, private and NGO sectors). Preparation and implementation of the ECoC was the responsibility of a Secretariat led by a Secretary General assisted by four Deputies responsible for: i) projects and project management; ii) administration, finance and fundraising etc.; iii) major events and communication; iv) urban and architectural projects, heritage and museums.

The agency succeeded in implementing a very extensive cultural programme and marketing campaign, going far beyond what had been previously undertaken in the city. Whilst the agency was successful in that respect, it must be said that certain features of the governance arrangements proved problematic and led to the overall impact of the ECoC being less than originally anticipated.

First, the eventual delivery arrangements weakened the overall artistic vision and direction of the ECoC. At the heart of the original application for Istanbul 2010 was not only an artistic vision but the idea of creating a new model for the governance of culture in the city. Whilst the private and NGO sector had become ever more prominent in the cultural field, this sector tended to operate in isolation from the major cultural institutions of the state (or sponsored by the state). Indeed, despite a growth in commercial galleries, corporate sponsorship and private philanthropy, there existed few if any genuine partnership bodies working across the state, private and NGOs sectors and incorporating the three different ministries of the central government that were most relevant to culture (i.e. Ministries of Culture and Tourism, Finance, Interior). The idea was thus to create a multi-sector partnership featuring a quota for the representation of civil society bodies. Moreover, the intention was that the fuel levy would reinforce the artistic independence of the agency by making it less dependent on mainstream funding provided by the central government.

In practice, without the fuel levy, and given the rather limited funding provided by the local and provincial authorities as well as by the Chambers, the government became the supplier of 95% of the funding. Perhaps as a result, it appears that the state bodies then came to exert effective control over the ECoC to the frustration of some of the independent cultural operators that had conceived the ECoC and developed the original application. Indeed, a common complaint amongst such stakeholders was that political and managerial concerns had taken precedence at the expense of artistic initiative and independence. For example, one interviewee reported that the General Secretary had "imposed" a particular branding and

image on the ECoC which did not reflect, indeed was perhaps contradictory to, the artistic vision pursued up to that point. As a result, several of the independent cultural operators and representatives of NGOs (including the Chairman of the Executive Board) resigned their positions within the agency in 2009.

Second, the method of allocating and accounting for funding was not well suited to the artistic nature and purpose of many of the proposed activities within the cultural programme. A key concern of the agency appears to have been to apply the conventional government procedures in the tendering for services with the emphasis placed on accountability and value for money. Given the very extensive infrastructure and construction-related services procured, this may have been an appropriate approach for much of the activity undertaken. However, it appears to have been particularly problematic when applied to some of the more innovative and avant-garde activities, particularly those implemented by small, independent or semi-professional operators. For example, Artistic Directors and other staff of the agency complained of being under pressure to accept the lowest price quoted for any service (subject to the satisfaction of the minimum requirements of the tender) rather than the most appropriate provider; as result, some reported instances of receiving poor quality service, which had a negative impact on the quality of artistic productions. Another common complaint amongst the same individuals related to the breadth of services that needed to be procured via open tender and the associated lack of discretion allowed to such staff. For example, one interviewee reported that “having to tender for every service, even to meet our basic stationary needs, was like indirect sabotage!” Again, the method of allocating and accounting for funding was cited as one reason for the departure of key individuals in 2009.

Third, the delivery arrangements did not facilitate the formulation and pursuit of a single, coherent artistic vision but instead tended to discourage co-ordination across different strands of activity. A decision had been taken by the core group of independent cultural operators at the outset not to appoint an overall Artistic Director with the aim being to ensure a more inclusive approach. Artistic direction instead became the responsibility of an Artistic Committee and a number of sub-committees. By bringing together the nine Artistic Directors, each covering a separate discipline, e.g. visual arts, performing arts, the Artistic Committee was intended to serve as a forum in which to share artistic ideas and work together in a co-operative, rather than bureaucratic manner. However, the Artistic Committee seems to have exerted less and less influence over the development phase until finally being disbanded in advance of the title year. Whilst some of the Artistic Directors departed in 2009, those that remained as well as the new appointees appear to have developed their own discrete artistic visions for their particular strands of activity. In some ways, the Artistic Directors enjoyed the freedom which this new situation offered them; indeed, some of the strands did indeed present exciting, innovative and contemporary artistic “statements” in their respective disciplines. But overall, interviewees regretted the lack of an overall vision and considered it a missed opportunity. Moreover, the delivery arrangements and the absence of a clear artistic vision also resulted in weak co-ordination between the cultural programme and the marketing campaign, with the latter not tending specifically to promote the former.

Perhaps in mitigation, it must be said that the functioning of the agency did represent somewhat of a departure from the usual *modus operandi* of the state institutions. One senior official of the Agency reported that decision-making within the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı) was generally centralised in Ankara, with the local office in Istanbul enjoying limited discretion to respond to local needs. In that sense, the delegation of a degree of decision-making to the agency represented a considerable improvement on the previous situation. Encouragingly, the same interviewee reported that the Ministry would be likely to adopt some of the innovations introduced by Istanbul 2010, such as the appointment of external Scientific Boards to advise on restoration projects. Similarly, the representative of the agency responsible for overseeing procurement recognised that the both artistic staff and the

administrative staff had experienced frustration but had learned from the experience and begun to understand the others' point of view better.

5.4.2 Communication and marketing

Istanbul's ECoC application highlighted two main aims for its communications and marketing activities, which were to:

- Involve as many people and organisations as possible; and
- Redefine the relations between the people of Istanbul and the city administration in order to create a new mechanism for decision-making.

These aims were to be pursued through activities in five phases:

- 2006 Planning, e.g. forming the in-house team, bringing together stakeholders, developing an inventory of existing communication devices
- 2007 Fire-up!, e.g. setting goals and objectives, considering target audiences, developing a logo and visual identity
- 2008 Mobilising, e.g. organising non-media channels, developing printed materials, operating a website, contracting advertising and media agencies, etc.
- 2009: Completion, e.g. integrating the advertising campaign and communications plan, integrating messages and key aspects of the strategy within advertising, initiative creative and alternative media channels and tools
- 2010: Action, e.g. launching the 2010 programme, issuing a monthly newsletter, producing a daily TV news programme

In practice, though this plan was not strictly adhered to, a very extensive communication and marketing campaign was implemented. In total, promotional expenditure accounted for nearly € 42m in total, of which around € 12.5m specifically on the international campaign. Activities included advertisements in global printed media and screened on international channels including CNN International, Al Jazeera and Euronews. Exhibitions and presentations were also held at numerous international events and venues, including the Council of Europe³³ and the Le Monde à Paris Tourism Fair³⁴. The international campaign primarily consisted of a broad effort to attract tourists to Istanbul based on the “brand value” of Istanbul (using the slogan “Istanbul, the most inspiring city in the world”) rather than to promote the cultural programme itself to potential audiences.

A similarly extensive campaign was also implemented within Istanbul and Turkey more generally. The Istanbul 2010 logo featured prominently on public transport and hoardings across the city as well as on the aircraft of Turkish Airlines (Türk Hava Yolları Anonim Ortaklığı). Advertisements also featured in national print and broadcast media across Turkey. The aim of this national campaign in the early stages was to make the media and general public aware of the existence of the ECoC. Later, the aim was to promote the cultural programme and specific events therein, including through the publication of a monthly bulletin with a circulation of around 100,000 printed copies. More than 125 press conferences or launches were also held.

³³ www.en.istanbul2010.org/HABER/GP_845425

³⁴ www.en.istanbul2010.org/HABER/GP_656818

The perceptions of the success of the communication and marketing activities varied. The agency's own data confirms more than 50,000 new stories or articles about the ECoC. Of those, around half relate to printed media, with an aggregate circulation exceeding 2.5bn. In terms of volume, this made the campaign perhaps the most extensive implemented yet for any Turkish city. As a result, 75% of Istanbul's 12m residents were reported to be aware that the city held the ECoC title.³⁵ Some interviewees felt that the Istanbul 2010 brand had achieved good awareness within Turkey and beyond (notably Germany, which accounted for 57% of international media articles in 2010); this view is supported by the results of a survey of tourists, which reports that 60% of respondents knew before arriving in the city that Istanbul held the ECoC title. This awareness had, in the opinion of these interviewees, offered some artists a profile they would not otherwise have achieved and also raised the prominence of culture more generally within Istanbul and the rest of Turkey. There was also, however, recognition that the marketing had not been strategic and had to a large extent been "decoupled" from the cultural programme and its constituent projects, particularly in its international activities. The reasons for this outcome appear to include the fact that a definitive cultural programme was unavailable at a crucial point when communication activities needed to be launched and also the issues around co-ordination within the agency as noted above. As a result, some 20% of residents responding to a survey reported that they had no information about the cultural programme.³⁶

Istanbul is, of course, a very large city and would have attracted a large number of international visitors and tourists even in the absence of the ECoC. It is therefore hard to estimate the impact of the ECoC, though the evidence suggests that the international marketing campaign met with a degree of success; there was an increase of 11% in the number of foreign tourists visiting the city between 2009 and 2010; overnight stays by foreign visitors increased by 12.5%, whilst overnight stays by Turkish visitors increased by 4%. However, these increases need to be seen in the context of a slowing in the rate of increase between 2008 and 2009, due to the impact of the global economic crisis. Whilst much of the increase may merely represent a long-term trend, some of the increase could perhaps be attributed to the ECoC marketing campaign; 15% of tourists responding to a survey reported that the ECoC had influenced their decision to visit Istanbul.³⁷

5.5 Effectiveness

5.5.1 Developing cultural activities

One of the objectives of Istanbul's original ECoC application was to "generate transformative energy and build capacity" for development. Yet, as noted earlier in section 5.4.1, the governance arrangements weakened the overall artistic vision and direction of the ECoC and did not facilitate the formulation and pursuit of a single, coherent artistic vision. Nonetheless, in terms of the size, scale and diversity of events implemented, Istanbul 2010 can be considered a success in spite of these weaknesses in the overall artistic coherence. As shown earlier in section 5.2.3, some 586 projects were implemented in total during the years 2008-2011. These projects (as well as the seven additional projects that also carried the ECoC logo) between them involved the production of nearly 10,000 discrete activities including:

- 1598 concerts
- 1127 theatre performances
- 1201 conferences or seminars

³⁵ Ernst & Young (2011), Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Impact Assessment Report, p.74.

³⁶ Ernst & Young (2011), Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Impact Assessment Report, p. 74

³⁷ Ernst & Young (2011), Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Impact Assessment Report, p.76.

- 735 workshops
- 763 exhibitions
- 336 publications
- 350 literary readings
- 52 festivals
- 500 film screenings
- 130 sites restored, maintained or renovated

As discussed in section 5.2.3, these activities encompassed a broad range of artistic and cultural disciplines and took place across the full twelve months of the title year. According to the agency, nearly 10m people attended or participated in these activities and 70% of residents responding to a survey felt that the number of cultural activities in the city had increased in 2010.³⁸

Within this broad cultural programme, a number of elements were particularly significant.

First, the restoration of Istanbul's cultural and industrial heritage; this was a key objective of the original application and much of the resources were indeed devoted to this objective. The "Urban Projects" strand was particularly focussed on restoration works within the four UNESCO World Heritage Sites on Istanbul's historic peninsula: the Land Walls of Theodosius, Zeyrek Neighbourhood, Süleymaniye Neighbourhood, and the Archaeological Park of Sultanahmet. Such works included the restoration of Saint Sophia Museum, sections of Topkapı Palace, improvement of Sultanahmet Square and the development of a Management Plan for the Istanbul Historic Peninsula. An important complement to these restoration activities has been the development of the first ever Strategic Plan for the Sur-i Sultani conservation area, which includes innovations relating to the regeneration of Istanbul's museum sector, museum education, plural governance of culture and new project ideas such as a "Museum of Byzantium". The Strategic Plan is now being taken forward by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in the years leading up to 2023 – the first centenary of the Republic of Turkey. A database of cultural heritage sites in Istanbul has also been developed for the first time. Despite these successes, it must be noted that many of the restoration projects proved very difficult to deliver by the end of 2010, although the expectation is that projects will come to completion within 2011. One flagship project which faced particular difficulty was the renovation of Atatürk Cultural Centre (Atatürk Kültür Merkezi), one of the most prominent performance venues in Istanbul. Whilst it was planned to reopen the Centre during 2010, a number of legal difficulties prevented the completion of the building works and the building remains unused at the present time.

Second, a number of high-profile cultural events including some featuring performers of international renown; these included the opening events which took place simultaneously at seven venues across the city, each featuring performances and a firework display (Haliç Congress Center, Taksim Square, Kadıköy Square, Pendik Square, Sultanahmet Square, Bağcılar Square and Beylikdüzü Square).³⁹ Other significant performances included a world premiere of Estonian composer Arvo Pärt's "Adam's Lament", a performance by the Simon Bolivar Youth Orchestra and the first ever concert by the rock group U2 in Turkey (also the biggest stadium concert held in Turkey to date). The ECoC was also host to a number of international festivals and events, notably the 2nd Istanbul International Ballet Competition, the Istanbul International Poetry Festival, the European Writers Parliament, and the Tall Ships Regatta.

³⁸ Ernst & Young (2011), Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Impact Assessment Report, p. 74

³⁹ www.en.istanbul2010.org/HABER/GP_616499

Third, a large number of cultural events aimed to present the traditional and historical culture of Istanbul and of Turkey to a wider audience. These included the “Traditional Arts Projects”, such as exhibitions focussed on calligraphy and traditional Turkish book arts, as well as books devoted to mahya-making⁴⁰ and Ottoman headgear. They also included “Classical Turkish Music Projects” such as nine concerts celebrating the “music of Istanbul’s architecture”⁴¹, folk concerts performed in Turkish, Greek, Armenian and Sephardim, and the Istanbul 2010 Balkan Music Festival. In the performing arts, they included performances of Karagöz, a form of traditional Turkish shadow theatre.

Fourth, the ECoC supported the commissioning and performance or exhibition of new artworks, including those developed by local artists and cultural institutions and/or specifically relating to contemporary Istanbul. These included “Istanpoli”, a project that involved established artists residing in Turkey in order to work with local artists and residents to create new stories about life in Istanbul, which were then performed in Istanbul and other European cities. They also included the creation of feature films and documentaries, including some by emerging local film-makers, such as “Secrets of Istanbul” a drama-documentary relating stories of Istanbul through urban legends of various cultures and “Love in Istanbul”, another drama-documentary retelling great love stories which were lived in Istanbul, and “Istanbul from Day to Night” a documentary telling the story of a day in Istanbul.

5.5.2 Promoting the European dimension of and through culture

Another main objective in Istanbul’s original application was to “function as a bridge connecting Europe to its East”. As we have noted (in section 5.3.2), the programme retained a focus on the EU’s objective of “promoting the European dimension through culture” and the programme can be said to achieved a degree of success in that respect; 59% of residents responding to a survey reported that “my outlook on European culture changed in a positive way”.⁴² It must be noted, however, that the tendency was for the strands to operate fairly discretely meaning that the programme as a whole retained less relevance to the original artistic vision. Indeed, it was reported by interviewees that the European dimension did not permeate the entire cultural programme as it could have done; for example, marketing activities did not make any particular “statement” about the European dimension and the “International Relations Projects” were not sufficiently integrated into the broader cultural programme.

Nonetheless, the key features of the European dimension of Istanbul 2010 were as follows.

First, the programme featured a number of collaborations with artists and operators in other countries (in addition to the performers of international renown mentioned above) and in that way made a contribution to the EU’s objective to “foster co-operation between cultural operators, artists and cities” in different European countries. One project with a particularly strong European dimension was the “Dance Platform Istanbul” which brought together renowned international performers, professional choreographers and young dancers (including some still in education) in order to create new choreographies, co-produce new works and give performances free of charge to the public. Crucially, the project involved both the independent dance scene and the state sector (e.g. state opera and ballet) which did not have a tradition of collaborating with each other. Another project, “A Story of the City, Constantinople – Istanbul” brought together distinguished American musicologists from Schola Cantorum (Boston, USA) with local musicians to rehearse and perform rare forms of traditional Turkish music. Similarly, the “Lives and works in

⁴⁰ Mahya is traditional art involving the installation of an illumination system between the minarets of a mosque on Ramadan nights, religious holidays and other special days. Although in past years candles were used, nowadays electric bulbs are used to form a picture or a script.

⁴¹ http://en.istanbul2010.org/PROJE/GP_621585

⁴² Ernst & Young (2011), Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Impact Assessment Report, p. 74

Istanbul” project provided residencies in Istanbul for artists from six EU Member States; those artists then produced new works and also collaborated with local young artists in Istanbul.

Second, the cultural programme featured a number of collaborations with the two other cities holding the ECoC title in 2010, particularly Essen for the Ruhr 2010. These consisted primarily of support offered by Istanbul 2010 for Turkish artists to participate in activities within the other two cities. Events in the Ruhr included a fairytale festival (at which two Turkish writers performed traditional Turkish fairytales), a modern poetry competition (featuring performances by Turkish folk poets), a mystery books festival (featuring Turkish mystery writers) and the Melez Fashion Show (featuring Turkish designers). Collaboration with Pécs 2010 included performances by Turkish artists at the International Pécs Puppet Festival. It does not appear that many events in Istanbul featured artists from the other two title-holders, though films from Essen and from Pécs were shown in Istanbul. All three cities also collaborated in producing a documentary based on a cycle journey from Essen to Istanbul via Pécs. Istanbul 2010 also continued its collaboration with Liverpool in the “Cities on the Edge” project which dated back to Liverpool’s title year of 2008; this project featured the production and premiere of a documentary based on the experience of football fans from both cities, as well as from Marseilles.

Third, there were collaborations with other cities across Europe. For example, the “41°-29° Istanbul Network” brought together fifteen European cities to create opportunities for intercultural co-operation between young artists; in recognition of its contribution to world peace, mobility of young artists, development of culture, and intercultural dialogue, the Network was awarded the “European Culture Award” by the KulturForum Europa. The agency also provided support for 36 of Istanbul’s 39 municipalities to implement transnational cultural projects in collaboration with their sister cities in Europe and elsewhere in the world. For many of these municipalities, the projects were the first time that they had undertaken such transnational activity of a cultural nature.

Fourth, a specific suite of projects was implemented with EU co-financing of € 1.5m from the Instrument for Pre-Accession (IPA) under the umbrella of “Civil Society Dialogue – Culture and Art”. Selected projects have aimed to strengthen the role of civil society initiatives at the local level, through the transfer of knowledge, formation of networks and the implementation of joint projects in the field of culture and arts.

5.5.3 Supporting the social and economic development of the city through culture

As noted earlier, there was no requirement for Istanbul 2010 to adopt economic and social developmental objectives, although the original application did include the objective to “address the urban and cultural dimensions of citizenship”. This objective related primarily to the creation of a new narrative based around a redefinition of citizenship, particularly in the context of social change (and even upheaval) as well as Turkey’s hoped-for accession to the EU. As we have already noted, the objectives of the ECoC did not feed into a single, coherent artistic vision in part because of the nature of the governance arrangements put in place. We can, however, highlight elements of the cultural programme that did contribute progress to this objective.

First, there was both an overall ethos (evident in, for example, the various publications and promotional literature of the agency) and an assortment of cultural projects that emphasised values of tolerance and celebrated the diversity of cultures and ethnic groups present in the city. These included projects presenting the cultures of Istanbul’s Jewish, Greek and Armenian communities amongst others. For example, the “Hand In Hand With Love” art festival brought together children and young people from the

majority Muslim community and the minority Armenian, Greek and Jewish communities to take part in shared cultural activities such as poetry-reading, painting and choral performances. Another significant project was “Istanbul 2010 course”, which introduced a new elective course at 8 universities in Istanbul; the aim of this course to make young people more conscious of the diversity of culture and cultures within their city.

Second, efforts were made to promote access to and participation in culture, particularly amongst those that would not usually enjoy such opportunities. As a result, nearly 45% of participants were reported to belong to the group defined as “non-audience for culture and arts” (compared to 84% of the population at large). Moreover, the agency reported that more than 1.5m school students or young people, teachers and volunteers had attended or participated in cultural activities of Istanbul 2010. Most significant of all was the “2010 in Schools” project in which the agency co-operated with 2,500 education bodies to train teachers in the field of art and culture and establish a platform in every county with the contribution of the municipality, the Ministry of Education and the schools themselves. Other projects included taking art to different parts of the city, including the districts such as Balat, Esenler, Gaziosmanpaşa or Haskoy that were perceived to be poorly-served. For example, the “My Town, My Utopia” project involved young people from Gaziosmanpaşa, one of Istanbul’s poorer municipalities, in photographing their neighbourhood; the photographs then featured in an exhibition at the Istanbul French Cultural Institute and the agency arranged transport for young people from Gaziosmanpaşa to visit the galleries. Another project, “Sing Along”, provided choral workshops for young people from another poor area, Esenler, with tuition provided by the Bosphorus University Classical Music Chorus. The agency also worked closely with museums across the different municipalities to support them in introducing more interactive and contemporary approaches to culture in their offering. Whilst the ECoC has enabled considerable progress to be made, it is clear that raising participation in culture remains a challenge: 68% of residents responding to a survey reported that “only the central regions of the city benefited” from the ECoC and 60% reported that “activities were not addressed to ordinary people”.⁴³

Third, an extensive volunteer programme was operated with the aim of providing a resource for the implementation of the cultural programme, but also to encourage long-term participation in culture. In co-operation with the 39 municipalities, the agency devised the programme and set out to recruit volunteers. Each potential recruit was invited to attend a co-ordination meeting at which the ECoC concept was presented and the role of volunteer explained. The “active volunteers” were also offered a 3-day training course for them to become “ambassadors” for Istanbul 2010. Some also received additional training, such as in foreign languages or in welcoming foreign visitors to the city. The aim was to recruit 10,000 volunteers, though in practice 6,159 individuals registered as volunteers and 901 eventually took part in activities, undertaking 5,440 volunteer days⁴⁴ between them. Of these, 57% were volunteering for the first time.⁴⁵

5.6 Sustainability

5.6.1 Cultural activities

One of the objectives of Istanbul’s original application was to “generate transformative energy and build capacity” and in that way bring about a sustained impact on the city’s cultural sector and its ability to address the social dimensions of cultural policy and action.

⁴³ Ernst & Young (2011), Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Impact Assessment Report, p. 76

⁴⁴ Volunteer days defined as an activity lasting at least four hours.

⁴⁵ Ernst & Young (2011), Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Impact Assessment Report, p. 76.

There was general consensus amongst the interviewees that culture and art were higher on the agenda of the media and the general public than ever before and that the city's cultural scene will be more vibrant as a result of Istanbul 2010. As one interviewee noted: "people will go to museums, performances and exhibitions much more than they did before 2010. They are more aware of cultural pluralism in Istanbul and of the need to protect it". Indeed, 58% of respondents to a survey that had attended an ECoC event reported that would attend more cultural events in future years as a result.⁴⁶ In that respect, the ECoC is seen to have added impetus to the steady growth of the modern and contemporary cultural sector over the last decade or so; for example, the number of companies operating in the cultural and creative industries in Istanbul increased from 19,493 to 23,918 between 2009 and 2011, a rise of 23%.⁴⁷ There is a legacy of experience, networks and dynamism though this depends on informal, voluntary or sporadic efforts rather than any co-ordinated strategy. Indeed, interviewees reported that no specific plan had put in place for the continuation of cultural activities initiated by the ECoC. It was reported that some of the key individuals, notably the Artistic Directors, were going on to develop further artistic ventures in the city building on their experience gained during 2010. In some cases, this included efforts to continue or further develop specific activities within the cultural programme. For example, the director of the Dance Platform Istanbul intended to continue its activities in future years. Documentaries and feature films produced with the support of 2010 were also to be shown at international festivals in 2011 in the hope of securing prizes and then selling distribution rights. Similarly, the "41°-29° Istanbul Network" was expected to endure beyond 2010. However, it must be noted that in these instances, the initiative for sustaining activities lay very much with the individuals involved and there was a continued need for those individuals to approach the Ministry of Culture and Tourism or corporate sponsors for support.

Regrettably, there appears to be little prospect of the volunteer programme continuing in any co-ordinated way beyond 2010, reflecting the absence of a legacy plan for the wider activity of the agency once it ceases operation in 2011. The staff member overseeing the programme reported that efforts had been made to share the database of volunteers with a number of cultural NGOs in the city as a means maintaining some of the impetus gained in 2010 but that this had not proved possible. Instead, it was planned to write a book capturing some of the positive experience and learning gained.

Istanbul 2010 will however leave a very significant legacy, in terms of the restoration and renovation of many cultural heritage sites, which will endure indefinitely. This legacy will also be supported by more strategic and informed management of cultural heritage in the future, resulting from some of the tools developed in 2010 – notably the Strategic Plan for the Sur-i Sultani conservation area and the Management Plan for the Istanbul Historic Peninsula, as well as the digital inventory of cultural heritage in the city.

5.6.2 Cultural governance

As noted earlier in section 4.4.1, the idea of creating a new model for the governance of culture in the city was at the heart of the original application for Istanbul 2010. This model was intended to incorporate genuine partnership working across the state, private and civil society bodies working in the field of culture in Istanbul. It was also hoped to bringing better co-ordination and coherence within the non-state sector which had been very poorly organised in previous years. Whilst the agency represented an imperfect model for delivering the ECoC, it nonetheless represented a first step in the right direction. Most interviewees expressed the hope that the agency or something similar be sustained in order to co-ordinate activity in the future. However, the law creating the Agency also set a timescale for its

⁴⁶ Ernst & Young (2011), Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Impact Assessment Report, p.43.

⁴⁷ Ernst & Young (2011), Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Impact Assessment Report, p.60.

termination; in that sense, the demise of this particular model of cultural governance was “designed in” from the outset. Of course, it would be possible for a further law to be introduced, though the fact that no such law has yet been proposed suggests that the political will to do so does not exist – particularly without the incentive of another ECoC title. Overall, it has to be concluded that the end of the title year and the demise of the agency represent a “missed opportunity” in terms of changing the model of cultural governance in the city – though progress has been made, informal networks strengthened and lessons have been learned by all the different actors involved.

5.7 Conclusions

5.7.1 Success of the ECoC

Istanbul 2010 was one of the largest and most substantial ECoC to date, featuring both a diverse cultural programme (with many innovative elements) and an extensive programme of renovation and refurbishment of cultural heritage sites and venues. In size and form, it represented something of a first both for the city and for Turkey more generally. It will leave a substantial legacy, particularly in terms of the renovated sites, as well as (to a lesser extent) greater prominence and vibrancy of the city's cultural life.

Considering the success of the ECoC against its original objectives, it is safe to say that the second objective was indeed fulfilled, i.e. that of restoring the city's cultural and industrial heritage. The other objectives have perhaps been partly rather than fully achieved. Against the first objective of generating transformative energy and building capacity, it can be said that a useful contribution has been made to the development of Istanbul as a centre for the creation and exhibition of modern and contemporary culture; the ECoC has undoubtedly also built more capacity for such cultural activities, but the additional capacity is perhaps dispersed across various individuals, bodies and informal networks rather than amounting to a critical mass. Some progress can be said to have been made against the third objective of addressing the urban and cultural dimensions of citizenship, but again this has been in the form of discrete projects rather than through the projection of a strong coherent message to Istanbul's citizens. Against the fourth objective of functioning as a bridge connecting Europe to its East, connections were made, particularly with artists and cultural operators in other countries and many of those connections will endure. But the connections perhaps tended to be sporadic and uncoordinated rather than strategic and the European dimension did not permeate the entire programme. Moreover, the ECoC also struggled to communicate a clear message to the rest of Europe about the modern and contemporary nature of the city and its cultural offering.

An essential factor in the success of the ECoC was the early and strong commitment of the national government to support and finance the ECoC; the government lent its political support to an application that had originated in civil society; it then provided a very substantial sum to implement the ECoC in practice, which provided a degree of stability and certainty in planning the programme of the title year. Moreover, the government consented to a governance model that was intended to give a greater role to civil society and the private sector than had previously been the case. It also gave the agency a greater degree of autonomy than might usually be the case, though perhaps not as much as was necessary.

As noted above, the governance of Istanbul 2010 was not without some very significant difficulties: the weakening of the overall artistic vision and direction, the cumbersome process of allocating and accounting for funding, and the discouragement of co-ordination across different strands of activity. Moreover, the nature of the governance model and the way it was applied was a key factor in the breakdown in relationships, which ultimately led to the resignation of many of the key individuals.

An essential factor for the conception of Istanbul's ECoC was the coming together of a small number of high-profile independent artistic figures. These individuals provided the initial inspiration and vision for the ECoC application and drove much of the early development; without these individuals, Istanbul would have been unlikely to submit an application let alone secure the title. Whilst some of the original vision was lost, traces of it still remained in the eventual cultural programme, albeit in a form that did not amount to a strong, co-ordinated and coherent statement; as one interviewee stated "We lost the big dream. But that doesn't mean we didn't fulfil a lot of smaller dreams".

Looking ahead, whilst the delivery agency will cease operation and many of the cultural activities will come to an end, there is the potential for Istanbul to draw on the legacy of 2010 and thus further the cultural development of the city. There is a greater energy and capacity amongst operators, which will help the drive the continued development of the city's modern and contemporary culture. But for the city to truly exploit the benefits of 2010 will require the recapturing of some of the original vision – perhaps even a new vision – and also a rethink of the governance of culture in the city. With the demise of the agency, a new approach is needed in which the state remains fully involved but engages constructively within the non-state cultural sector in new and innovative ways, allowing both to flourish.

5.7.2 Lessons learnt

As with all ECoC, Istanbul 2010 offers a number of lessons from experience, not least because of the scale of its cultural programme, as well as the unique characteristics of the city – as a dynamic, growing metropolis in the EU's largest applicant state. We present them here:

- A clear and coherent artistic vision and ethos should be developed at an early stage and retained throughout the development and implementation of the ECoC. It should permeate the entire cultural programme but also the associated activities, notably marketing and communication.
- It is perhaps inevitable that the primary funders of an ECoC will wish to retain a large degree of control over its development and implementation, with the corresponding risk that the artistic considerations of the ECoC are stifled or even sidelined. There needs to be understanding, dialogue and compromise on both sides. Artistic players will need to be realistic about the constraints that the political environment may impose on the artistic freedom of an ECoC; they must be ambitious but not overly-idealistic. The political and institutional partners will need to focus on the achievement of broad strategic goals and may need to accept a loosening of day-to-day control and a degree of risk; they must also be open to introduction of new, innovative and perhaps unconventional methods of management and delivery.
- For ECoC to develop extensive, innovative cultural programmes featuring a strong European dimension, co-operation between operators and the involvement of citizens typically requires operators in the public, private and civil society sectors to come together in new forms of collaboration; in cities where these sectors tend to operate relatively discretely, there will be a need to create new mechanisms, platforms and forms of dialogue that bring different stakeholders and operators together; there will also be a need on all sides for openness and a willingness to take risks, learn and adapt.
- Whilst many ECoC over the years have adopted economic and social developmental objectives, these need not be at the heart of a successful ECoC. Depending on circumstances, it may be most appropriate and effective for an ECoC to remain in essence a cultural programme which promotes and celebrates European culture and the culture of the city. A strong ECoC of this type may indeed confer economic and social benefits for the city, but the cultural rationale for ECoC remains sufficient.

- Sustainability needs to be considered at an early stage and "built-in" from the outset. In particular, there is the need for a city holding the title to give consideration to a long-term strategy for cultural development (which will encompass but go beyond the ECoC) as well as to its preferred form of cultural governance for the years following the ECoC.

Conclusions and recommendations

6.0 Conclusions and recommendations at EU level

Having considered the three 2010 ECoC in the previous chapters, we now offer conclusions for the ECoC Action as a whole at EU level. We also offer recommendations for the European Commission that relate to the future implementation of the ECoC Action. In doing so, we are mindful that detailed recommendations relating to the procedures for selection, monitoring and co-financing have already been offered in the recent *Interim evaluation of selection and monitoring procedures of European Capitals of Culture 2010-16*.

6.1 Relevance

6.1.1 Relevance of the Action to the Treaty

The legal basis for the ECoC is Article 167 of the Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union.⁴⁸ The evaluation of the 2007-08 ECoC found that the objectives of the ECoC Action, as defined in Decisions 1419/EC/1999 and 1622/EC/2006, were consistent with and relevant to the objectives of Article 167, particularly the broad objectives of "developing cultural activities" and "promoting the European dimension of and through culture" although this latter objective is implied by rather than explicitly stated in the Treaty. The 2007-08 evaluation also found that cities holding the ECoC title have adopted a third dimension over the years, i.e. the economic and social dimension. This reflects broader trends of cultural policy that have emphasised the possibility of putting culture at the service of non-cultural objectives.

The criteria specified in Decision 1419/EC/1999 and applied to the selection of the 2010 ECoC have also ensured that the cultural programmes of the three title-holders that year proved relevant to Article 167. Looking in more detail, we can comment on the relevance of the three cultural programmes to the key elements within Article 167:

- *flowering of the cultures of the Member States*: all three ECoC aimed to support the cultural development of each city and by extension make a contribution to the broader cultural life of the nation, though the approach of each differed: Essen for the Ruhr sought to bring culture to new audiences, promote popular participation and make new connections between organisations and places; Pécs placed more emphasis on building new cultural infrastructure and on supporting existing cultural projects than on the development of new cultural activities; Istanbul's ECoC application centred on establishing the city as a centre for the creation and exhibition of modern and contemporary culture.
- *bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore*: the cultural programmes of all three ECoC brought the European dimension of culture to the fore, though in different ways: Essen for the Ruhr explored the ways in which culture can be used to address social and economic issues affecting many parts of Europe, such as migration, identity and education; Pécs emphasised the common cultural heritage and historical links between the city and neighbouring countries in southeast Europe; Istanbul aimed to remind its residents and people across the EU of its long history as a centre for European culture and the richness of European cultural heritage within the city.
- *encouraging co-operation between Member States*: all three ECoC engaged in diverse forms of co-operation with cultural operators and cities in other European countries; they hosted performances

⁴⁸ Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union

and exhibitions by artists from other countries, international conferences and seminars and visiting delegations; as with ECoC in previous years, they also co-operated between themselves (and with past and future ECoC) on a diversity of cultural projects involving exchanges of artists and co-creation of new works.

- *fostering co-operation with third countries*: both Essen for the Ruhr and Pécs undertook co-operation with cultural operators in third countries (in addition to co-operation with Istanbul); in the case of Essen, this was with countries across the globe, whilst in the case of Pécs, this was particularly focussed on southeast European countries, notably Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro and Serbia; in the case of Istanbul, the ECoC has proved very relevant to the aim of fostering co-operation between Turkey (one of the EU's applicant states) and many of the 27 Member States, as well as between Turkey and other third countries.

Key Conclusions 1

The European Capital of Culture Action remains a key mechanism by which the EU contributes to the Treaty objective of contributing to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States and bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore.

The possibility for cities in European non-Member States to hold the title (under the terms of Decision 1419/EC/1999) has also strengthened the contribution of the ECoC Action to the Treaty objective of fostering co-operation with third countries.

The selection criteria specified in Decisions 1419/EC/1999 and 1622/EC/2006 have ensured that the cultural programmes of title-holders are relevant to the detail of Article 167 – though the criteria allow each ECoC the freedom to interpret the Treaty objectives in their own unique way.

Recommendation 1.1

Given the contribution of the ECoC to the EU's policy objectives as set out in Article 167, the Action should be continued beyond 2019.

Recommendation 1.2

The Istanbul ECoC has demonstrated the enthusiasm for ECoC which exists in European cities outside the EU. The Commission should therefore consider whether the new legal basis for ECoC should reintroduce the possibility for cities in non-Member States to apply for the title.

6.1.2 Complementary of the ECoC Action to other EU initiatives

The experience of 2010 reinforces the conclusions of the ex-post evaluation of the 2009 ECoC, which found that the Action is very complementary to the EU's Culture Programme 2007-13. Indeed, all three ECoC made a contribution to the specific objectives of the Culture Programme, which are to promote the transnational mobility of cultural players, encourage the transnational circulation of works and cultural and artistic products, and encourage intercultural dialogue. They did so in various ways, but particularly by the various forms of transnational co-operation with cultural operators or cities in other countries, such as artistic exchanges, joint cultural events and co-creations.

As stated in the ex-post evaluation of the 2009 ECoC, the relevance of the ECoC to the Culture Programme lies less in the volume and scope of these activities (which are significant in the cities holding the title but not in European terms) and more in their symbolic value, i.e. through the positive

representation it offers of the common European cultural heritage and also of the different national or regional cultures of the EU's Member States. In that sense, the ECoC complement the high volume of lower-profile activities, for example, the hundreds of transnational co-operation projects and thousands of literary translations supported by the Culture Programme; it merits its status as one of the Programme's "Special Actions" alongside European prizes and other high-profile activities.

The 2010 ECoC also provide further evidence of the complementary of the ECoC Action to the European Structural Funds. One of those funds, the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), specifically supports investments in the preservation and enhancement of cultural heritage and cultural infrastructure across Europe. The evidence from the 2010 ECoC, notably that of Pécs, is that the ECoC can provide greater impetus to and a clear deadline for the completion of ERDF-funded infrastructure projects, particularly in regions eligible for support under the Convergence objective. ECoC can also stimulate greater interest of the media and the public in new infrastructure development and also generate the cultural events that take place in newly-opened venues. However, the different timescales and delivery mechanisms of the ECoC and the Structural Funds mean that ECoC title-holders need to consider carefully how synergy can be created.

Key Conclusion 2

Through its high profile and symbolic value as well as through transnational cultural activities implemented by the title-holders, the ECoC Action makes a positive contribution to the specific objectives of the EU's Culture Programme 2007-13.

The ECoC demonstrates that investments in cultural heritage and cultural infrastructure, including those made by the European Structural Funds, can contribute to a broader process of urban development and regeneration. The ECoC themselves also have the potential to be reinforced by and to add impetus to such investments, for example through providing greater impetus to and a clear deadline for the completion of projects.

Recommendation 2

In designing the new legal basis for the ECoC, the Commission should continue to emphasise the importance of fulfilling the criteria related to the long-term development of the city.

6.2 Efficiency

6.2.1 Sufficiency of the ECoCs' resources

The 2010 ECoC were of very different scope and scale and featured different governance arrangements, making it difficult to draw common conclusions about the sufficiency of their budgets and human resources. Nonetheless, they illustrate some of the potential opportunities and drawbacks associated with different approaches to ECoC.

As a fairly "dispersed" ECoC, Essen for the Ruhr did not lack human or financial resources but faced the obvious challenges of engaging large numbers of stakeholders, as well as generating a critical mass of activities in an area covering 53 municipalities and more than 5 million people. The resources available to the ECoC (€79.5m) were clearly sufficient to implement an extensive cultural programme. But perhaps

inevitably the impact of the ECoC was more in terms of greater cultural co-operation across this large area as well as higher national and international profile, than a step-change in its cultural vibrancy.

As a small city in a country with a relatively centralised governance structure, Pécs proved successful in attracting sufficient human and financial resources to implement a sizeable ECoC. These resources were also sufficient to make an impact on the scope and vibrancy of the city's cultural sector. At the same time, it is also clear that the resources were not sufficient to implement both an extensive cultural programme and an extensive programme of infrastructure investments, with the result that much of the cultural programme represented a continuation of existing activity rather than genuinely new projects. Future ECoC will therefore need to give careful consideration to the balance they strike between expenditure on cultural events and on cultural infrastructure, taking note of the need to plan for the long-term operating costs associated with new venues and facilities.

The Istanbul ECoC covered a territory with the largest population of any ECoC to date and correspondingly enjoyed the largest budget yet. The scale of investment in the renovation of heritage sites and the fact that many of those sites were situated in or near the historic peninsula means that the ECoC can be said to have achieved critical mass in that particular dimension of its activities – a necessity, given the need to retain UNESCO World Heritage status. The cultural programme was also extensive and perhaps also constituted a critical mass of activities, though one that was mostly concentrated on the central areas of the city. To have achieved a critical mass across all of Istanbul's 39 municipalities (home to more than 12m people) would have required financial and human resources of a vastly different scale.

Key Conclusion 3

The human and financial resources necessary to achieving a critical mass of impacts vary according to the size and nature of the territory of the ECoC. Covering a very large territory (and/or population) will naturally require extensive resources, but future ECoC should give careful consideration to the nature of the impact that they wish to achieve; it is likely either to be concentrated in one particular area or to consist of effects such as enhanced networking and profile across the territory, rather than in a step-change in cultural vibrancy.

Recommendation 3

The ECoC Action should remain primarily focussed on cities, but allow the flexibility for cities to involve a wider area.

6.2.2 Efficiency of mechanisms at EU level

Essen for the Ruhr was one of sixteen applicants that responded to the competition organised by the national government for Germany's nomination for the ECoC title. Similarly, Pécs was one of seven applicants to the competition organised by the Hungarian government, whilst Istanbul was one of two cities from non-Member States that applied for the 2010 title. At the European level, it thus becomes clear that competition for the title remains strong. At the same time, the EU funding of €1.5m for each ECoC offered by the Melina Mercouri Prize constituted a very modest part of the budget for each ECoC and did not have a significant influence on the decision to apply, though it did offer great symbolic value for each ECoC. Moreover, the most significant difficulties faced by the 2010 title-holders related more to issues of governance than to any lack of funding per se. For these reasons, the EU budget for the event appears

appropriate and proportional. Given the "leverage" generated by the ECoC (in terms of the level of resources that ECoC devote to their cultural programmes and associated activities), it is unlikely that other instruments or mechanisms could prove as cost-effective.

The mechanisms applied by the European Commission to the selection of the 2010 ECoC were those specified by Decision 1419/EC/1999. Germany and Hungary were free to determine the basis on which they would nominate a city (or cities) for the ECoC title and thus also the criteria and arrangements for the competitions they organised. Whilst the competitions were successful in attracting a high number of applicants, they did not ensure that all applications were developed with the European criteria (specified in Decision 1419/EC/1999) in mind. Moreover, whilst Germany nominated two cities to the European selection panel – allowing the panel a choice – Hungary nominated just one, allowing the panel only the choice to accept or reject the application of Pécs. Istanbul, in contrast, was required to develop its application solely on the basis of the European criteria specified in Decision 1419/EC/1999. Whilst all three ECoC did ultimately prove relevant to the EU-level criteria, future ECoC selected according to the new procedures introduced by Decision 1622/EC/2006 (i.e. those from 2013 onwards) may prove to be more relevant to the EU-level criteria.

The 2010 title-holders did, however, represent the first ECoC to be co-financed and monitored according to new processes set out in Decision 1622/EC/2006. In these three cases, the evidence from the research suggests that the new processes have played a part in strengthening the ECoC, including their focus on the European dimension. They also report that informal contact with members of the monitoring and advisory panel has proved a valuable complement to the formal monitoring meetings and reports. All three also reported that receiving the EU funding in the form of a prize had created a lower administrative burden than would a traditional grant.

Key Conclusion 4

The EU budget for the event appears appropriate and proportional and the Action as a whole is very cost-effective when compared to other EU policy instruments or mechanisms.

The selection processes specified by Decision 1419/EC/1999 enabled great interest in the ECoC to be generated in Member States and in some European non-Member States but did not ensure that all applications were developed with the European criteria in mind. The new processes for monitoring and co-financing ECoC (introduced by Decision 1622/EC/2006) have played a part in strengthening the ECoC, including their focus on the European dimension.

Recommendation 4.1

The Commission should consider the continuation of the Melina Mercouri Prize beyond 2019 in its current format.

Recommendation 4.2

In designing a new legal basis for the years beyond 2019, the Commission should ensure that the selection process requires all applications to be assessed against the criteria set at EU level.

6.3 Effectiveness

6.3.1 Developing cultural activities

All three of the 2010 ECoC implemented much more extensive cultural programmes within their territories than would have taken place in the absence of ECoC designation; together they accounted for more than 20,000 events attended by at least 20m people across the two larger ECoC (Essen for the Ruhr and Istanbul).⁴⁹ The cultural programmes of all three ECoC stretched across the full twelve months of the title year, though at least two (Essen for the Ruhr and Istanbul) perhaps gave less focus to events in the preceding years than had other ECoC in recent years. Overall, the ECoC Action as a whole can be said to have been successful in its objective of developing cultural activities.

The evidence from the three ECoC also suggests that these cultural programmes have been more innovative, diverse and high-profile than would have been the cultural offering of each city in the absence of ECoC designation. All three cultural programmes featured more high-profile cultural events and performances from artists of international renown than would usually be the case. Essen for the Ruhr and Istanbul placed particular emphasis on the commissioning and performance or exhibition of new artworks, including by local artists and cultural institutions, though Pécs placed relatively more emphasis on existing activities.

All three ECoC explored various artistic themes and issues, which were in some cases innovative or avant-garde. In Essen for the Ruhr, for example, the application of stringent criteria in the selection of projects meant that the cultural activities were very clearly focused on one of four artistic themes (City of Arts, City of Cultures, City of Possibilities, City of Creativity). But in the other two ECoC, difficulties in the governance of the ECoC meant that strong artistic direction was lacking for the cultural programme as a whole. Istanbul explored themes of contemporary interest and presented a diverse offering of modern and contemporary culture across different artistic disciplines, though it struggled to assert a coherent artistic theme across those disciplines. Meanwhile, Pécs had the overall aim of fostering co-operation with southeast Europe and positioning itself as a gateway to countries in that region. But in practice, its activities became more focussed on the development of new infrastructure rather than the exploration of artistic themes related to the overall aim of the ECoC.

6.3.2 Promoting the European dimension of and through culture

The post-script to the evaluation of the 2009 ECoC suggested that ECoC cultural programmes are made "European" through the inclusion of activities whose content, delivery mechanism, audiences or participants are European in essence. Looking at the 2010 ECoC, we can see that all three were European in that sense, though the approaches differed:

- *Content:* the three ECoC highlighted very different European themes in very different ways; Essen for the Ruhr placed most emphasis on regional themes but explored them in a European context, particularly migration, identity and approaches to cultural education; of the three ECoC, Essen for the Ruhr was perhaps most successful in ensuring that European themes permeated the entire cultural programme through making "A model for Europe" one of the three selection criteria for all projects – though this was applied very flexibly; the European theme promoted by Pécs focussed on its potential as a "Gateway to the Balkans", with many cultural activities focussed on promoting a pan-Balkan culture; meanwhile, Istanbul originally aimed to present the city as a European centre for modern and

⁴⁹ The attendance figure for Pécs was not available.

contemporary culture which would "function as a bridge connecting Europe to its East" and there was some exploration of the role of culture and civil society in the context of Turkey's application for EU membership; but in practice, the original artistic vision was lost across much of the ECoC and ultimately the emphasis was more often on the historical rather than contemporary European heritage of the city.

- *Delivery mechanism*: all three ECoC included events featuring artists of European significance, though the predominant delivery mechanism for the European dimension was partnerships with cities in other countries; these were extensive in Essen for the Ruhr, with cultural collaborations and "exchanges of creativity" with other cities being particularly important; international exchanges and networking with other cities were also important; for Pécs, co-operation was most important with cities in neighbouring countries, with the intention of establishing a new international cultural region - the "Southern Cultural Zone"; collaborations between ECoC and other cities was perhaps less structured and less extensive in Pécs and Istanbul than in Essen for the Ruhr, though there were a number of collaborations with artists and operators in other countries; Istanbul also enabled many of its 39 municipalities to undertake transnational cultural co-operation for the first time; there was also a diverse range of artistic co-operations between the three ECoC themselves, in which Essen for the Ruhr played a particularly prominent role.
- *Audiences and participants*: attracting European tourists and audiences was a feature of all three ECoC; for Essen for the Ruhr, the primary audience for Essen for the Ruhr 2010 was the local population but a very large number of people – some 40,000 – made transnational visits in the context of the TWINS projects; Pécs experienced a very substantial increase in European visitors compared to previous years, though surprisingly few came from the other countries in the Southern Cultural Zone suggesting that visitors might have been attracted by the established "brand" value of ECoC in general, rather than by the specific concept of pan-Balkanism; Istanbul's extensive international marketing campaign raised the profile of the city, though its failure to link this campaign more closely to the cultural programme (and the lack of data) makes it difficult to determine the extent to which visitors were attracted by the ECoC itself, as opposed to the city in general.

6.3.3 Social and economic development

As noted above, cities holding the ECoC title have adopted a third dimension over the years, i.e. the economic and social dimension. This reflected broader trends of cultural policy that have emphasised the possibility of putting culture at the service of non-cultural objectives. Of the three 2010 ECoC, two sought to do this very explicitly: both Essen for the Ruhr and Pécs aimed to develop arts and culture as one means by which to pursue the economic and social regeneration of former industrial areas – though both took quite different approaches; Istanbul, for its part, did not particularly seek to use culture to pursue economic objectives, though it did seek to promote access to and participation in culture, particularly amongst those that would not usually enjoy such opportunities.

All three ECoC stimulated investments in cultural and other infrastructure that would not have otherwise taken place. In Pécs, the new cultural or refurbished facilities were very much at the heart of the ECoC and seen as key to the long-term development both of culture and of the city in general. Here, the ECoC also provided an impetus to investments in other infrastructure, such as the new motorway link to Budapest. In Istanbul, the ECoC provided the spur to very extensive investments in the restoration of the city's wealth of cultural heritage sites. Some facilities were also refurbished in Essen for the Ruhr.

The experience of 2010 also shows that ECoC can help transform the image of cities or give them greater international prominence – though the extent to which this is necessary or feasible will vary. In Essen for the Ruhr, the ECoC could not have been expected to achieve a concentrated economic and social impact

across such a large area and so the emphasis on reinventing the Ruhr "identity" was perhaps more realistic. Whilst this is obviously a long-term and continuing process, the increase in overseas visitors during 2010 suggests that progress has been made. It could also be said that Pécs has used the ECoC to raise its international profile, as evidenced by the very significant increase in visitors to the city – though it perhaps has some way to go before it fulfils its goal of being one of the "sustainable cultural centres of Europe".⁵⁰ In Istanbul – a well-known, dynamic and growing metropolis – there was less need to reinvent the city's image and this was not therefore a priority.

In terms of direct impact on the economy, there is evidence of increased tourist visits in Essen for the Ruhr and Pécs, though the data for Istanbul is unavailable. Within all three cities the cultural and creative industries have been strengthened, though perhaps not as much as had been hoped for in at least two; in Pécs, the development of new facilities became the over-riding concern, rather than support for the cultural and creative industries. Similarly, in Istanbul the emphasis shifted over the development phase from the emergence of a modern and contemporary cultural sector to the restoration of heritage sites.

The experience of 2010 also shows the continuing potential of the ECoC to widen the participation of citizens in culture across very different contexts. Indeed, it is now the norm for ECoC to place great emphasis on this objective and to implement large numbers of events, activities and projects in pursuit of it. All three ECoC included a diversity of projects aiming to involve citizens who would not usually participate in or access cultural activities. Common approaches to this objective across all three ECoC (indeed across many ECoC in recent years) include the decentralisation of activities across different neighbourhoods and in different or unusual venues across the city, as well as overall ethos that emphasises values of tolerance and celebrates the diversity of cultures and ethnic groups present in the city.

Key Conclusion 5

ECoC continue to provide social and economic benefits in terms of increased tourism, improved infrastructure, increased international profile and stronger cultural and creative industries. In that way, it is reinforced by and adds value to investments in cultural heritage and infrastructure made by the European Structural Funds.

However, such benefits do not necessarily and automatically accrue to the cities holding the title. The extent to which social and economic development is stimulated – and the nature of that development – continues to depend on the articulation of a clear development "vision" by the stakeholders as well as appropriate and co-ordinated activities that are implemented in concert with the cultural programme.

The ECoC retains great potential to widen the participation of citizens in culture across very different contexts, particularly where such activities emphasise tolerance and celebrate the diversity of cultures and ethnic groups present in the city.

6.3.4 Performance against core indicators

As noted in section 2.2, the evaluation has piloted a set of indicators to capture the effects of the ECoC. Annex Five of this report offers a detailed present of data available against the full set of indicators tested and thus helps provides an evidential link from the evaluation framework to the reports for each ECoC. In addition to Annex Five, we present in Table 6.1 and what we consider to be the most important result

⁵⁰ "Pécs positions itself as gateway to the Balkans"; Kester Eddy, Financial Times, December 3 2009.

and impact indicators for the ECoC. These "core indicators" offer an overall picture of the effectiveness of the Action and allow a degree of comparison between the individual ECoC. Where evaluation of future ECoC apply these indicators, it may also be possible to compare and aggregate the performance of ECoC across different years.

Table 6.1 Core Result Indicators

<i>Specific objective</i>	<i>Result indicators</i>	<i>Outcome</i>
Promote the European dimension of and through culture	No. of European cross-border co-operations within ECoC cultural programme	>100 multilateral co-operation projects involving 83,000 participants (Essen for the Ruhr); 270 projects involving artists from other countries and 52 projects with other ECoC (Pécs); various collaborations (Istanbul)
Develop cultural activities	Total number of events	5,500 (Essen for the Ruhr); 4,675 (Pécs); 10,000 (Istanbul)
	€ value of ECoC cultural programmes	€80m (Essen for the Ruhr); €35m (Pécs); €194m (Istanbul)
	Attendance at events	10.5m (Essen for the Ruhr); 1m (Pécs); 12m (Istanbul)
	% residents attending or participating in events, including young people, disadvantaged or "culturally inactive"	61% of residents attended an event (Essen for the Ruhr); 1.5m school students, young people, teachers and volunteers attending or participated in cultural activities (Istanbul 2010)
	No. active volunteers	Active volunteers: 1,165 (Essen for the Ruhr); 780 (Pécs); 901 (Istanbul)
Support the social and economic development of the city through culture	€ value of investment in cultural infrastructure, sites and facilities	€140m (Pécs); €64m (Istanbul)
	Sustained multi-sector partnership for cultural governance	Responsibilities transferred to regional partners such as Kultur Ruhr GmbH (the organiser of Ruhrtriennale) and Ruhr Tourism GmbH (Essen for the Ruhr); no overall legacy body but two bodies to manage new facilities (Pécs); no legacy body (Istanbul)
	Strategy for long-term cultural development of the city	Masterplan for long-term cultural development of the Ruhr (Essen for the Ruhr); no long-term strategy (Pécs); No long-term strategy (Istanbul)
	Increase in tourist visits	Increase in foreign visitors: 11% (Istanbul 2010); 18.5% (Essen for the Ruhr); 71%(Pécs)
	Volume and % of positive media coverage of cities	2,500 media articles (Essen for the Ruhr); 9,500 media articles; 50,000 news stories and 46% increase in news coverage of city's culture (Istanbul)
	Awareness of the ECoC amongst residents	89% of local residents aware of ECoC (Essen for the Ruhr); 83% of national residents aware of ECoC (PÉC); 75% of residents aware of ECoC (Istanbul)

Table 6.2 Core Impact Indicators

<i>General objective</i>	<i>Impact indicators</i>	<i>Outcome</i>
Highlight the richness and the diversity of European cultures and features they share; Promote greater mutual acquaintance between European cultures	Citizens' perceptions of being European and/or awareness of European culture	60% of residents have more positive outlook on European culture (Istanbul)
	National / international recognition of cities as being culturally-vibrant (e.g. peer reception, positive media coverage) and having improved image	80% of tourists report city will attract tourists demanding high quality culture (Istanbul) 56% of national residents consider Pécs to be 2nd most importance cultural destination in Hungary (Pécs) 86% of residents agreed that image had improved (Essen for the Ruhr); 62% of local businesses believe ECoC created more positive outlook for city (Istanbul)

6.4 Sustainability

The ECoC is intended to "be sustainable and be an integral part of the long-term cultural and social development of the city".⁵¹ Across all three ECoC, there is evidence of new cultural activities that will continue beyond the title year. The new or refurbished cultural facilities and sites will endure for many years, though in the case of Pécs there is the pressing issue of financing their operational costs which may have an adverse knock-on effect on other activities in the city. In terms of sustained capacity for culture, there is greater experience and expertise across all three cities as a result of the ECoC, as well as better networking and co-operation within their cultural sectors. However, the evidence for sustained improvements in cultural governance varies. In Istanbul, whilst some instances of better governance will endure, the model introduced by the ECoC will come to an end once the agency ceases operation in 2011 and it is not certain that stakeholders will coalesce around a shared strategy. In Pécs, two legacy bodies have been created to manage the new cultural facilities in the long-run, though the municipality has yet to create its overarching "umbrella" structure to support cultural operators across the city. In Essen for the Ruhr, a number of ambitious long-term goals have been set and responsibilities have been transferred to regional partners such as Kultur Ruhr GmbH (the organiser of Ruhrtriennale) and Ruhr Tourism GmbH.

⁵¹ Decision 1622/EC/2006

Key Conclusion 6

The ECoC Action creates a legacy in the host cities through new cultural activities that endure beyond the title year, improved networking and co-operation between stakeholders in culture, and new and improved cultural facilities.

Beyond these benefits, the creation of a sustainable legacy is more uncertain. It typically requires the key stakeholders to come together around a long-term vision and strategy and to establish a structure for the ongoing governance and co-ordination of culture in the city, often involving the creation of a specific legacy body.

Recommendation 6.1

In designing the new legal basis for the ECoC, the Commission should consider giving explicit encouragement in the criteria to reward cities which have already developed a long-term cultural policy strategy for their city.

Postscript: Leaving a legacy

7.0 Postscript: Leaving a legacy

7.1 Introduction

Whilst a formal evaluation of ECoC can satisfy the need to know what was achieved, research into ECoC inevitably highlights a number of lessons that merit separate discussion. For that reason, the evaluation of the 2007-08 ECoC considered lessons in delivery relating to "defining a European Capital of Culture" and "putting in place an effective delivery body", whilst the 2009 evaluation offered "reflections on the European dimension". Building on those reports, we offer here a reflection on the experience of ECoC in creating a legacy for the years beyond the title-year. We draw mostly on the experiences of the 2007-10 ECoC as highlighted by our own research, as well as two earlier ECoC that are most often referred to in the literature surrounding ECoC, i.e. Glasgow 1990 and Lille 2004.

7.2 Considering the long-term

The ECoC is intended to "be sustainable and be an integral part of the long-term cultural and social development of the city"⁵² and it is of course natural for title-holders to want to secure some long-term benefits from hosting the ECoC. Indeed, the reason for applying for ECoC is typically to pursue policy objectives related to local development and social inclusion within the city. Yet in one sense (and as noted by the evaluation of the 2007-08 ECoC), ECoC are intended not to be sustained; cities hold the title for a year before being replaced by another pair of title holders. So consideration of sustainability has to take into account the one-off nature of the cities' cultural programmes; some activities cannot (and perhaps should not) be expected to continue.

The question thus arises of how to plan for and secure long-term benefit, whilst recognising the time-limited nature of the title-year itself. Of course, the very different circumstances and experiences of each city mean that we can not and should not present a "blueprint". We therefore present here some *lessons from experience* which draw on the experience of the ECoC across the years, particularly those of 2007-10. These lessons relate to strategy, governance, facilities and activities.

7.3 Setting a strategy

ECoC frequently form part of a long-term strategy for cultural development within the cities holding the title. In some cases, such as Linz 2009, the title-year essentially marked the fulfilment of a vision set out in the 1990s and thus the end of an era. In other cases, such as Glasgow 1990, the ECoC was considered more of a catalyst for the cultural development and regeneration of the city. For other cities, such as Essen for the Ruhr 2010, ECoC may be one step in a strategy that has been operational for many years and that is already planned to continue beyond the title year.

In all of these cases, ECoC have articulated a certain narrative for their title years, typically encompassing objectives relating to cultural development, urban regeneration and international recognition and also featuring a strong emphasis on portraying a particular image of the city. From the experience of recent ECoC, it becomes clear that the end of the title-year marks the need for this narrative to be rethought and re-articulated in a fresh way. As well as the risk of fatigue on the part of the public, it may also be the case that the original aims of the ECoC have in fact been fulfilled and the contextual circumstances of the city may differ from those prevailing at the time of the application some six or seven years earlier. The

⁵² Decision 1622/EC/2006

appetite of the key stakeholders for rethinking and re-articulation of the cultural narrative of the city might not necessarily be strong at the close of the title-year. But without the impetus and brand-value offered by the ECoC title, the attention of the international media, travel industry and public inevitably moves elsewhere; the challenge is to retain the essence of the ECoC but articulate it in a new way.

The re-articulation of the vision will vary according to the circumstances of the city and the relevance of the vision (and accompanying slogan) that was communicated during the title-year. In some cases, the same vision and slogan that were adopted at application may yet merit retaining beyond the title year. For example, in the case of Luxembourg Grande Région 2007, the end of the title-year was in fact seen as a new start, represented by the slogan "2007 begins (again) in 2008". In contrast, Essen for the Ruhr adopted the slogan "Transformation through culture, culture through transformation" in its application and has retained the essence of that vision beyond the completion of the title-year. The strapline of Linz 2009 "Industry, Culture, Nature", in contrast, did not feature in its application but instead emerged in the run-up to the title-year and has been maintained in the continued communication activities of the city. For Glasgow 1990, the title year had been successful in promoting European and international culture as well as helping project a different image to international investors and tourists; but the title-year also brought accusations of the denial and marginalisation of Glasgow's own local culture and its more deprived communities. At the end of the title-year, the emphasis of the city's vision and strategy for culture was thus widened to encompass social inclusion.

The experience of previous ECoC suggests that a refreshed strategy for cultural development within the city should encompass both the "supply" and "demand" sides of culture. During the title-year and with the support of the delivery agency, local cultural bodies – particularly SMEs and small cultural organisations – typically gain experience and widen their contacts; they gain exposure to new influences and generally become professional. However, with the demise of the delivery agency, the risk is often that this positive momentum is not maintained. On the demand-side, the tourist "offering" may need refreshing in a competitive international market (and without the uniqueness of the title to attract visitors). Similarly, efforts will need to maintain the interest of local residents in culture – and perhaps even overcome any negative opinions that are voiced, for example, the fear that the city will be faced with greater debts as a result of the ECoC with an adverse effect on future provision.

7.4 Establishing governance arrangements

ECoC typically bring about important shifts in the governance of culture within their respective cities: new ways of working, new partnerships, new strategies and a new set of relationships between local municipalities and cultural operators, with culture pushed higher up the agenda of local political debate. Yet, as noted in the evaluation of the 2007-08 ECoC, the end of the title year typically leads to the disbanding of the dedicated delivery agencies and inevitably some loss of the experience that has been built up. Where high profile international operators have been brought into lead elements of the cultural programme, they tend to leave the city in the months following the title-year. Other individuals may remain in the city but return to their previous employers, e.g. municipalities, or take up new posts, e.g. with cultural institutions. The disbanding of the agency thus risks creating a vacuum in the cultural governance of the city. The challenge is often to put in place new arrangements to fill this vacuum and allow the benefits of the title-year to endure and flourish.

The experience of previous ECoC suggests the need for a continued partnership forum or mechanism of some form in the city. Since the level of cultural activity and funding will generally be lower in the years immediately following the title-year, the focus of such a body usually needs to be different to that of the ECoC delivery agency. Instead of overseeing a genuinely joint programme as was the case during the

title-year, the requirement is usually for the different stakeholders to continue their own discrete programmes of activities (albeit with varying degrees of co-operation and co-ordination). The role of the partnership forum thus becomes less about practical implementation and more about the accommodation of various political and artistic interests and the articulation of a long-term vision and strategy, as well as facilitating co-ordination between the cultural activities of the different stakeholders. At the same time, such a body must retain as much of the dynamism and innovation that is typically evident during a title year. Perhaps as a warning, the final report of Linz09 called for the abolition of one such forum – the Stadtkulturbeirat – which it described as a "time-consuming body" involving "vacuous discussions that never deliver the cooperation they seem to promise".⁵³

The formation (or continuation) of such a body needs to be planned before the end of the title-year in order to maintain momentum and plan activities for the years immediately following the title-year. The task of forming this body should not usually be expected of those overseeing the ECoC on a day-to-day basis; the intensity of activity during the title-year generally makes it difficult for them to devote extensive time to long-term strategic planning. Moreover, their skills tend to be those required for the practical implementation of a cultural programme - management and financial planning, artistic leadership and marketing and promotion - rather than for the formulation of policy and co-ordination of networks. In many cases, it will be most appropriate for the municipality to take the lead on organising such a forum, particularly where its representatives have been involved since the application stage. For example, in the cases of Liverpool 2008, Stavanger 2008 and Linz 2009, at least one of the key individuals from the culture department of the municipality remained involved from the application to the completion of the title-year and went on to play a key role in the legacy arrangements.

In addition to a partnership forum, there may also be a need for specific legacy bodies to provide support to the city's cultural sector in a structured and co-ordinated way. However, an overarching legacy body might not necessarily be appropriate in all cities; given the inevitably lower level of activity (and funding) in future years, it may be more effective for the remit of legacy bodies to be limited to particular facilities or activities. For example, in the case of the Luxembourg Grande Région (2007), two dedicated legacy bodies were established – one to continue the cultural programme for young people in Luxembourg and the other to continue the cross-border cultural collaboration. Similarly, in Pécs the two legacy bodies are dedicated to sustaining the new facilities developed in the context of the title-year, rather than continuing a cross-city cultural programme.

7.5 Developing activities

Having articulated a vision and a strategy and put in place suitable governance arrangements for the legacy period, cities holding the ECoC title must consider the cultural facilities and activities required to fulfil the vision. A first step here is some kind of review or evaluation of the year, its successes and the lessons from experience. Many ECoC have commissioned independent evaluations by external organisations, often a local university, to assess the success and impact of their activities and make recommendations for the future. In Liverpool, a very extensive research programme – Impacts 08 – evaluated the social, cultural, economic and environmental effects of hosting the title in 2008. Such an extensive programme of research has informed not only future cultural activities but also the wider regeneration of the city itself. As well as independent evaluations, it is also vitally important for those leading the implementation of the ECoC, e.g. Artistic Director, to leave behind a final report of some kind. As well as celebrating the achievements of the ECoC, such reports should also consider the strengths and weaknesses of the ECoC in a reflective and self-critical way. For example, before their departure

⁵³ Final Report Linz09 Linz 2009 European Capital of Culture; available from www.linz09.at.

from the Linz09 delivery agency, indeed from Linz itself, the key players in the agency drafted an open and honest final report, which also set out suggestions for the future of culture in the city.⁵⁴

Reflection on the title year should also consider what lessons can be learned about the capacity of the city to host cultural events and attract visitors and the appropriateness of its cultural and other infrastructure. Whilst investments in infrastructure have typically made in the run-up to the title year, this does not mean that more new venues are unnecessary or, indeed, that all current venues should necessarily remain in operation; there needs to be reflection on the adequacy of the infrastructure during the title-year but also for activity planned in future years. For example, Linz featured many new developments around the time of the ECoC, such as the enlarged Ars Electronica Center and the new Offenes Kulturhaus Oberösterreich arts venue. But at the close of the title year it was considered that at least one of the temporary venues – the Haus Der Geschichten (House of Stories) – did not merit continued operation on a long-term basis. Pécs also featured key infrastructure projects at the heart of its ECoC. Whilst these have enhanced the cultural capacity of the city, questions have been raised about their sustainability and about the risk that they will displace activities from other venues that may ultimately be forced to close. The need in Pécs is perhaps therefore for a realistic assessment of its need for venues and the most effective way to sustain them. In contrast to Pécs is the example of Luxembourg 1995 which demonstrated to the key stakeholders the shortage of high quality exhibition and performance venues. As a result, major investments in cultural infrastructure (worth €568m) were made following the title year rather than in preparation for it, such as a new concert hall and a museum of modern art – which then went on to play an important role in Luxembourg's second title-year of 2007.

In terms of a legacy of cultural activities, the momentum of the title year should be maintained as far as possible. Here, the emphasis need not be on quantity (not all projects and events can be sustained beyond the title year), but instead on innovation and quality. This can include a smaller number of large events that can help the city retain a high international profile and a reputation as a cultural centre. For example, Lille 3000 (the legacy body for the 2004 ECoC) organises a biennial celebration of cultural events, with each edition taking a different theme linked to openness to the world and innovation. Similarly, Culture Liverpool - the team charged with developing the Cultural programme for the Liverpool beyond 2008 - operated a highlights programme of over 100 events and festivals in 2009. In addition to high-profile events, there may also be a call for legacy activities that are smaller in scale and focussed on further strengthening the local cultural sector rather than maintaining international profile. For example, one of the legacy bodies of Luxembourg Grand Région 2007 – Espace culturel Grande Région (ECGR) - provides training and support for networks of cultural operators, encourages mobility of cultural operators across the transnational Grand Région and builds bridges between culture and education. Finally, where the ECoC has introduced specific improvements in the functioning of its cultural offering, these should be sustained as far as possible. For example, Linz was encouraged by its departing Artistic Director to maintain its customer-friendly ticketing service for all venues as well as its efforts to exploit marketing synergies in the area of cultural tourism.

⁵⁴ Final Report Linz09 Linz 2009 European Capital of Culture; available from www.linz09.at.

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