

ANTWERP 1993

1. AIMS AND OPERATIONAL FEATURES

1.1 Background

Antwerp, with a population of 465,000 (over 600,000 in the conurbation), is the capital of the Flemish Community, the subnational government of the Flanders region (in Belgium) and of the Flemish speaking community. Its historical standing in the cultural field encompasses a central role in the development of printing in the 16th century, the Flemish painters of the 17th century, such as Rubens, Van Dyck and Jordaens, a 19th century fin de siècle flowering of music and painting in the city and the achievement of three international exhibitions between 1850 and 1930. Before its stint as European City of Culture 1993, Antwerp's contemporary image was that of a port and industrial city.

1.2 Designation and rationale

The Mayor of Antwerp first proposed in 1987 that the city should seek the Belgian nomination for European City of Culture. Observing that Glasgow had been nominated by the UK national authorities, Antwerp realised that the scheme could apply to non-capitals and aspiring cities, as well as to established centres. A modern transformation of the city had begun. Infused by the renewed energy of the Flemish economy, it was hoped the designation would further boost the economic and social development of the city, raise its profile internationally and lead to some permanent improvements in the infrastructure. The designation was approved by the Council of Ministers on 27 May, 1988, almost five years before the event.

There was really no competition for the nomination within Belgium. The ECC programme by 1987 had not yet achieved much prominence. Of other possible candidates, Lieges had major financial difficulties and Brussels would have proved problematical, given the inter-community rivalries within Belgium and Brussels' own private competition with Strasbourg and Luxembourg over the political and administrative capital of the European Community.

The Belgian national authorities expressed some concern about whether the event would be "Belgian enough" and whether the Walloons would show sufficient interest. The Flemish Community was strongly behind the project as an investment in the region. The City approached the other Flemish cities Ghent and Bruges to become partners in the event over tourism, but this was not achieved.

1.3 Broad approach and objectives

The City of Antwerp began to implement the project "in house". A number of working groups were established, co-ordinated by city officials. A dossier of projects was developed along conventional city marketing lines drawing together ideas from

interested organisations. The published proposals were much criticised for the lack of clarity or vision. The City appointed an advisory committee which recommended a fresh start through an especially-created agency with an appointed director.

A new body was created in September 1990 with Mr Eric Antonis as Director. Following public hearings, a policy plan was agreed in January 1991, which proposed a festival programme designed to explore the place of art in contemporary life. An artistic rationale was placed at the centre of the project, ahead of any wider, social or economic objectives. This was described as "opting for art", which meant placing the emphasis on high quality, innovatory work, respecting the autonomy of selected artists (often young or less well-known), and recognising that "art is critical, knows doubts and asks questions". Antwerp 93's radical intention was to present the city where "the scope for contemporary art tends to be restricted", with a coherent and challenging supplement to its regular artistic programme.

By the same token, the difficult task was to be supported by major investment in:

- communications: a developed policy to inform and explain to the entire population of Antwerp and the national and international press;
- education: special initiatives for specific target groups, such as the voluntary associations, young people, the old, the handicapped and schools.

It was recognised that this approach ruled out using Antwerp 93 as a "platform for Flemish artists and institutions", and this meant that the existing institutions would "not be subsidised to have a boom year". On the other hand, the Flemish contribution to an international project would be substantial because there were "several eminent Flemish artists who could not be omitted from an international European project". But, in an important statement, it was said:

"The best service which Antwerp 93 could offer to Flemish art and culture was to be a single-minded, discreet, and understanding host for both European culture and for the Flemish art which participates - or is able to participate - in this European culture in an obvious, self-evident way."

Alongside the artistic programming task undertaken by Antwerp 93, there was a huge mobilisation of many resources of the city. A substantial refurbishment of the city was carried out by the public and private sectors. In addition, a complementary or "fringe" programme of cultural events and activities was put together.

1.4 Arrangement of the event

The Antwerp 93 office was established as a non-profit, independent organisation. The Chair was placed in independent hands, a businessman, rather than a politician. The structure was designed to protect the event from undue political influence.

Guarantees of autonomy in artistic programming and of full responsibility for the editorial content of all print were secured at the outset.

The staff numbered some 93, with about two dozen seconded from the local authority and the remainder specially recruited. The Antwerp 93 office was broadly responsible for the artistic programme and for promotion. The core programme covered a specific and restricted group of initiatives mostly developed and promoted by Antwerp 93 itself. Specialist artistic programming teams were established in eight areas: performing arts; contemporary visual arts; music; the "open city" (urbanism); film; photography and media; discourse and literature; open-air events; and historical projects.

The tasks of these groups varied somewhat from art form to art form. The Antwerp 93 office managed the opening and closing events, and the entire programme for literature, the open city and film and media. In other cases, the programme was initiated by the office and partly offered to partners. Perhaps 30 per cent of the music, theatre and dance programme was promoted by the office, with the remainder shared with partner organisations in the city. The museums organised most of the historical exhibitions with funding provided by the Antwerp 93 office. A small number of existing projects were incorporated into the programme (e.g. the Antwerp Piano and Early Music Festivals) and in a few cases grants were given to independent organisations to implement projects (e.g. Rock Space, an experimental rock venue).

Another 140 projects, constituted the "fringe programme" which included separately-organised events, initiatives by cultural associations in the city and aspects of the regular programming of Antwerp's cultural institutions. These were separately branded using a variant of the Antwerp 93 logo. The organisers of Antwerp 93 argued that a strict distinction between core and fringe was necessary to clarify the artistic purpose of Antwerp 93 and to give it clear identity. Inevitably, there were instances of activity which proved difficult to classify. One benefit of this bifurcated approach was that the core programme tended to stimulate the fringe.

The Antwerp 93 office had a co-ordinating role in relation to the fringe. Much of this activity was spontaneous, but in certain instances Antwerp 93 gave encouragement to specific projects. The office kept a calendar of all events so that dates might be co-ordinated and the activity might be promoted consistently in the city.

The promotion campaign was managed in-house by the Antwerp 93 office. Tourism promotion was left to the tourism authorities at the city, community and national levels. Despite much initial unease about the philosophy behind Antwerp 93, cooperation between the office and the tourism authorities was close, almost on a daily basis. Consideration was given to establishing one visitor centre for Antwerp 93. Eventually, four points of contact were set up: the Tourist Office (of the City of Antwerp); IPCA (International Press Centre Antwerp); SHOP 93 (merchandising); and INFO 93 (info-service centre for Antwerp 93).

1.5 Framework of relations

Political relationships were reflected in the composition of the Board, which also enabled the different tiers of government to achieve the necessary collaboration. The various responsibilities for supporting the arts are far from clear in the Belgian context. The Board membership numbered 21 and reflected broad interests in the city: five from Antwerp City Council, four from the Flemish Community, two from the Province of Antwerp and one from the national authorities. The business community had six places on the Board. Other members were the Director, a tourist representative and a representative of the European Community.

Relations with the existing cultural institutions were affected by Antwerp 93's strict approach to the artistic plan. It proved difficult "to find any meeting of minds with a number of artistic organisations in the city", often because the terms of reference of Antwerp 93 were, for various reasons, not acceptable to these organisations, mainly large-scale traditional institutions. The fringe was designed partly to solve the problem of recognising all those who contributed their efforts to Antwerp 93.

As in other Cities of Culture, Antwerp relied on a measure of financial support from foreign institutes/governments for aspects of its programming. Articulation of a clear artistic philosophy by Antwerp 93 did not necessarily make for easy relations. When ideas were developed in conjunction with a foreign institute, the relationship worked. Some institutions were more concerned to present their own proposals than respond to the Antwerp team's considered requests. The official Greek projects were put into the fringe programme.

The link with Graz, the European Cultural Month for 1993, proved difficult to implement in practice, despite a firm wish to collaborate and a political agreement between the cities. A few small projects were exchanged and a substantial promotional effort was made in respect of each other's programme. But the mismatch of city scales and of artistic philosophy made broad collaboration difficult. Both parties realised there was a danger of artificiality in pressing such collaboration too far.

The Network of Cultural Cities of Europe was not a particularly useful source of contacts and ideas on programming. But it did provide valuable practical and operational advice, especially in the field of merchandising, media listing and out-of-state marketing.

2. **FUNDING**

2.1 Available resources

The gross turnover of Antwerp 93 amounted to BF 985 million. The figure includes ticket sales (BF 165 million) and merchandising (net surplus BF 13 million) and an estimate of the value of contributions to the core programme from foreign

governments and institutions (BF 20 million). The net cost of the event was put at BF 741 million. Contributions were made in roughly similar proportions by the three public authorities, the City (BF 149 million), the Flemish Community (BF 165 million) and the national government (BF 202 million), which between them accounted for 71 per cent of the net funding. The grant from the European Union accounted for roughly four per cent. Business sponsorship, in cash and kind, contributed the remaining 27 per cent of the funding.

2.2 Expenditure

Programme costs were BF 662 million gross or BF 477 million net of ticketing income. This represented two thirds of net expenditure. Office overheads, personnel and administration, absorbed 19 per cent of expenditure. This seemingly high figure is explained by the exceptional load taken by the office in terms of event generation and promotion. Some 13 per cent of expenditure went on public relations and marketing.

Analysis of art form expenditure shows a broad spread across all areas. The theatre took the most at 20 per cent. Historical exhibitions (16 per cent), fine art (17 per cent) and music (13 per cent) accounted for rather less, whilst "open city" shared nine per cent of the total. One major venue, the Ark in the form of a converted ship, received BF 35 million or seven per cent of the total and acted as a high-volume showcase for young theatre talent. The major educational effort took the form of support work in relation to the core programme and was budgeted in that way except for BF 650,000 for the School Kits.

These figures do not take account of other resources made available to the event. For example, the VCGT (the Flemish Tourist Board) and the seven Belgian Tourist Office abroad made a major contribution to the success of the project as part of their general foreign promotional campaigns. There was much support in kind given by the City of Antwerp and other public agencies. Business sponsorship in kind produced a further BF 198 million. Most importantly, the major programme of building work undertaken in the city was a substantial investment for which no financial assessment is yet available.

2.3 Sponsorship

Business sponsorship contributed BF 435 million to Antwerp 93, BF 237 million in cash and BF 198 million in kind. After allowing for the costs of servicing this sponsorship (ticketing, administration, public relations) the net cash contribution is put at BF 176 million. Based on participation by some 99 companies, these sums were exceptional in comparison with most other Cities of Culture.

The Mayor of the City, the Director of Antwerp 93 and the Chairman of the Board were actively involved in raising this support. The campaign began in May 1991 and initially set out to find ten prime sponsors (BF 15 million each) plus media sponsors

(two eventually). The twelve prime sponsors of the event accounted for over half the sponsorship value in cash and in kind.

Sponsorship finance was taken into the global budget of Antwerp 93, but sponsors were related to specific projects as agreed. Prime sponsors were acknowledged in all print and were given great visibility in the promotion. The sponsorship programme was serviced by Stichting voor Kunstpromotie which produced a survey-based assessment of the project.

Participating companies were drawn overwhelmingly from the Antwerp business community, and were representative of all sectors. Sponsors were mainly motivated (60 per cent) by a wish to indicate their social engagement with a major project for the City. A few had specific marketing and image enhancement targets (25 per cent). An example was a media sponsor seeking to move up-market in its readership who saw cultural sponsorship as an effective means towards that end.

Some 64 per cent of Antwerp 93 sponsors were first-time sponsors of the arts, and it was a very positive outcome that 78 per cent indicated an interest in sponsoring the arts in future. For a significant minority of firms, however, Antwerp 93 was a one-off initiative, requiring a major financial effort. In fact, 70 per cent of companies created a separate account for Antwerp 93 and did not use their usual public relations or communications budgets for the purpose.

The international character of the event and the considerable international visibility achieved were significant factors in unlocking resources (especially when permissions from headquarters based elsewhere proved necessary) and in prompting satisfaction with the project. Local visibility was also important and the very positive Antwerp 93 street scene in the city was appreciated by 81 per cent of sponsors.

Many companies undertook additional PR campaigns. Some 43 per cent of project sponsors developed additional initiatives with their personnel and 46 per cent with customers and business contacts. General Motors arranged a sticker campaign, organised exhibitions of paintings by staff members and created a reception centre for use during the year to house many events with customers and with staff. All but one of the main sponsors made use of the Antwerp 93 logo (e.g. on writing paper or company cars). Several designed their own associated slogans such as "Culture requires energy" (Electrabel), "You do Antwerp 93 by train" (Belgian Railways) and "Art is Communication, Communication is Art" (Belgacom). One conclusion was that "many businesses took up their social role with a great sense of responsibility; sponsoring was not only a matter of providing money but above all one of participation and of support".

2.4

Infrastructure

A major programme of physical improvements to the City was co-ordinated by the City authorities and targeted on the Year. There was public and private sector involvement in the programme. Three key major restoration projects were:

Central Station (Delacenserie, 1905)
Bourla Theatre (Pierre-Bruno Bourla, 1827)
Cathedral of Our Lady (13th to 16th century)

A major traffic-free zone was created in the city and a number of banks, shops and major landmarks like the Grand Bazaar and the KB Tower, were restored and refurbished. Antwerp Zoo celebrated its 150th anniversary with a restoration programme. In addition to the Bourla Theatre, specific cultural projects included an extension to the Museum of Contemporary Art, the restoration of the monumental organ of St Pauls Church and the conversion of St Augustinus to play a special role in the music programme of Antwerp 93.

3. PROGRAMME

3.1 Content and timing

The strong philosophical basis to the Antwerp 93 programme is described above. It set up "a dialogue between a new generation of Flemish artists and a number of established names from the European stage". The programme consisted of some 600 performances and 26 exhibitions. It ran from the opening weekend in late March to the end of the year. Two phases of intensive cultural programming were broken by a summer period with lots of entertainments and open-air events.

Some of the main features were as follows:

- historical projects: exhibitions illustrating episodes in which Antwerp was a leading European centre e.g. a Jordaens exhibition and 15th to 16th century Antwerp retables;
- performing arts: a festival of contemporary opera, including three new operas in which Flemish theatre makers made a contribution; programmes by leading choreographers (Keersmaeker, Decoufle, William Forsythe and Tricia Brown); seven drama productions were premiered in the re-opened Bourla Theatre; the Ark; and children's theatre;
- visual arts: an exhibition of some 20 contemporary artists from Europe and America; three young foreign exhibition designers inaugurated the new rooms at the Museum of Contemporary Art; ten new contemporary sculptures were added to the Middelheim Open Air Sculpture Museum;
- music: around the theme of "Listening to the City", the inspiration of the music programme was Antwerp's musical history e.g. Flemish Polyphony and the revival in early music in which Flanders has taken a lead, Fin de Siecle symphonic music when Antwerp's musical life enjoyed international repute, plus the late works of Stravinsky and Messiaen;
- open city: the programme sought to stimulate critical reflection and actions to understand and improve the city, including a studio (experimenting with

architectural projects), a forum (exhibitions and discussions) and an observatory (the city seen through viewing devices installed around Antwerp with tours on foot, bicycle, tram or bus);

- other projects: these included programmes in film, photography and media art, applied art and literature (the "need for careful reading and writing, rather than literary spectacles or congresses", was emphasised by the publication of ten "cahiers" collections, recent and new, of European writing.

Some felt the multi-cultural elements in the programme might have been more numerous. They included a European urban music programme (featuring music of Antwerp's five largest migrant communities) and a debating project for young people (Your Voice in Multi-Cultural Europe).

The basis of the parallel/fringe programme is described above. Inclusion in the fringe had its own criteria. The event had to be of a certain cultural quality, be open access, able to appeal to a European public, non-profit and not associated with any political party. Initiatives fell into four groups:

- Antwerp institutions: the Flemish Opera, the KNS Theatre Society, several non-profit making galleries, the Flemish Ballet, the Festival of Flanders, the Province, presentations by the DeSingel Arts Centre (those not part of the core Antwerp 93 programme), several exhibitions at Antwerp museums, Zoo's 150th anniversary etc.;
- cultural associations in Antwerp: activities organised in the various Antwerp districts and co-ordinated by the cultural council of the City of Antwerp;
- separately organised special events: Eurosail, Charabang, EC JapanFest, Japan Week, Shanghai Week, Church in the City, Greece in Antwerp 93, Antwerp Children Portray Artists etc.;
- other initiatives: several commercial organisations presented projects e.g. diamond exhibitions.

3.2 Social and educational initiatives

These were conceived mainly in terms of support for the core programme. Major efforts were made in relation to targeted groups (as mentioned above).

3.3 European themes

The Antwerp 93 programme did not so much examine European cultural affinities as explore issues in the role of art within a mainly European framework. Expressions of Flemish cultural achievements were integral to the programming, especially the historical moments when Flanders was a major centre contributing to European

culture. Contemporary Flemish art and artists were emphasised in some sectors (e.g. fashion and media art) more than others.

4. IMPACT

4.1 Promotion

The promotional programme for Antwerp 93 was prepared with exceptional care and led to a most effective campaign. The work was planned "in house" with an expenditure of some BF 96 million, of which some 40 per cent went on print, 20 per cent on advertising and distribution and 40 per cent on public relations (check). Preparation began in late-1991 and the campaign was launched at home and abroad in May 1992.

The aims were to promote:

- the City of Antwerp and the Antwerp region as the "stage" for the event;
- the idea of the "cultural city", and the way Antwerp approached it;
- the programme, with emphasis on its artistic philosophy.

The latter was not an easy concept to convey. This was attempted in a series of questions which were presented on posters, the press and on radio and TV:

What is beautiful, what is ugly?
Can art save the world?
Must we "go in for" art for art's sake, or the opposite?
Do we have to wait until an artist is dead to recognise genius?
Does art have to be suffering?
Is art remunerative? For whom?

The campaign was directed at the people of Antwerp, the Antwerp region and at artistic and cultural areas in Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, France and the UK, together with various metropolitan areas in other parts of Europe, North America and Japan. After an international press week in May 1992, a sequence of press conferences on the various artistic sectors took place in the autumn, and various press events were held abroad in association with Belgian embassies and tourist offices. A programme magazine was produced in four language versions (125,000 print run), with two further editions during the year, covering two phases of the event. The media sponsorships supported extra advertising and a monthly bulletin was distributed through a local newspaper.

The success of the public relations campaign can be judged from the 10,000 press cuttings generated in Belgium alone and the 3,480 cuttings from the foreign press.

The latter were particularly impressive and related to over 2000 press trips handled by the Antwerp 93 Office. Some 651 of the cuttings appeared in 1992. Principal interest was shown in the Netherlands (841), Germany (527), France (421) and the UK (239). There were 169 press reports on the event in the USA. This success might be attributed to two factors. First, the campaign was well-phased and sustained. Second, the message was clear and focused on the artistic philosophy of the event which was so unusual that it excited much specialist media interest. Nevertheless, the reporting still tended to be about the City rather than the specifics of the programme.

4.2 Debate

As intended, the year generated debate and polemic within Antwerp about the position of art and the particular nature of the approach adopted in the City of Culture. The duality of the main programme and fringe was the subject of some public wrangling in which the Mayor at one point claimed the fringe was more successful than the main programme. A constructive outcome was the wider debate about the place of art being systematically conducted under the tutelage of Antwerp 93 in 12 smaller cities in the Flemish community.

4.3 European theme

The facts about the relationship of the event to the European Union were stated clearly in all publications. But the event was understood more as a city initiative, mediating art to its residents and visitors. European Commission was aware of the features of the year but no direct political interest was taken. A local feature was Brussels offices of the Commission which promoted trips to Antwerp.

4.4 Attendance

Total attendance for the Antwerp 93 programme was 2.259 million, including 1.14 million for the core programme, 0.615 million for the opening weekend and 0.5 million for the free exhibitions in the Cathedral. Other exhibitions attracted 634,000, with 461,000 at historical exhibitions (the Jordaens Show drew 147,000), and a further 167,000 for the contemporary visual arts programme. The theatre and music programmes each drew about 100,000. A considerable achievement was the 68,000 for the open city programme, mostly people going on city trails. Figures for the fringe are sketchy and more difficult to interpret. It is estimated that 2.3 million people visited the city on the weekend of the Eurosail event.

No definitive analysis of the implication of these figures is available. The forthcoming Regional Development Association study on the economic impact of the event will throw light on the composition of the public and draw conclusions on economic implications. It is clear that, mainly as a result of the exhibition programme, Antwerp's museum attendance grew by 82 per cent during 1993. No comprehensive base figures are yet available for the performed arts attendance in the city, but it would be surprising if the overall impact of the programme were not

positive. The possibility of the displacement of audiences from the city's normal institutional activities will need careful assessment. Data supplied on KNS, KJT, De Singel and the Queen Elizabeth Concert Hall suggest little problem in this respect, with attendance increasing from 572,000 in 1992 to 588,000 in 1993.

4.5 Social impact

The social impact of the event may be judged by the scale of attendance at the opening ceremony and the popularity of the events in the fringe programme. A newspaper poll showed 82 per cent of respondents attending exhibitions, 22 per cent the theatre and 24 per cent concerts during the year, but the status of the sample is uncertain. The best remembered events were Eurosail, the Jordaens Exhibition and the Retables in the Cathedral.

4.6 Cultural effects

The organisers believe that Antwerp 93 increased interest in contemporary art and that a new audience was reached by the event. Difficult productions were certainly well-attended and there was great interest in presentations in new locations (e.g. in St Augustinus Church, the Bourla Theatre programme and the contemporary music in Central Station). Institutions with established interest in contemporary work did especially well in the year. It is too early to tell whether this will last and whether the new programming capability can be maintained. There are fears that the education work may come to a stop. Proposals were made for retaining the Antwerp 93 team after the year in a programming and promotional role, but the City Council turned this down. On the other hand, the infrastructure investments in the year do represent a significant long-term gain for the city.

4.7 Economic impact and tourism

The tourism authorities were happy at the positive outcome of the year. No extra tourism budget was made available to the City tourism office but the Flemish and Belgian national tourism authorities put major resources into promoting the event, with particular attention to the German and Dutch markets, where Antwerp 93 was a chosen theme for two years before the event.

The result was a major stimulus to the day visitor markets from Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany. One index of this may be the Tourist Information Centre enquiries in Antwerp which were two and a half times higher during 1993 than in 1992, with a particularly large increase in enquiries from Germans. The impact on the tourist trade was probably positive but less dramatic. Antwerp's hotel capacity rose by 30 per cent between 1985 and 1990 and a 1988 estimate put tourist trips at 1.06 million. It would seem that 1993 was a bad year for tourism generally in Belgium and, according to the Antwerp Tourist Office, the city might have expected a ten per cent fall in traffic. Opinion within the trade reports a four per cent rise during 1993, which would amount to a 14 per cent improvement on the expected

trend. Antwerp's competitors, Bruges and Ghent, claim they suffered some displacement during the year from them towards Antwerp.

The Antwerp Tourist Office reported that tourism promotion should now position Antwerp as a "cultural city", and that 1993 provided a base for further expansion in cultural tourism. The exceptional media interest created this opportunity. Initially, the tourism professionals were sceptical about the artistic programme and its specialist approach, but the authorities now believe that this was a principal cause of the press interest which enabled the city to be "discovered". Conventional artistic programming would not have stimulated the same level of interest.

A most positive indication concerns the 1994 enquiry figures which at the mid-year remained 50 per cent above the 1992 level. Making Antwerp better known and correcting mistaken perceptions of the city were important effects of the project, which should have long-term economic benefits at several levels. The transformed physical appearance of the city and the vigorous presence of the promotion in the streets during the year must have served to reinforce these positive responses in the minds of visitors. From this, some more lasting benefits are likely to flow. Although the Antwerp 93 office has been closed, the City authorities are taking forward the process under the strapline "Antwerp City of Culture 94", polishing its new image with a cultural bulletin in a similar format to the Antwerp 93 print and planning future promotions, including the 400th anniversary of the birth of Van Dyck.

5. CONCLUSION

Antwerp 93 was a success on several levels. According to one foreign observer: "There is a massive influx of energy that hits you and a feeling of pride and purpose ... of a city which (has) put itself on the international map, both for a larger tourist industry and as a contemporary cultural centre(It is also hoped that) some perceptions, notably the extreme right wing racists ones, have been changed within its own population. This may prove true, particularly for its younger people, although only time can tell".

The programme philosophy of Antwerp 93 focused with exceptional clarity on one objective, summarised in the strapline "opting for art". This left plenty of space in the city for a substantial programme of complementary fringe activity to emerge. But it was the unusual strength of Antwerp 93's artistic message which apparently caught the attention of the world's press. The organisers of the event placed great emphasis on developing an effective communication plan and this paid off. Major media attention was generated (with 3,400 international press cuttings alone) and this helped communicate the facts about the transformation of the city of Antwerp.

Antwerp 93 aimed to explore the meaning and value of contemporary artistic practice in an international context. This was done not by creating a platform for Antwerp's cultural institutions but with an independent programme which launched a debate for a European professional public and presented a reputedly conservative city with a challenge over the purpose of its cultural institutions and its policies towards art in the city.

Whilst the organisers were careful to eschew any quantitative test for the success of the artistic programme, the outcome was positive. The main programme drew a public of 2.3 million, including 1.1 million for the core programme and 1.1 million at the opening weekend and exhibitions in the cathedral. There was evidence that difficult productions found an audience and new locations (e.g. the Central Station) for artistic presentations provoked considerable interest. The museums in the city experienced an 82 per cent rise in attendance.

The cultural vitality of the new Antwerp was translated into a positive economic outcome from a tourism perspective, with a major boost to day visitor traffic and a modest expansion in hotel occupancy (a positive outcome in the light of a negative national trend). An important finding is that whilst the tourism professionals were initially sceptical about the artistic programme, they now believe this was central to establishing the media interest in the event and registering the image of the city as a vital cultural centre. The tourism authorities plan to reposition Antwerp as a cultural destination on the basis of the success of the event. This builds on earlier successes, such as the Rubens year in 1978.

Antwerp 93 may have achieved a change of attitude towards "difficult art" at least for the course of the event. A strong debate was certainly provoked within the city in which high art and popular festivities became characterised as competing philosophies. This partly reflected the particular role defined for the Antwerp 93 Office whose prime responsibility was the main programme and promotion of the event. Ownership of the fringe programme was felt to lie elsewhere in the city.

Whether the stimulus will last remains to be seen. Any lasting impact on the cultural institutions of the city will take time to register. It was proposed that the Antwerp 93 team should be retained in a programming and promoting role but this was rejected by the city authorities. There is also doubt over the future of the educational initiatives which formed an important part of the year.

Despite the polemics which coloured the year, a broader partnership characterised the initiative. This was represented both in the enormous civic effort put into the year and in the exceptionally strong response from the business community which contributed some 24 per cent of the necessary finance through sponsorship and undertook, in a number of instances, unusually imaginative support programmes to secure maximum benefit from the event for themselves and for the city.

Antwerp 93, income and expenditure

	BF million
Income	
City of Antwerp	149
Flemish Community	165
National Government	202
European Union	19
Sponsorship (net)	176*
Donations	17
Merchandising	<u>13</u>
	741
Expenditure	
Personnel	97
Administration etc.	38
Promotion	96
Programme	477*
Miscellaneous	<u>19</u>
	741

Source: Antwerp 93.

- * Net of sponsors costs; excludes sponsorship in kind of a further BF 198 million. Cash sponsorship was BF 235 million gross.
- * Net of ticket income (BF 165 million) and of estimated value of contribution in kind from foreign governments (BF 20 million); gross expenditure on programme was BF 662 million.

Antwerp 93, net expenditure on programme, by art form

Percentages	
Historical project	16
Theatre	20
Art	7
Music	13
Fine art	17
Architecture and urbanism	9
Audio-visual media	9
Literature	4
Animation and other	<u>5</u>
	100

Source: Antwerp 93.

Antwerp 93, attendance

	Thousand
Main programme	
Historical exhibitions	461
Visual arts exhibitions	167
Music	98
Theatre	104
Large scale events	115
Film, photography	86
Open city	68 ^a
Other	<u>45</u>
	1,144
Opening weekend	615
Cathedral Exhibitions	<u>500</u>
	1,115
Total main programme	2,259
Fringe programme ^b	
Eurosail	2,300
Fireworks, EC Japan Festival	80

Source: Antwerp 93.

^a Includes 50,000 on City Trails.^b Only available figures.**Antwerp 93, attendance indicators**

	Thousand				
	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
Museum visitors	886	1,047	951	1,733	..
Information enquiries	250	250	247	609	307 ^a
Zoo visitors	992	990	957	1,150	..
Cathedral visitors	250	296	275	1,000 ^b	..
Airport passengers	163	151	181	213	..

Source: City of Antwerp.

^a Full year estimate on basis of figures to August.^b Estimate.