WHOSE CULTURE(S)?

Proceedings of the Second Annual Conference of the University Network of European Capitals of Culture

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WHOSE CULTURES ARE WE TALKING ABOUT?

WIM COUDENYS - LESSIUS UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, ANTWERP

The present volume contains a selection of papers that were presented during the second annual conference of the University Network of European Capitals of Cultures. The conference took place on 16 and 17 October 2008 and was jointly organized by Liverpool Hope University and the University of Liverpool. The setting of the conference – Liverpool Tate Gallery in the reconstructed Albert Dock and Liverpool Hope University's Hope Park campus – already illustrated the complexity of the conference theme 'Whose culture(s)?' On the one hand both locations refer to 'high culture': a fine arts museum and a university campus. On the other hand they also refer to the transience of culture and the conflicts between different cultures. Before Albert Dock became the tourist attraction it is nowadays, it had been the place where dockworkers toiled, and afterwards, a dump of derelict warehouses. Could there be a bigger contrast between these grey docks and a university campus in lavish green surroundings?

As the present collection of articles proves, the question of 'whose culture' is intrinsically linked to a more fundamental one: what is culture? There are roughly four approaches to culture:

1. Culture as 'Fine Arts';
2. Culture as a socio-ethnic stratification (identity);
3. Culture as a personal experience (development);
4. Culture as a set of rules within an organization (corporate culture).

Obviously, there is an overlap between these different approaches, as the articles in the present volume prove. Moreover, there exists a certain degree of 'competition' or 'conflict' within and between these concepts of culture. 'Fine Arts', for instance, are perceived as 'high culture' and represent the tastes, interests and preferences of the socially advantaged. Hence, defending the interests of 'low culture' has less to do with its intrinsic artistic values, than with 'social justice'. Similarly there is a conflict of interest between global 'European culture' and local identity. Whether European culture is perceived as a canon of highlights of European fine arts or as a anonymous, multicultural amalgam (used to distinguish Europe from, for instance, the US), each time it seems to do injustice to local identities. Moreover, within the European Union there are strong regional differences: whereas in the southern and eastern parts of Europe culture is predominantly seen as a manifestation of (the dominant) local (ethnic) identity, in the European north and west the stress is laid on culture as a representation of all social (and ethnic) subgroups. This debate is reopened every year in

every single European Capitals of Culture (ECoC). The third and fourth definitions of culture are less clearly represented in these debates, especially as they refer to individual experiences or sets of rules that apply to particular subgroups. However, they certainly play a role, as culture undoubtedly has an impact on both the artist and the public (consumer of culture), or on subgroups (for instance the gay community, tourist branch etc.).

The articles in the present volume bear witness to the diversity of approaches of culture and hence, give different answers to the question of 'whose culture(s)?' Spyros Mercouris and Marc Delbarge address the concept of European culture as such, whereas Ana Karina Schnieder, Simona Romano and Peter Müller focus on conceptual and methodological aspects of culture. Çiğdem Kurt and Mindaugas Šapoka, on the other hand, place European culture in a historical context, either as a set of (sub)cultures that influence each other (Kurt) or as a series of local cultures with identical substrata (Šapoka).

The majority of the contributions deal with culture(s) in European Capitals of Culture. Jürgen Mittag and Kathrin Oerters give an overview of how the concept of ECoC has changed since 1985, notably how it has moved from an event that '(re)presents culture' to one that 'changes (local) culture' and by doing so puts it on the European cultural map. John Bennett, Helen Churchill, Mike Homfray, Vishwas Maheshwari, Ian Vandewalle, David Bamber, Sarah Louisa Phythian-Adams, David Sapsford and Tomke Lask focus on Liverpool as European Capital of Culture: what it did to local culture, i.e. popular theatres (Bennett) and the gay community (Churchill and Homfray); how it can be assessed economically (Maheshwari, Vandewalle and Bamber; Phythian-Adams and Sapsford) or in terms of social habitus (Lask).

The two last contributions approach culture from a didactical point of view: can you 'learn' about other cultures (Özlem Etus) or has learning mobility an intercultural impact and if so, can you measure it? (Timea Németh, András Trócsányi and Balázs Sütő)

Whereas the diversity of articles in this collection is proof in itself of the diverse meanings (and owners) culture can have, it also brings to mind that their authors are also indebted to the culture they are living in. Although several authors try to come up with 'universal' patterns of dealing with cultural phenomena (e.g. Šapoka, Müller, Phythian-Adams & Sapsford, Lask), they all focus on a local situation or restrict themselves to one or two of the possible concepts of culture. This is by no means an inadequacy of the authors, but evidence of the fact that culture is rather elusive and difficult to grasp. This, of course, does not mean that we cannot try to come up with alternative definitions of

(European) culture.[1] But this, undoubtedly, will be the subject of another conference.

Literature cited

Coudenys, W. 2007. Frontiers and Limits of European Culture. (*Town and Gown. First Annual Conference of the European Capitals of Culture*, Sibiu, 25-26 October 2007 (http://www.uneecc.org/htmls/town_and_gown_presentations.html)

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[1] See, for instance, my attempt during the First Annual Conference of UNeECC (Coudenys 2007).

EUROPE'S CULTURAL & POLITICAL VOICE – THE ROLE OF EUROPEAN CAPITALS OF CULTURE

SPYROS MERCOURIS

I am very glad to be here with you today because the University Network of European Capitals of Culture is a magnificent idea and a tool for helping culture to be properly understood and be therefore of immense benefit to the young people.

Our times are dominated by the pursuit of money, cynicism, corruption, mistrust, fanaticism, racism, fear, insecurity, terrorism and war.

Under these circumstances, especially with the recent world financial crisis, it looks unfavorable to speak about the importance and role of culture, when citizens are living in anguish for their survival. But, on the contrary I personally strongly believe that this is the time when we must react and believe in the power of culture.

This is why your work is very valuable.

We all know that when the growth in material goods is not balanced by a parallel development of ideas and values, then the way of life produced is condemned to wither and degenerate. This unfortunately has already started.

The European Union is now established as an economic unit in the world today. Its views are sought on diverse matters from world trade, climate change and economics to fundamental political issues.

The European Union is not a single country or a single state. It is a loose confederation, often finding it difficult to agree on most basic issues and whose central political and economic institutions are unfortunately remote from the European public. There is increasing talk of a crisis of confidence but no agreement as to how this is to be overcome.

The 'no votes' in the Netherlands, France (2005) and Ireland (2008) were a shock to the political elite of the EU. These expressions of rejection of the EU project are serious. They indicate disillusionment among the citizens.

Proposals coming from the Commission aim at harmonizing rules, laws, regulations and state aid schemes, to meet the requirements of a single internal market operating according to free market rules.

The financial crisis begun in the USA has proved that the uncontrolled and unregulated operations of the free markets have brought about an enormous financial crisis.

The financial ties between the United States and Europe have made the problem a global one.

Reflecting severe concern about the health of the global financial system, American, European and other major central banks drastically escalated their response by making available to banks many hundreds of billions dollars. After lending had stalled and threatened further harm to an already battered world economy.

The coordinated actions reflected official concern that financial markets appeared to be facing their greatest problems since the great depression of the 1930's. To face the crisis the then President of the United States Franklin Delano Roosevelt with his New Deal created public works and jobs. Now the United States government and the Federal Reserve are infusing a huge amount of cash into the banks. But it is the banks which have created the problem in the first place. Public opinion was not satisfied.

European leaders meeting in Paris, on the suggestion of the British Prime Minister Gordon Brown, have agreed a plan to tackle the banking crisis, saying no big institution will be allowed to fail.

They pledged to guarantee loans between banks until the end of 2009, and said they would put money into them by buying preference shares. This plan is a guarantee that people will not lose their money.

Let us hope that from this financial turmoil a greater solidarity will emerge which will bring closer the member states of Europe for the betterment of the European people now and in the future.

The European political elites have to decide, at their peril, not to disregard the wishes of the citizen.

Today, Europe is only one player amongst several. To the west, the United States remain the dominant single economic and political power. Further east, there are the rising Asian giants, China and India, whose economies seem to represent the future. Nearer to home Europe faces a further challenge from the recovering power of Russia, a state long regarded with unease and ambiguity and doubt as to whether it is part of Europe or not. To the south Europe is faced with the challenge of how to adapt to the rise of political Islam and whether to treat this phenomenon as an existential threat or one with which an accommodation can or should be sought. Further south, the new African states for all their massive problems still represent a huge potential whilst to the west, in South America new giants such as Brazil appear to be rising.

The rise of non-European powers is a fact. There is nothing Europe can do to stop it. Nor should it try. On the contrary the rise of the rest of humanity, of cultures and civilizations some of which have made their own colossal contributions to human culture and human history is something we should unequivocally welcome. It is not the rise of other people and other cultures that should concern us. Rather Europe should

find ways of having a constructive dialogue with and understanding of these rising forces for the benefit of humanity. To do that, Europe should proceed towards its unification.

Every conceivable aspect of European life is being addressed and talked about as a means of solving the European crisis. One can hear discussions about the European economic and monetary union, about European science programmes, structural reforms of European institutions, about agriculture, trade, about the harmonization of European laws, about whether a single European foreign policy should be adopted or is even desirable. We should talk about and concern ourselves with education, the arts and creativity and about the one thing that has had most influence on the modern world and which has made Europe into what Europe is: its culture. It is time to understand that culture is at the centre of our political, social and economic life.

On 28 November 1983 at Zappeion Megaron in Athens, the then Minister of Culture Melina Mercouri gathered all Community Culture Ministers together in order to submit to them the following question: "How is it possible for a Community which is deprived of its cultural dimension to grow?" and continued:

> Our role of Ministers of Culture is clear. Our responsibility a must. Culture is the soul of society. Therefore, our foremost duty is to look at the foundations and nature of this Community. This does not mean that we should impose our ideals. On the contrary, we must recognize the diversities and the differences amongst the people of Europe. The determining factor of a European identity lies precisely in respecting these diversities with the aim of creating a living dialogue between the cultures of Europe. It is time for our voice to be heard as loud as that of the technocrats. Culture, art and creativity are not less important than technology, commerce and the economy.

So Melina proposed to designate each year a European city as a Cultural Capital of Europe. She wanted to create an ever closer union between the peoples of Europe and to give a cultural dimension to the community and a more attractive image.

The European Community, a commercial and economic community up to that point, had not given special attention to its cultural dimension and Cultural Ministers met informally. Yet the gathering of the Ministers of Culture in Athens in November 1983 proved to be a momentous occasion.

When Greece proposed to the Ministers of Culture the event of the Cultural Capital, it did so in the belief that a real contribution could be made through culture to Europe which would enhance and reinvigorate both the individual citizen and the people of Europe.

Also, it was certain that through the efforts to achieve a higher quality of life the event of Cultural Capitals would expand to cities of European countries outside the Community according to the principles of Democracy, pluralism and the rule of law.

The proposal was unanimously accepted and the institution of European Cultural Capital was created, with Athens being chosen as the first Cultural Capital of Europe for the year 1985. I had the honour of becoming director and coordinator of this cultural event.

The concept of the event of Cultural Capitals of Europe should show the character of each city which is nominated, with its history, tradition and contemporary creativity.

Athens wanted the event of Cultural Capitals of Europe to be NOT a festival but a meeting place for discussion, communication, and exchange of ideas, thus creating a dialogue between the cultures of Europe where artists, intellectuals and scientists would bring their work and efforts together towards the promotion of European thought.

Also the Cultural Capitals had to be an event in which the citizens of Europe could be more than mere spectators by allowing them to participate, to understand, to feel, to define and shape new ideas and relationships in the process for a politically unified Europe.

From what has been said up to now, it is clear that the event is not only what a cultural city offers and does on its own, but the contribution of all the Cultural Capitals and Cultural Months[1] as a whole.

In Madrid in 1992, the Network of Cultural Cities of Europe was formed, and a big step taken towards a more concrete, practical and close collaboration between all Cultural Capitals. A vacuum had been filled and a link with the cities had been established. Since then the Network also undertakes as one of its many tasks the promotion of the idea of European Cultural Capital in order to persuade the peoples of Europe of the importance, the essence and the value of culture.

The membership of the Network is limited to representatives and organizers of former and future Cultural Capitals and Cultural Months.

These people work together with their governments, their municipalities, institutions, organizations, artists, intellectuals and citizens. They analyze situations, they select the right people to organize new projects and they coordinate the events of the Cultural Capitals of Europe.

The main aims and objectives of the Network are as follows:

- To assist the European cities of Culture;

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[1] Cultural months were created in 1990 to promote European culture in non-EU member States. At present the action is suspended.

- To organize European and world-wide co-productions;
- To enhance cultural co-operation and promotion on a European-wide basis;
- To share information, skills and contacts concerning the management and financing of European cultural programmes;
- To maintain an archive of information about innovative cultural practices and creations. An archive centre has already been organized and functions under the authority of the Municipality of Athens.

The Network of Cultural Capitals and Cultural Months of Europe serving both the Cultural Capitals and the European Union has had a significant cultural impact and contributed to a deeper understanding of the diversity of European cultures.

The Cultural Capital of Europe which started as an idea, a vision, has developed into the most important European Cultural event and became an Institution.

Unfortunately, during the last decades the arts are flattening. There exists a certain amount of standardization and imitations of a model of American culture. There are many cultural events that are only for entertainment and commercial gains. The media encourages cheap journalism and commercial reality TV shows and focus on gossip and big headlines instead of genuine information about the society we live in.

When we talk about the 'productivity of culture' do we include much of this low quality culture which is now becoming the mainstream?

Vision and creativeness are missing.

The arts and culture are defined by the creativeness of the artists. The true artist is an independent and free person. He has a prophetic instinct for what is coming and is ahead of his time in all things artistic and cultural. He agonizes over new aesthetics, works for new visions and helps to create a new awareness. The artist resists institutionalized and artificial barriers. He abhors all that curtails his soaring spirit. His special uniqueness gives him the ability to bring about change in the way you and I look and think. If his creativeness withstands the passing of time then the artist and his achievements have crossed the borders of his domain and given everyone the gift of his talents and enriched the cultural heritage belonging to us all.

When the level of culture, education and intellectual life rises, citizens will understand their daily problems more easily. They will evaluate their problems better and will face life with greater understanding and show greater tolerance for the thinking and acting of other people.

Fine arts, poetry, drama, music, science are expressions of culture. However, the meaning of culture is much wider and deeper. Civilizations are formed by what man has said and done since thousands of years

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and which, up to now, have been accepted and absorbed by societies and peoples and have been added to their habits, thoughts, memories, actions and creativeness.

Culture absorbs from the past, moulds the present and shapes the future.

Culture exists in all our doings, in all our activities. It is knowledge, education, behaviour, responsibility, understanding and respect for the diversity and the opinion of others. It is creation, quality and a way of life.

The institution of Cultural Capital of Europe has achieved a lot, but has not managed to convince the centres of power in their negotiations and their decision-making processes to take into consideration as much as they should the human being, the environment and culture.

Throughout the ages mankind has consistently sought progress.

In the long history of human civilization there has been a whole series of renaissances each one making its contribution to moral and intellectual regeneration and to the betterment of the quality of life.

I believe that it is this moment which will give to the institution of Cultural Capital of Europe and its networks the impetus to unite their forces and work together for the promotion of this noble idea.

In 1985, Jacques Delors, the then President of the European Commission, introduced the idea of the 'collective ambition'. The purpose being to promote the best of European Culture, through a solidarity of values. It was a guided target aimed at a united 'European Act'. It was easily ratified in 1987 by the 12 member States and was the most important European agreement after the Treaty of Rome.

The period 1985 to 2000 was a period of unification. Since that time the unification of Europe has gone wrong. Sadly the strategy of renewal through treaties which guided the regeneration of European unification through 1985 – 2000 appears to have lost its momentum.

The inspired ability of Europe to overcome the dilemma of deepening or enlarging the European Community by successfully combining both for 20 years seems to have come to a halt.

There is political, intellectual and nationalistic ambiguity towards the process of European unification. But the unification of Europe is a must.

Maybe the last enlargement was too fast, and caused in some new EU member states a surge of nationalistic sentiments and the wish to preserve their own interests. Thus bringing problems into the EU and delays in its unification.

But the main reason is the lack of belief and confidence of the people of Europe and especially the young. They feel that they have been let down

by the European Union which has failed to create new horizons, visions, hopes and expectations.

The big question is where does Europe go from here and for what purpose?

Today, the developed countries form a global village. Never in the history of mankind was contact so easy. Every country and every continent is engaged in continuous communication. However, it is very doubtful that this way of communication has achieved much in the promotion of a dialogue between people and cultures.

Europe with its experience and culture could contribute to a global dialogue for a better understanding between nations and people.

Our times demand that Europe becomes more powerful. It is imperative that Europe should create the necessary structures for its unification and thus to allow itself to have a strong political presence worldwide.

It is time for Europe to have its own independent voice, a political strategy. A foreign and cultural policy.

To bring about a debate based on cultural knowledge one needs to recognize that Europe has a great deal to say about the mutual understanding between peoples, their cultures, their dignity and for the sake of peace to work for the good will and betterment of all mankind.

THE EUROPEAN CAPITALS OF CULTURE, THEIR PAST, THE FUTURE OF EUROPE AND THE ACTUAL EUROPEAN AWARENESS POLICY
THE CASES OF SALAMANCA AND BRUGES

MARC DELBARGE - LESSIUS UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, ANTWERP
& THE COLLEGE OF EUROPE, BRUGES

1. The European Capitals of Culture in its historical context

The European Capitals of Culture are selected on the basis of historical and cultural characteristics of their past and also on the basis of specific criteria relating to their present situation in Europe, such as their multilingual and/or multicultural environment, the high quality of cultural and/or economic standards, the presence of political and/or spiritual leaders, the power of the dominating discourse of the political leaders of their country, and more recently (since 1999, when the European Parliament and Council worked out a new selection procedure for the Capitals for the 2007-2019 period), the balance of the intergovernmental decisions reached in order to give to each EU member nation the opportunity to 'host' the cultural capital in turn. Certain cities receive the title of Cultural Capital of Europe for one year - or for only one month since 1990 - also as a challenge and as an incentive to promote their local or their national culture. The nomination is part of their cultural and/or economic marketing strategy.

When the internationally renowned Greek artist Melina Mercouri became Minister of Culture in Greece, the EU was still a commercial and industrial community. On the 28th of November 1983, Mercouri brought together all Community Ministers of Culture in Athens and invited them to reflect on the role of the European culture in the integration policy of the European Community. Her question was:

> How is it possible for a Community which is deprived of its cultural dimension to grow? […] Our role of ministers of Culture is clear. Our responsibility a must. Culture is the soul of society. Therefore, our foremost duty is to look at the foundations and nature of this Community. This does not mean that we should impose our ideals. On the contrary, we must recognize the diversities and the differences amongst the people of Europe. The determining factor of a European identity lies precisely in respecting these diversities with the aim of creating a living dialogue between the cultures of Europe. It is time for our voice to be heard as loud as that of the technocrats. Culture, art and

creativity are no less important than technology, commerce and economy.[1]

In this quote, Melina Mercouri emphasised Europe's multiculturalism and formulated the idea of a linkage between culture and the political integration of the EU. Afterwards, she proposed as a concrete measure the event of 'Cultural Capitals of Europe' (first named as 'European Cities of Culture'). Athens became the first Cultural Capital of Europe in 1985. Her statement remains topical, particularly in view of the rejection of the European Constitution by France and the Netherlands a few years ago, and the more recent rejection of the adapted version of this same Treaty, called the Treaty of Lisbon, by the Irish. The opportunity for cultural events, such as the European Capitals of Culture, to promote European Citizenship is the topic of the day in a lot of discussion groups and meetings among political decision-makers. In most cases, the cities which apply for the nomination as Cultural Capital want to valorise their cultural and historical heritage and also wish to boost their own cultural marketing strategies. The best guarantee for good cultural governance as a Cultural Capital is the support from and the harmonious collaboration with the national and local political bodies involved in the project, the quality and competence of the artistic management, sponsorship, and the adherence to the project of the local population. The cities that could count on the synergy of these four factors have been the most successful.

With a related concern for achieving long-lasting results, some Cultural Capitals founded cultural institutions like museums or annual cultural festivals. Beatriz García led a research project investigating the long term legacy of Glasgow 1990, based at the Centre for Cultural Policy Research, University of Glasgow. Let's give a few examples. Bruges built a new concert hall, which functions both as a meeting place and as a new centre for the arts, the building itself forming a challenge from an architectural point of view. It was there that Mr. Milliband gave his speech for the opening ceremony of the College of Europe in 2008. Salamanca restored one of the towers of the old Cathedral (called 'Jerónimo') which was destroyed by the earthquake of Lisbon in 1755 but which now offers a magnificent panoramic view over this marvellous Spanish Renaissance city.

For Antwerp, with Eric Antonis as cultural manager, 1993 meant the start of a new vision and a new cultural policy. Antonis did not focus on what had already been achieved in the past, but took on the challenge to create something new. The fact that 20 composers were asked to write new pieces of music, 19 of which had their *premières* during the year Antwerp was Cultural Capital, is an ideal example of this type of

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[1] www.heritageradio.net/uns2/hm-magazine-3.

cultural governance. The manner in which this governance provided time and space for new creations and expressions also strengthened receptivity for artistic and cultural innovation. The coordinator of literature was Bart Verschaffel who shared Eric Antonis's belief in creating new works and in doing something that makes people really think. The case of Antwerp 1993 and the type of cultural governance Antonis proposed was

> a conscious choice in favour of art, in favour of innovation - not of renovation of something of the past -, in favour of nuances, criticism, asking questions, exploring doubts and looking for answers.[2]

Rather than emphasising already existing or well-established art, it meant opting for change in order to create and perform new texts, new pieces of music, new works of art, new theatre productions and instilling life into the city. In this way, Antwerp 1993 also showed it was prepared to take risks: the title of Cultural Capital as a challenge for the future. In this way, cultural governance means taking responsibility for what happens to culture if you give it a chance, and doing everything possible so that Europe can manage to uphold such responsibility. Cultural governance has something to do with responsibility for a new type of culture, a new type of real European culture.

2. The communication policy of the European Union

The phenomenon of the European Capitals of Culture and their communication policies is also a dynamic part of the communication policy of the European Union and a catalyst of European cultural awareness. The temporary focus on the values of the past, the richness of the present and the chances for the future by organizing cultural events, twinning and exchanges, and the spontaneous migration of tourists leave deep traces with regard to the future of the Cultural Capitals and of Europe as a whole. In this way, the possibility for certain historical cities to be for one year, or even for one month, the cultural capital of Europe, is a part of the marketing strategy of Europe and an important element in the current European policy on political awareness. In discovering local works of art and architecture, visiting museums, listening to concerts, etc., each European will recognize parts of the common European heritage in all of these the areas. Going on a literary crawl through a city in search of reminiscences of writers who were there as visitors, or reading the literature of classic or modern writers who wrote about the city you are visiting, make the visitor or the reader conscious of the real European patrimony of the imagination. A feeling of recognition or a confrontation with the cultural treasures of the

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[2] www.heritageradio.net/uns2/hm-magazine-3.

European neighbours helps us realize that culture can bring people together and intensify the awareness of European citizenship.

In the prologue of the sociological and psychological essay *Portrait de l'Europe* (1952) by the Spaniard Salvador de Madariaga (1886-1976), the French writer and member of the *Académie Française*, André Maurois formulates a few interesting reflections about the Europeans and their common cultural heritage:

> Pour que l'Europe, un jour que je souhaite prochain, se fasse, il faut qu'il y ait avant tout des Européens, c'est-à-dire des hommes qui, outre leur culture nationale, aient compris, senti, la culture des autres pays du continent et qui, au-delà de cette bigarrure, perçoivent ou pressentent quelque uniformité. Salvador de Madariaga fut, dès sa jeunesse, parmi les premiers Européens. Sa culture est aussi variée que vaste. Il nous apparaît, à nous Français, comme le plus Français des Espagnols, car il a passé par l'Ecole Polytechnique, française jusqu'au défi, et il raisonne en cartésien, mettant de l'ordre dans ses pensées, faisant des dénombrements entiers, et n'acceptant aucune chose pour vraie qu'il ne la reconnaisse évidemment être telle. Mais il apparaît aux Anglais comme le plus Anglais des Espagnols, car il a enseigné à Oxford, la plus anglaise des Universités, et peut déraisonner, s'il le veut, de manière toute britannique, avec un humour obstiné qui tient de Swift autant que de Cervantes. Cependant il reste toujours le plus Espagnol des Espagnols. Alors même que Madariaga essaie d'être équitable et de rendre aux autres peuples ce qui leur appartient, le lecteur devine qu'il aime l'Espagne d'un amour fier, jaloux et passionné. […] S'il énumère les types éternels inventés par l'Europe: Hamlet, Don Quichotte, Faust, Don Juan, il constate avec un évident bonheur que deux sur quatre sont espagnols.[3]

André Maurois goes on to talk about the importance of culture for the political integration of Europe and he takes the sociological and psychological study by Madariaga as a good manual for a better understanding of our neighbours' cultures:

> Pour que l'Europe soit unie politiquement, il n'est ni utile, ni souhaitable que les Français cessent d'être français ou les Allemands d'être allemands; il faut et il suffit que toutes les nations d'Europe sachent ce qui les unit est plus fort que ce qui les divise. C'est pourquoi le livre de Madariaga est un livre bienfaisant. Il éclaire à la fois l'uniformité de l'Europe et le charme de la variété européenne. Il nous dit: 'Restez qui vous

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[3] De Madariaga 1952:prologue.

êtes, mais acceptez-vous les uns les autres.' Ce n'est pas contradictoire.[4]

These words of André Maurois, and indirectly those of Salvador de Madariaga, are a perfect reflection of the ideas of Mr. Spyros Mercouris in his article about *Diversity versus Uniformity in European Culture*, published after the meeting in Patras in 2006:

> Modern Europe is the product of extremely diverse cultural influences, which however have their roots and have evolved their history within it. The various peoples and nations that make up Europe with their own languages carries within itself its own system and conceptions of cultural expression and they retain their distinct personality and cultural individuality. It is a result of the constant interplay between them and the cultural forces that they embody that European civilization has taken its present form. This unceasing dialogue, conducted within a common framework and a single geographical space, has enabled European civilization to develop its remarkable creativity and dynamism.[5]

In the same article Mr. Mercouris reminds us that the challenge is twofold. Firstly, there is the Network of the European Cities of Culture and Cultural Months that has to mobilize awareness of the danger that uniformity poses to the European identity, and secondly, there is the need to devise effective strategies to combat this danger and to build a Europe that is consistent and at the same time united in its difference.

3. The Conference of the Hague (1948) and Salvador de Madariaga

The Conference of the Hague, May 1948, can be considered as the start of a European awareness following the Second World War, as the awakening of the consciousness to create "The United States of Europe" (in the words of Winston Churchill), or at least, to create a European Movement and a European spirit and mentality by investing in the education of the new generations. Salvador de Madariaga, President of the Cultural Section of this Conference and one of the founding fathers of the European Movement, succeeded in realising this dream by founding the first Centre of postgraduate European studies, the College of Europe in Bruges, Belgium. At the beginning, during the fifties and the sixties, The College of Europe represented more or less a little family of European young intellectuals who wanted to live the European experience and who wanted to realize the 'spirit of Europe' in their concrete everyday lives at the College, studying and eating together,

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[4] Ibid.
[5] www.swkk.de/hermes/research/Buchbeitraege/HERMES-Band_3/HERMES.

discussing European topics and organizing their national parties. Overtime, the College evolved into an internationally renowned bilingual Centre for Postgraduate European Studies, including a campus in Warsaw, Poland. Even though the student population is over 400 if you put both campuses together, they still form a type of international microcosm comprising more than fifty nationalities from all over the world. It is here that these young intellectuals can begin their mission to resolve 'the communication deficit', for instance by trying to translate the complex matter of the Treaty establishing a Constitution of Europe into a comprehensive language that every citizen can understand.

Salvador de Madariaga[6] was a staunch defender of Europe as a community with high cultural and political ambitions. He was even convinced that in the area of culture, the Europeans could find each other and could in this way build a real community of European citizens. We know meanwhile that Europe chose another direction, one of a cooperation in the area of coal and steel, and later on, in the field of economic cooperation, customs, tariffs and taxes, the unified market and the free exchange of services, capital, goods and people, and finally the common monetary unit, the euro in short, for the economic option as the way to bring the European citizens together. As we all realize, a real European citizenship is still a dream and the United Kingdom continues to keep its distance on a number of issues and certain concrete measures, and it seems that the British option, namely to consider the European Union only as an common market, will survive as the only one. Was Salvador de Madariaga a dreamer or was he a visionary? Taking the initiative to create the event of the European Capitals of Culture as a way to intensify European integration, Melina Mercouri took the same option as Madariaga. Was she too a dreamer or was she a visionary?

4. The cases of Bruges and Salamanca

The cases of Bruges and Salamanca, both European Capitals of Culture in 2002, two cities with considerable differences and similarities, provide a clear illustration of how to bring the past into the present and, in this way, of how to have an impact on the future of Europe by using culture and historical patrimony as a way to accelerate the European integration policy, to create a European culture and to intensify the awareness of a common cultural memory. In the past there have been several attempts

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[6] Salvador de Madariaga (1886-1978), the great 20th century multilingual humanist, a Spaniard in heart and soul, a mine engineer who graduated from the University of Paris and Professor of Spanish Literature at Oxford, Official of the Society of Nations, Minister and Ambassador of the Spanish Republic, free-lance journalist, famous lecturer, author of a trilingual (Spanish, French, English) oeuvre of fiction (poetry, novels, theatre) and historical and political essays.

at unifying Europe by political power and/or by feats of arms, as in the cases of the Roman Empire under Julius Caesar, the Greek Empire under Alexander the Great; we had Charlemagne, the Emperor Charles, Napoleon, the Ottoman Empire, Hitler, etc. We all recall the first European religious experience of the Camino de Santiago de Compostela Pilgrimage. There were also the Hanseatic cities which connected the harbours from the North Sea to the Baltic Sea (London, Bruges, Bergen, Bremen, Hamburg, Lübeck, Danzig, Tallinn, Riga, etc.) and formed the first commercial link between European seaports. And we must not forget the artists who went abroad to study – or to teach - and to attend schools of art or to discover the new trends in other European countries and who were the first ambassadors of their country working under the patronage of kings and patricians, great names like Leonardo da Vinci, Rubens, El Greco, Velazquez, and many others.

The cases of Bruges and Salamanca are a very interesting object of investigation in this respect. First, we tried to find out why they both applied for the title of European Capital of Culture in 2002. In the case of Bruges, it is very clear: this date was the 700th anniversary of the historical battle of the Flemish people against the French occupiers. For Salamanca, it was not that easy to find an explanation, but 1102 could have been a point of reference: it was the year that the Moors were definitively defeated in Salamanca and the Count Raimundo de Borgoña, under the authority of king Alfonso the First, took Madrid, which formed the initiative to pursue a policy of repopulation, in this way giving a new impulse to the city and the region. You can compare this to how 1992 recalled the 500th anniversary of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus.

The cities of Bruges and Salamanca are similar and different at the same time: the Golden Age of Bruges coincides with the 13th and 14th centuries, the Golden Age of Salamanca was in the 16th century. Thanks to its international port, Bruges was a commercial and financial centre in the Middle Ages, Salamanca was first and foremost an intellectual centre and university city with a strong emphasis on theology. Both were visited by famous writers and formed a source of inspiration for new literary works. In the case of Bruges, there is Georges Rodenbach's *Bruges-la-Morte, Thyl Ulenspiegel* by Charles De Coster, the poetry of Emile Verhaeren, Marguerite Yourcenar's *L'oeuvre au Noir*, a considerable body of poetry by the Flemish poet Guido Gezelle and numerous songs by the famous 'chansonnier' Jacques Brel. In the case of Salamanca, we can refer to *La Comedia de Calisto y Melibea*, by Fernando de Rojas, the anonymous picaresque novel *Lazarillo de Tormes*, *El Licenciado de vidriera*, by Cervantes, José Espronceda's *El Estudiante de Salamanca,* the poetry of Unamuno and certain novels of Gonzalo Torrente Ballester and Carmen Martín Gaite.

Bruges possesses one of the biggest collections of paintings from the Middle Ages with the Flemish Primitives (Jan Van Eyck, Rogier van der Weyden, Hans Memling, Hugo van der Goes, Hieronymus Bosch, Juan de Flandes), Salamanca is famous for its museum Casa Lis and its marvellous collection of *Art Nouveau*, but both types of art, from very different periods, show these artists' attention to detail and refinement. Both as a testimony to the past and more importantly as a gift for the present and the future, we have the architectural harmony of the two city centres. Of course the style of the medieval houses, official buildings and churches in Bruges is quite different from Salamanca's two cathedrals, two universities and the many other buildings, convents and churches erected in the plateresque style of the 15th and 16th centuries. Bruges was under the authority and the protection of the Dukes of Burgundy. Salamanca was very much appreciated and even supported financially by the Catholic Kings Fernando and Isabel, who also sponsored Christopher Columbus in his voyages of discovery. The link between both cities is evident and direct: their daughter, Joan of Castile, later known as Joan the Mad, married the son of Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian of Austria, Philip of Castile, who was born in Bruges and who died in Burgos.

Bruges was never a university city, but since 1949 it has hosted students of the College of Europe in their preparation for a career in European affairs. The University of Salamanca is one of the oldest in the world, after the universities of Bologna, Paris and Oxford. Both cities have an international dimension and are tourist centres and meeting places for people from so many different cultures. Thanks to The College of Europe and its students, who come from fifty different countries throughout the world, we can hear so many different languages on the streets of Bruges. In Salamanca too, we find so many foreign students either on an Erasmus scholarship or following one of the so many Spanish language courses. Similar and quite different at the same time, both cities have an exceptional cultural richness, both cities have a very European charisma, both cities bring together people from over the world and both are looking forward to a future with new challenges, with a cultural and political vision that helps people to intensify their awareness of belonging to the same European family.

One point we have not dealt with here is the essential link between culture and language. In the case of literature it seems evident, but also in other forms of artistic expression, language is used as a privileged channel of communication, to share emotions, to provide information about events, concerts and exhibitions and to publish reviews in local, national or international newspapers or specialised books. Cultural communication in Europe cannot be compared with the cultural communication in the United States. In the words of the sociologist Robert Picht, former Director of the Franco-German Institute of

Ludwigsburg and former Vice-Chancellor of the College of Europe, who unfortunately passed away in late 2008:

> Nos sociétés nationales et la société européenne se trouvent dans un processus de 'métissage' qui ne correspond ni à l'idée ancienne de sociétés nationales homogènes, ni à celle d'un multiculturalisme entre groupes ethniques et culturels stables. Cependant, l'Europe n'a rien d'un melting-pot à l'américaine dont toutes les composantes sont censées s'assimiler à une langue et à un modèle culturel dominants.[7]

Indeed, multiculturalism in Europe means multilingualism as well. We must also not forget the importance of translation for our understanding of the literature of our neighbours, or for our understanding cultural discourse in the broadest sense of the word. Culture intimately linked to the complex problem of the translations of literature and the multilingual communication within the arts. A sound cultural policy means having a sound communication policy, and consequently a sound language policy. This relation between culture, language and communication could be a good subject for a future conference, perhaps organised by Lessius University College in Antwerp, where we offer students a Master in Translation, a Master in Interpretation, a Master in Journalism and a Master in Multilingual Communication.

The present conference, which took place in Liverpool, one of this year's two European Capitals of Culture, and which was organised by the University Network of the European Capitals of Culture, was and still is an opportunity to intensify the link between the intellectual, the cultural and the political world, to bring together in the exchange of ideas and projects, men and women with political power, with artistic and cultural ambitions or with educational responsibilities in their own universities or university colleges. It is also an opportunity to render concrete the spirit of Erasmus, to break down the frontiers of prejudices, to adjust our opinion regarding certain stereotypes, to remember our common cultural heritage and to respect and appreciate the culture of all the members of the European family.

The fact that Europe also gives the opportunity to the students to get a scholarship to study abroad and to academics to work together in conferences, research projects, academic exchanges and joint publications is perhaps the best catalyst to achieve a common European spirit and to heighten awareness of European citizenship.

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[7] Geremek and Picht 2007:prologue.

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MINORITIES, MARGINS, PERIPHERIES AND THE DISCOURSE OF CULTURAL CAPITAL

ANA-KARINA SCHNEIDER – LUCIAN BLAGA UNIVERSITY, SIBIU

The promotional video clip for Sibiu 2007[1] reveals recurrent tropes and relevant representation ploys of local identity narratives, which are put to good account by ECoC policies. It ends with a panoramic view of the city: a representation, a texturalised, "imaginary totalization produced by the eye," a "'theoretical' (that is, visual) simulacrum"[2] that both organises and blocks the appraisal of the city in its complexity. Michel de Certeau begins Part III of his *Practice of Everyday Life* with a similar contemplation of Manhattan from the 110th floor of the now-vanished World Trade Centre and explains the 'ecstasy' he finds in looking at the city from a totalising position as the "exaltation of a scopic and gnostic drive: the fiction of knowledge is related to this lust to be a viewpoint and nothing more."[3] Yet it is not this "'geometrical' or 'geographical' space of visual, panoptic, or theoretical constructions" that interests de Certeau, but rather those

> practices of space [which] refer to a specific form of *operations* ('ways of operating'), to 'another spatiality' (an 'anthropological,' poetic and mythic experience of space), and to an *opaque and blind* mobility characteristic of the bustling city. A *migrational,* or metaphorical, city thus slips into the clear text of the planned and readable city.[4]

I, too, intend to descend into the street and interrogate the repertoire of diversity, plurality, multiplicity that both constitutes and undermines the totalising discourse of local specificity. Streets are the interstices of the city: their in-betweenness delimits the functionality of buildings and enables the transfer of their meaning; they are the borders, frontiers, margins, peripheries and grey zones against which a discourse of the centre, tradition, or heritage can be articulated.

Urban planning is a metonym of the 'progressive symbiosis' of the city as a living organism and the concept of a city: "to plan a city is both to *think the very plurality* of the real and to make that way of thinking the

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[1] Available at http://www.igads.ro/video.read.php?id=991&x=.
[2] de Certeau 1988:93.
[3] Idem 92. Yet he goes on to point out the artificiality of this theoretical simulacrum: the condition for theorising the city is the appropriation of a certain blindness to the ordinary practices which organise the space that theory aims to contain. In de Certeau's words, the "condition of possibility is an oblivion and a misunderstanding of practices. The voyeur-god created by this fiction…must disentangle himself from the murky intertwining daily behaviors and make himself alien to them" (93).
[4] de Certeau 1988:93, emphasis in the original.

plural *effective*; it is to know how to articulate it and be able to do it."[5]
The event[6] of European Capital of Culture, I argue, with its demand for
self-advertising representations of the city and local branding, is the
modern equivalent of urban planning: to perspective vision of the
human, cultural, economic agglomeration already in place it adds a
utopian urbanistic discourse which aims to conceptualise – i.e., give
coherent expression to – the city. The palimpsestic practices of
conceptualisation replicate the progressive, cumulative development of
the city itself, but by privileging the temporal dimension of progress
they de-emphasise the space which they claim to administrate,[7] allowing
unseen, subterranean practices to colonise and redistribute it in ways
that constitute "everyday regulations and surreptitious creativities."[8] It
is precisely this space, de Certeau shows, that makes it impossible to
establish a definitive equivalence between the fact of the city and the
concept of the city. It is this unmapped spatial economy that I am
interested in here.

De Certeau would probably have approved of Sibiu's promo clip: it starts
in the street, it visits the secret, underground places where weapons,
tools, art and love are made, and only at the end does it open the
window on a totalising panorama of the city. Yet the journey it describes
does not follow an actual itinerary that one can take through Sibiu: the
first two streets the girl walks down actually run parallel on the map of
the city and away from the tower from which she later admires the
sunrise; no underground passage displays such paintings, nor leads to
that tower. The girl's walk is a story of spatiality which constructs that
which it represents. It is equally a journey in time, both characters and
spaces bearing the insignia of various epochs, from the Middle Ages
through the Renaissance to the psychedelic clubs of our days. The
architectural panorama revealed at the end barely conceals the richly
textured palimpsest accumulating beneath. The video reveals the
conventions of representation that allow the stratification of everyday
tactics and practices to be swept under the discursive strategies of local
branding. This stratification re-emerges during ECoC years, when the
imperative to articulate panoptic identity is inflected by ancillary
marketing rationales, while the everyday practices of the inhabitants are

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[5] de Certeau 1988:94. As no city is built in the middle of nowhere, but rather on the site of
what is becoming an unmanageable "human agglomeration or accumulation" (93), urban
planning must combine "perspective vision and prospective vision" (93), which amount to
"the twofold projection of an opaque past and an uncertain future onto a surface that can
be dealt with. They inaugurate (in the sixteenth century?) the transformation of the urban
fact into the concept of a city" (93-4, emphasis in the original).
[6] I refer to the ECoC as an event in an almost Derridean sense, as a series of mutations
that amount to an epistemological rupture: key concepts such as capital and culture are
redefined as a consequence.
[7] de Certeau 1988:95.
[8] Idem 96.

alternately thematised, modified, pushed further underground or assigned to the spectator ring.

Two interrelated issues therefore need to be addressed here: one is the exceptional, singled-out condition and variously marginal quality of such cities; the other is the use that the inhabitants make of this condition. Cultural practices, whether representational or performative, are (implicitly) discursivised by being set on stage, advertised, recorded in diaries, reviewed in periodicals, etc. This makes them available to theoretical inquiry, thus relegating them to the realm of inoperative knowledge and linguistic practices. Furthermore, their foregrounding elicits responses that are both more visible and, often, less typical of the everyday: the ECoC may "catalyse cultural awareness," as the organisers of this conference tell us, but it alternately attracts and alienates the locals. I take the ready-made narrative of the video clip as my starting point in analysing the clash between the advertised definition of the city and the throbbing rhythms of its day-to-day existence.

Often Capitals of Culture are not the political or economic capitals of their country but rather quaint provincial towns whose uniqueness resides in their being marginal, out of the way, idiosyncratic, yet strong enough economically to have developed a valuable cultural heritage. Statistically, they are frequently marginal in other ways as well: they are cities on the fringes of the continent, harbour or industrial cities, belonging to the former communist bloc, or to a non-western cultural tradition, etc. Furthermore, the ECoC event colonises marginal and liminal spaces within the city: by showcasing architecture and bringing artists, artisans, vendors and consumers into the street, it blurs the conventional distinction between high and mass culture, mainstream and ec-centric, turning the street, traditionally emblematic of the periphery, into the pulsing centre of the festivities. Power relations and the simultaneously centrifugal and centripetal dynamics of the margin, inflected at all times by chronotopically circumscribed economic realities, overdetermine not only the ever-shifting identity of the city but also the way in which it represents itself. As de Certeau points out, the current pervasiveness of marginality neither determines nor precludes the proliferation of independent consumer practices; nor does it iron out the distinction between producer and consumer, which is also the distinction between centre and periphery.

Within the very special circumstances created by the Cultural Capital event, the discursive strategies that take as their subject the city make an effort to anticipate and incorporate the non-discursive tactics of its consumers. What interest me here are the subtle mechanisms whereby such cities turn their multidimensional marginality into cultural capital. What is usually othered is, on such occasions, embraced as an index of diversity. It is the incorporation of such indices of diversity that I want

to analyse, with an eye to both their production and their consumption. I argue that the exceptional attention devoted to consumption constitutes the main kind of cultural revenue yielded by this yearlong event: the inevitable (potentially stereotyping) branding and commodification of the city notwithstanding, it enhances awareness of the consumer as participant in spatial organisation and is therefore an ethical move. Sibiu and Liverpool will illustrate the complex imbrication of official strategies and underground tactics that inscribe the identity of a city within a culturally significant historicity.

Marginality is largely a matter of geo-political situatedness and economic dialectics, and it is therefore ideologically constructed. The strategies that determine it vary in accordance with the margin's relation – of identity or difference – to the capital of the state as well as to the various cultural centres that polarised cultural thinking in centuries past. Established and first attested during the Middle Ages as small villages at the far reaches of ethnic communities they ostensibly protected, and located at commercial crossroads, both Sibiu and Liverpool grew to become the administrative instruments of empire and consequently define themselves as plural and heterogeneous, both central and peripheral. Thus, for instance, Sibiu is now a provincial city in central Romania, but was at one time the administrative capital of the province known as Transylvania and annexed to the Austrian Empire. Further, although currently populated largely by Romanians, Sibiu has never described its cultural identity as entirely Romanian: it was settled by German Saxons; its architecture was originally planned and executed by Austrian architects and Saxon stonemasons; its rhythms are slower and more contained than those of other regions of our country; its language, though Romanian, bears the inflections of, and has a lexis partly derived from, German and, to a far lesser degree, Hungarian. Liverpool explains its unique architecture as similarly the result of local conditions: the grey and red sandstone it is built of was extracted from the surrounding hills. Its port-city status inscribed its relation to the Empire; its language is inflected by the Irish migrants that came here in the mid-nineteenth century. As capital of pop music in the 1960s-70s, it no doubt reconsidered its tourist potential and cultural uniqueness.

At all these junctures, the city capitalises on various forms of marginality, which it gradually assimilates to the univocal discourse of its definition as a means of containing them. From this plurality of influences and filiations, Sibiu assembles an identity concentrated in the 2007 Cultural Capital jingle: "Sibiu / Transylvania / Romania / Europe: City of culture. City of cultures." Similarly, Liverpool proudly asserts its place by colonising a phrase frequently used in connection with it during the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, but which it also shares with Glasgow and Dublin: 'the second city of the Empire' (the first being invariably London), or proclaims 'The International Year of the Scouser.' These revisions of marginality which capitalise selectively on

consequences of chronotopic situatedness set the tone for the exploration and exploitation of contingencies outside the range of doubly restrictive nomenclatures such as 'ECoC for the year 2007/2008': both Sibiu and Liverpool restore and reclaim a 'history' – cultural, political, military, economic – that spans more than one year, or more than contemporaneity, and reaches outposts that to 'central' Europeans may seem legendary or even mythical.[9]

As the city begins to constitute itself as a palimpsest of margins, the advantages of this condition become apparent. In a very different context, Gianni Vattimo speaks about

> 'salvation through poverty' and the 'providence of discrepancy' of the marginalized cultures and disinherited regions, inside the process of globalization, as a unique chance for preserving a possible way out of the very dialectics of the Western world and its dominant metaphysics.[10]

With almost half a century of communism obliterated from the history that Sibiu otherwise so proudly showcases, this liberating potential remains to be realised. Less sanguine, Adrian Marino makes a catalogue of the advantages presented by the 'marginalised' condition of the intellectual from an East European country: they converge in the freedom to choose the intellectual fashions that one follows, the distance and *tabula rasa* afforded by the fact of non-subservience to any tradition or institutionalised school.[11] The danger of being absorbed into a universalist discourse of alleged plurality notwithstanding, this optimistic view of marginality has the merit of valorising the mobility and malleability of the provincial, the marginal or the colony. As Cornel Ungureanu shows, it is in the nature of the fringe to constantly drift towards a centre, whether it be the conquering empire, the political capital city of the nation state, or some harbinger of freedom, democracy and welfare.[12] Moreover, the margin welcomes the marks that the centre imprints on it as identification signs, the proof of its necessary belonging, if also the traces of a punishment that saves[13] or a self-sacrifice that makes a statement.[14]

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[9] E.g., Transylvania is made real and located in Romania, Europe, rather than in Bram Stocker's fantasy; the British Empire becomes reachable through Liverpool's naval tradition.
[10] qtd. Cârneci 1999:109.
[11] Marino 1998:5-6.
[12] Ungureanu 2002:19.
[13] Idem 33-35.
[14] de Certeau 1988.

At present,[15] and in the case of these Cities of Culture, the centre is a highly ideologised notion of a unified, if variegated, 'European culture,' in whose name a discourse of convergence is articulated from the various, often conflicting, narratives through which the margin usually projects its own identity. This political ruse is apparently at variance with the cultural context in which the idea of Capitals of Culture emerged and which, in the mid-1980s, was thoroughly postmodern. Robert Young contends that, "as a trait within recent historiography, 'postmodernism can best be defined as European culture's awareness that it is no longer the unquestioned and dominant centre of the world'."[16] It could also be defined as Europe's admission that it is not monolithic – culturally or otherwise – despite the opening up of borders effected by the expansion of the European Union. The setting up of symbolic European Capitals (of Culture) to ostensibly celebrate diversity can thus be interpreted, on the one hand, as a psychologically motivated compensation for this double decentralisation – of the world and of Europe; on the other hand, it achieves a shift in focus from a concept of the capital city as the seat of political and economic power to one that obscures these aspects behind the deceptively innocent façade of 'culture.' This redefinition of *capital*, that drags in its wake a reassessment of culture itself, has been variously characterised as the unavoidable outcome of the emergence, worldwide, of new nation states at the end of the twentieth century. In Europe in particular, the disintegration of the Communist bloc meant the end of yet another, deeply politicised, form of centralisation; the inclusion of ex-communist countries in the European Union is symbolically consecrated by the consideration of their cities for ECoCs.

What is significant in all these cases of decentralisation is that at no point is the economic connotation disjointed from the concept of *capital* as easily as the political one. On the contrary, it is silently re-enforced by the allocation by the European Commission of funds for the improvement of infrastructure and by the promise that the popularisation effected by the ECoC will revitalise the city's economy.

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[15] I.e., both in the context of the European Union, and in the context described by de Certeau, not long before the first ECoC was organised in 1985, as the contemporary discursivisation of the city: "Today, whatever the avatars of this concept ['city'] may have been, we have to acknowledge that if in discourse the city serves as a totalising and almost mythical landmark for socio-economic and political strategies, urban life increasingly permits the re-emergence of the element that the urbanistic project excluded [i.e., everyday practices]. The language of power is in itself 'urbanizing,' but the city is left prey to contradictory movements that counterbalance and combine themselves outside the reach of panoptic power. The city becomes the dominant theme in political legends, but it is no longer a field of programmed and regulated operations. Beneath the discourses that ideologize the city, the ruses and combinations of powers that have no readable identity proliferate; without points where one can take hold of them, without rational transparency, they are impossible to administer." (de Certeau 1988:95)
[16] qtd. Bedggood 2005:204.

The marketability of culture displaces the political ideologising of the Iron Curtain period without obscuring EU financial and political priorities.

Inevitably this floating centre operates significant exclusions: defined until relatively recently as 'high' and a prerogative of the moneyed, leisurely classes, 'culture' pushes to the fore a set of "points of concentration,"[17] such as universities, museums, libraries, concert halls and theatres, whose audiences and cultural politics are subliminally, if not explicitly, limited. In other words, the capital of culture is to a large extent available only to consumers with capital, following an age-old conservative socio-economic logic. The temporal coordinate, on the other hand, foregrounds the modernity in cultural manifestations and drags in the discursive and practical paraphernalia of political correctness, pluralism and diversity. Another form of marginality is consequently brought into focus: the street's loud and colourful bustle is proudly displayed, not as the in-between, no-man's-land space that delimits identifiable, functional buildings (residences, museums, restaurants etc.), nor as a vehicle or bridge that makes the transfer of meaning possible, but as a meaning-full space, a concept of the street, a space that is tamed by being assigned carefully scheduled and planned pageants, fairs, concerts and fireworks and being thus effectively turned into a stage, an open-air playhouse, an institution devoted to democratic polyvocity. In the process, the functionalist discourse that organises the ECoC event claims the expressive space of everyday practices and hopes to contain its resistant energies.

The ensuing carnivalisation[18] of the concept of *culture*, I argue, mediates between minor and major, East-European and West-European cultures; the ostensive aim of ECoCs is thus achieved. As selectiveness is hardly ever an option, the impact of ethnic, diachronic, regional and global features on the continual process of defining local and European identity cannot be overestimated. The street is, in other words, a productive space whose colonisation by celebrative functionality is very rewarding in discursive terms. Due to deft marketing strategies facilitated by the EU, the tourist and entertainment industries that converge for one year on one specific destination inscribe the city with a minor history of their own, that of personal diaries and blogs, magazine columns, reviews and reportage, web pages and photo albums. These representations further modify and fix local specificity with reference to the international background of the writers. By focusing on these marginal, impermanent spaces – the street and the mass media – and the cultural diversity they

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[17] de Certeau 1988:201.
[18] I use the term in the sense established by Marcel Corniş-Pope in The Unfinished Battles, where he shows that in post-1989 Romania "the very definition of 'literature' has been diversified and 'carnivalized', split into conflicting cultural styles, high and low, significant and ephemeral" (1996:11).

encapsulate, I implicitly interrogate the profit, both intellectual and material, that the foregrounding of a city brings to European coherence.

As the principal space of manifestation, the street is submitted to various framing practices: fairs, festivals, street-art manifestations, sightseeing and *flaneuring* are only the most visible. They allow the layering of the palimpsest to show, under controlled circumstances, through the smooth discursive surface. The articulation of an identity narrative for so marginal a space is facilitated by the conjuncture of ECoC.[19] When the main square becomes for a few days an open market for handcrafted pottery and woodwork, an early moment in its existence, when it was first designed as a marketplace, is quoted. When policemen stand by, arms folded, watching young men dressed in period costumes wrestling or wielding heavy swords, a cross-temporal reconciliation between ritual violence and regulatory order seems to take place. The "nowhen"[20] of the activities enacted endow the street with historicity, with diachronic narratives that proclaim a sense of progress (nowadays we have mass-produced dishes; street fighting is limited by vigilant police officers), along with a sense of long-standing tradition and endurance (we've been around ever since earthenware was made using the potter's wheel, etc.). The structure of these stories organises the space they inhabit in the same way in which the trajectories of mass transportation do: narratives are vehicles whose "structures have the status of spatial syntaxes."[21] The indeterminacy embedded in these narratives (Who is 'we'? When was wrestling or duelling an index of local identity, and when did they stop being one?) is the stuff that ideology is made of. Such narratives essentialise as cultural heritage, on the one hand the functionalist crafts that created in former times the objects, dishes and furniture of everyday use, and on the other the chivalry tradition of the German ethnics who established the seven-city federation of Transylvania. Two formerly marginalized communities, one social, the other ethnic, are thus assimilated to a foundational discourse that situates Sibiu within a certain national and European historicity. A similar effect is sought by the recuperation of subterranean spaces – e.g. Sibiu's medieval cellars and passages, Liverpool's Williamson Tunnels. And the presence of spectators, visitors and buyers, credulous consumers of these stories, confirms and enforces the weaving of such quotations into the advertised 'identity' of the city.

A very different narrative is dramatised when a toddler bathes in a state-of-the-art fountain in the same main square. Having reverted to

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[19] The city doesn't have such a coherent identity narrative readily available – de Certeau would say that it doesn't know what it knows about itself – before it is required to articulate one for advertising purposes.
[20] de Certeau 1988:94.
[21] Idem 115.

being the uncartographable space of experience, the street affirms a very different take on the ethics of space: the individual reclaims a public space for private pleasure; the fountain is used as a source of comfort, not as a work of art. The cultural fiction is thus resisted, its fabric pierced by the intrusion of what de Certeau calls "the cry,"[22] the unregulated flesh that has not yet been constricted into the conforming shape of a body. This may not establish a space (the fountain does not hereafter become a bathing place), but it disturbs it.[23] Walking or *flaneuring* is similarly laden with disruptive potential: one's uprooting from any fixed, designated position produces a legend, a vicarious incursion into the unknown, unreadable, unregulatable realm of adventure and accident.[24] Such practices, which insert themselves between the layers of the communal space, achieve a carnivalisation of the street which verifies its crucial role of harbouring desire as well as functionality. At the two poles of displacement/condensation and disinhibition, walking and play are metaphoric adventures, fictional stunts that restitute the street to creative energies that defy quantification.

Cultural Capitals are dioramas of local identity in the making. Through such events the city articulates itself; they are a form of self-expression, self-advertising, but also of self-legitimation. The culture of the street, in which the medieval or Victorian architecture that shelters shops and modern western institutions also contextualises street art – from graffiti to street musicians and peddlers – is becoming a trademark of the authorized profiling of cities in the twenty-first century. It is becoming an index of the many-layered marginality that is incorporated into the official identity narrative of the city through historiography's effort of "covering up the obscenity of indeterminacy with the production of a (fictive) 'reason'."[25] The city embraces its palimpsestic condition and celebrates its function as a border between country and Europe: a transit lounge of duty-free shops in which variously circumscribed culture is offered pall-mall to hasty tourists, blurring distinctions and obscuring the sites of its production in the name of a utopian notion of coherent glocalized identity. Yet ECoCs also retain the frontier dimension of the border: separating, discriminating, but never quite reachable, mobile simulacra of an 'original' to be attained in future, when all the threads have been weaved in.

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[22] Idem 145.
[23] Idem 155.
[24] Idem 106-7.
[25] Ibid.

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GLOBAL MATERIAL CULTURE AND DESIGN

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1. Factors of homogeneity in material culture: from tribal to global

This article deals with the relationship between globalization and material culture, starting out specifically from the question: what does the 'flattening'[1] of the world imply for the environment? The answer resulting from this context, presupposes adopting a systemic notion of environment:

> L'ambiente è un sistema. E' cioè caratterizzato dalla presenza di diversi elementi (fisico-chimici, biologici, socioculturali, tecnico-economici ecc …) tanto strettamente collegati tra di loro che risulta molto difficile separarli.[2]

In this sense, the distinction between natural and artificial is not only superficial, but also incorrect and as the contemporary environment is mostly inhabited by artefacts, this article will mainly deal with design as a process implied for their creation. According to the 'theory of artefacts as socio-technical individuals'[3], it is possible to see artefacts as a tangible expression of the intricate relationship between society and technology. Applying this theory at a global level has interesting implications, since the literature treated this theme often between technical and sociological determinism. On the one hand, we have the end of the Cold War, symbolized by the fall of the Berlin Wall, and the end of colonialism, which are seen as the origin of a new society with a different culture, the so called 'web culture'.[4] On the other hand we have the information technology which represents the origin of a new social order. In *The world is flat*, for example, the journalist Thomas L. Friedman picked out precisely a series of technical developments that create the global revolution:

> The diffusion of personal computers, fax machines, Windows, and dial-up modems connected to a global telephone network all came together in the late 1980s and early 1990s to create the basic platform that started the global information revolution.[5]

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[1] Friedman 2006.
[2] Chiapponi 1999:128. "The environment is a system. It is characterized by the presence of different elements (physical, chemical, biological, socio-cultural, technical and economical) so strongly linked to each other that it is very difficult to divide them." (translation by the author)
[3] Riccini 2001.
[4] Taylor 2005:27.
[5] Friedman 2006:56.

However, according to P. Flichy[6], one of the main exponents of the theory, it is neither technical innovation that pushes social development, nor the other way round. According to him innovation is not the direct result of scientific and technological progress but rather, continuous and open interactions between different social actors.

Flichy also pays particular attention to the way collective imaginaries promote both technological utopias and a reference frame which are able to offer imaginative horizons to inventors. This view is very similar to the role that A. Appadurai attributes to imagination in the post-electronic world due to mass mediation. Imagination has become a collective fact, "it has entered the logic of the ordinary life" and it is "a staging ground for action, and not for escape".[7] Cultural technology, like the theory of artefacts as socio-cultural individuals, examines the relationship between society and technology trough artefacts. "Il tient compte des aspects determinants ou au contraire réfléchissants que les techniques peuvent imprimer aux rapports sociaux".[8]

The ethnologist A.L. Gourhan introduces some notions that can be applied from tribal societies to the global society in order to frame the issue of homogeneity in the contemporary material culture. In *Le Geste et la Parole*, he establishes a connection between utensils and gestures. For him it is not possible to study seats without studying the ways of seating. Fundamental in all this, however, is the relationship between gestures and body:

> En effet, l'outil n'existe que dans le cycle opératoire; il en est un bon témoin car il porte généralement des traces significatives, mais au même titre qu'un squelette de cheval porte l'empreinte de l'être herbivore à course rapide dont il a été un jour la charpente. […] L'outil n'est réellement que dans le geste qui le rend techniquement efficace.[9]

Although gestures can be subjected to cultural differences, the common physiology of the body can be considered a factor which all objects, especially those that function as prosthesis, have to face. Furthermore Gourhan considers the techniques and their products as the material manifestation of the interaction between external and internal environment.

> Par le premier terme, on saisit d'abord tout ce qui matériellement entoure l'homme: milieu géologique, climatique, animal et végétal. Il faut, avec des modalités que nous dégagerons, étendre la définition aux témoins matériels et aux idées qui

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[6] Flichy 1995.
[7] Appadurai 1996:3–11.
[8] Bonte and Izard 1992:699.
[9] Gourhan 1964:35.

peuvent provenir d'autres groupes humains. Par le second terme, on saisit, […] ce qui constitue le capital intellectuel de cette masse, c'est-à-dire un bain extrêmement complexe de traditions mentales.[10]

Certaines solutions semblent inévitables, communes à l'humanité, alors que d'autres sont originaux, individuellement attachées à tel groupe ethnique. Les premières tiennent à l'action puissante du milieu extérieur: ce sont en général les actes simples, qui prennent pour instrument des objets aussi généraux que le marteau, la lance ou la tire; les seconds tiennent au contrarie à l'action prépondérante du milieu intérieur, à une certain liberté qui conduit à des techniques très étoffées et à des objets complexes comme la forge, la charrue ou le harpon.[11]

Today this clean cut between an external and an internal dimension is widely questioned. The contemporary anthropologist Clifford Geertz, for example, rejects this separation completely: "Its natural habitat is the house yard, the marketplace, and the town square. Thinking consists not of 'happenings in the head'".[12] However, because it is undeniable that this habitat imposes a certain number of universal restrictions, what is applicable of the theory of L. Gourhan, even to contemporary theorists, is the concept of technical convergence?

Chaque outil, chaque arme, chaque objet en général, du panier à la maison, répond à un plan d'équilibre architectural dont les grandes lignes offrent prise aux lois de la géométrie ou de la mécanique rationnelle. Il y a donc tout un côté de la tendance technique qui tient à la construction de l'univers même et il est aussi normal que les toits soient à double pente, les haches emmanchées, les flèches équilibrées au tiers de leur longueur qu'il est normal pour les gastéropodes de tous les temps d'avoir une coquille enroulée en spirale. Dès l'abord, on saisit que ce côté de la tendance prête à la confusion: par simple harmonie physique, deux objets dans le même emploi peuvent apparaître identiques chez deux peuples sans commerce mutuel. A côté de la convergence biologique, il existe une convergence technique, qui offre depuis les débuts de l'Ethnologie une part de la réfutation des théories de contact.[13]

Homogenization of contemporary material culture can be the result of this factor, which is already present in tribal societies, or of a diffusion of the same techniques and related artefacts.

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[10] Gourhan 1973:333.
[11] Gourhan 1973:370.
[12] Geertz 1993:45.
[13] Gourhan 1973:338.

> Si le voisin propose une solution toute prête, elle est empruntée et on peut ainsi tracer de proche en proche des taches de diffusion; si la solution n'existe pas au voisinage, on l'invente en créant un centre de diffusion future.[14]

Gourhan also speaks about loans among human groups but he specifies that in order to borrow something, it is necessary that the internal environment is favourable. This requires the capacity to understand and accept the loans and the conditions attached to them. Often, this acceptation occurs by an ethnic personalization of the technique when the external environment allows it. It is therefore not inevitable to adopt homogeneous solutions. For the ethnologist, it is very difficult to distinguish among cases of original invention, loan or technical convergence. It becomes even more difficult when we pass from relatively isolated tribal societies to contemporary global society when we want to reconstruct the causes of homogeneity. Of relevance is the ever-growing market push that transforms brand products into status symbols independent of their technical performance.

New technologies coming into traditional cultures are perhaps justified when the object/device has no equivalent within the local culture (e.g. high-tech products like medical equipment, laser cutters or automatic cameras). However, traditional societies have also accepted and adopted foreign objects even when the object/device has local equivalents which are often more appropriate than their foreign counterparts.[15]

2. Cultural identity 'at large'

But what about the other side of the question, the identity of the contemporary material culture in the global society? Can the design process integrate cultural peculiarities? Before answering this question, it is necessary to scrutinize some of the clichés about cultural identity and locality. Has global European society, characterized by strong immigration, a typical cultural identity? What is the relationship between the European identity and its material culture? In 1871 E.B. Tylor defined culture as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society".[16]

Both F. Boas and B. Malinowski later rejected Tylor's historic evolutionary standpoint. The possibility of associating cultures to a sole and universally valid scheme of cultural development is denied. The concept of culture becomes collective and characterized by different identities. Contemporary anthropology opposes this image of the planet

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[14] Gourhan 1973:434.
[15] Athavankar 1997: 77.
[16] Tylor 1924:1.

as a mosaic composed of different entities. J. L. Amselle pinpoints a sort of discontinuity fault. According to his theory, cultures can only be understood starting from a perspective that adopts hybrid logic. C. Geertz writes:

> It is the overlapping of differing threads, intersecting, entwined, one taking up where another breaks off, all of them posed in effective tensions with one another to form a composite body, a body locally disparate, globally integral.[17]

He uses the image of the web:

> And so far as the disassembly of the bipolar world is concerned, the loss of a sense of analogous elements packed into a well-defined structure of power and importance, has rendered the notion that the world is composed of atomic nationalities, mighty and unmighty, sovereign and subaltern, hard to articulate and harder to defend.[18]

The globally integrated treads that C. Geertz speaks of can be associated with the global flows mentioned in *Modernity at Large* by A. Appadurai: ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes, financescape, ideoscapes. This anthropological discourse is not, however, the main issue of this article, but we can still conclude that cultural identity in global society no longer refers to a specific place as defined by national boundaries. Localities are crumbling and continuously change their configuration due to unceasing and fast-growing interactions. Applying this critical examination of global and local notions to the design theory, it becomes possible to understand the overcoming of the historical contradiction between the promotion of an international modern style and of a post-modern retrieval of local languages. Today, it is not possible to analyze material culture through these two categories: global objects and local objects, the latter intended as manifestation of material culture marked by clear geographic boundaries. For example, immigrant life leads to a transmigration of so-called local objects, especially those "linked to continued behavioural rituals such as eating, sleeping, grooming, and religious practice".[19] "When possessions are seen as a part of the individual or family identity, they may allow immigrants to transport part of their former identities to a new place".[20]

These "transitional objects, when ritually incorporated into the new habitat, may provide an important aid to identity transition".[21]

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[17] Geertz 2000:227.
[18] Idem 235.
[19] Mehta and Russel 1991:400.
[20] Idem 339.
[21] Ibid.

3. A post-national imaginary

This function of transitional objects demonstrates the strong interconnection between the material and the mental world and indeed, this relationship plays a fundamental role in the categorization process. In *The Semantic Profile of Products* U. Athavankar deals with the process of categorizing objects and its consequences for design.[22] Recent studies in perception psychology, in particular by researchers like G. Lakoff[23] or L. W. Barsalou[24], revisit the theory of prototype in categorization. They stress flexibility of this process depending on the context. According to the prototype theory, a prototype from the real world (for example the idea of a chair) is deduced and the categories of objects are based on it. In the words of U. Athavankar:

> If we consider product form as a set of perceptual (often visual) clues, then the central member [the prototype] would be selected by the presence of those frequent visual clues which define the essence of the particular concept (for example the chairness of a chair).[25]

> The central member is a key to the understanding of the category and in defining human response to the category as a whole. It is a member that metonymically represents the entire category and speaks for it. Often it is an object that is considered as a 'proper' example to represent as well as learn about the category in that culture. Obviously it is susceptible to cultural notions and its acquisition is very much a part of the process of learning and growing within a culture.[26]

As a result, different material cultures contribute to the creation of different categories and as categories are not material but mental, it is possible, with some simplification, to assume a correspondence between different material worlds and different mental worlds. There are many implications of this theory for design. Amongst them, as U. Athavankar proposes, the possibility of controlling the degree of formal innovation. Taking into account the graduated structure of the mental category with the prototype as central member, a designer can place his project close to or far from it. This means that it is possible to consciously design more innovative or culturally oriented objects, without seeking innovation for the sake of innovation. But what happens to this method in global society? First of all, designing an object, for example a chair, close to the prototype of a chair category developed by a particular

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[22] Athavankar 1990:1-31.
[23] Lakoff 1987.
[24] Barsalou 1987.
[25] Athavankar 1990:10.
[26] Idem 12.

culture implies referring to a post-national imaginary (as defined by A. Appadurai) rather than to a national imaginary of a culture. If we, for instance, consider the so-called Indian culture, it is clear that it is no longer typical of just the Indian sub-continent. If we take into account the migration, it is still possible to trace the trans-national boundaries of this culture. If we consider the influence of mass media however, it becomes impossible to find the boundaries of Indian culture. It seems 'to be at large', fragmented and crumbled. By using the term 'post-national', Appadurai seems to hint at this phenomenon.[27]

> As the nation-state enters in a terminal crisis, we can certainly expect the materials for a post-national imaginary to be around us already. Here, I think we need to pay special attention to mass mediation and migration, the two facts that underpin a sense of cultural politics within the global modern world.[28]

The pulverization of a culture makes it difficult to recognize its identity. In any case, culture is an impalpable concept that is extremely difficult to grasp these days. It is therefore almost impossible to say how a more culturally oriented design could take into account this post-national imaginary in practice. It is likewise impossible that a designer would use either actual Indian imaginary affected by migration and mass mediation or the traditional Indian imaginary, which is frozen in time.

4. The treads of traditions

If it is very difficult to follow the threads that map out the geographic boundaries of a certain culture (for example the frontiers of European culture are widespread due to colonization all over the world). Going along a temporal axis rather than along a spatial one, we can trace back the roots of a traditions. Traditions can be related in terms of location but, in the global society, they seem to disassociate themselves from geography. They can however provide a reference point for designers which is more stable than the concept of culture. In practice, design draws inspiration from traditions rather than from indefinable cultures because, contrary to the pulverization of culture, traditions are kept together by a temporal transmission that guarantees a certain cohesion. However, caution is necessary here in order to avoid the risk of providing a method for such a complex discipline as design. First of all, the relationship with native or cross-cultural traditions is mostly thought of in formalistic terms and often, their formal languages only exert a superficial fascination on designers. Seldom are they fully understood, especially as regards their cross-cultural meanings. A proper re-proposal of such traditions, rather than a simple revival which, in any case,

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[27] Appadurai 1996.
[28] Idem 21.

frequently degenerates into trivial tokenism, could bring about a conscious re-functionalizing of them. As Rudolf Wittkower says, what is interesting, as seen for example in the migration of symbols, is the re-functionalizing that they are subjected to in the variation of their context of application.

> Nonetheless, it is not enough to understand a particular historical situation and to know when a symbol came and when it went. This method needs to be supplemented by the 'functional method' that provides an attempt to understand the significance of a particular symbol in a given context. […] The functional method applied to European material shows that the same pictorial symbol, although always expressive of identical pairs of fundamental opposites, has in each case a very distinct meaning within the specific historical setting in which it occurs. [29]

Since the factors implied in the design process are many:

> Relative all'uso, fruizione e consumo individuale o sociale del prodotto (fattori funzionali, simbolici e culturali) quanto a quelli relative alla sua produzione (fattori tecnico-economici, tecnico-costruttivi, tecnico-sistemici, tecnico-produttivi e tecnico-distributive). [30]

Objects may refer not only to typological or formal traditions, but also to traditions of usages and customs, spiritual and religious, productive and technical. Moreover traditions today seem to be able to permeate only some typologies of objects:

- those that we have mentioned as 'transitional objects', linked to behavioural rituals such as eating, sleeping, grooming, and religious practice. These objects with a pre-existing category, satisfy the needs of specific usages and customs;
- Black box interfaces and free shape objects without any functional or technical restrictions;
- Interaction and graphic design projects.

These can hardly characterize objects strictly linked to functional and technical restrictions.

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[29] Wittkower 1939:293.
[30] Maldonado 1991:12. "related as much to individual or social use, function and consumption of a product – functional, symbolic or cultural factors – as to aspects linked to production such as technical-economic, technical-structural, technical-systematic, technical-productive and technical-distributive factors". (translation by the author)

5. Indications in Non-European and European case studies

This theoretical premise about homogeneity and heterogeneity in material culture is based on ongoing cross-cultural research[31] which deals with case studies from a non-European context. The choice of a cross-cultural context is motivated by the difficulty of recognizing native traditions.

> Les traditions étant la plupart du temps inconscientes ou du moins implicites, on constate celles de l'autre, on ignore les siennes et, corrélativement, on est sensible chez soi au changement qu'on valorise, chez l'autre au conservatisme qui nous permet de l'identifier.[32]

The research in particular refers to the Indian continent because this area provides a particularly meaningful zone for a cross-cultural mix which includes local traditions and global development. The study itself seeks to reveal how innovation can be inspired by different kinds of traditions and the potential that emerges as a result from this interaction. It is possible, however, to apply the findings to Europe. Listing a scientific selection of case studies is not appropriate within the confines of this article but Italian case summaries can be found in the unpublished *Creating a Design Department. The Bond and Influence of Italian Culture* written by Medardo Chiapponi. He clearly identifies the intricate relationship between design and different traditions: Italian humanistic culture tradition, Italian artistic tradition (historical), manufacturing and technical Italian tradition.

To simplify a complex reality, there are two distinct phases in Italian design. In the first, the theories and practice of art, especially Futurism, became 'contaminated' by design and many other types of culture. The protagonists of that phase of Italian design relied on a profound and widespread humanistic culture - the inspiration they derived from routine familiarity with an immense historical and cultural heritage concentrated in a very restricted space, an incisive ability to innovate the 'domestic landscape', the productive relationship to a superior-quality crafting industry and manufacturers who were both sensitive to the role of design and capable of interpreting their social role (an exemplary case is that of Adriano Olivetti), an advanced technological culture (micro-mechanical technology, nascent information and communication technology and especially the technology of polymers which have had a remarkable surge in applications starting with the

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[31] Romano (unpublished).
[32] Bonte and Izard 2006:711.

Nobel prize for chemistry awarded to Giulio Natta in 1963 for his works on polyethylene).[33]

As regards the later Radical Design phase within Italian design as a whole, Chiapponi says:

> The importance of debating design within university circles is perhaps surpassed by the equal emphasis placed upon day-to-day culture, seen in widespread manufacturing (which is based upon a superior quality of craftsmanship in many fields (from woodworking, glass, ceramics, agricultural mechanics through to the production of motorcycles and automobiles)) and within visual culture, this itself stimulated by a familiarity with historical works of art (painting, sculpture, architecture as well as literature, music, theatre).[34]

6. Summary and Conclusion

Section n. 1:
The relationship between global society and material culture can be analyzed taking into account the reciprocal and intricate interdependence between society and technology, as seen in the theory of *artefacts as socio-technical individuals*. In global society, we are witnessing an increasing homogeneity of material culture. The reasons for this are common to both global and tribal societies and consist of aspects like the common physiology of the body which objects that function as prosthesis have to face, *technical convergence* due to geometry and rational mechanical laws of the external world and *loans* resulting from unceasing market exchanges in the contemporary interconnected world. Relevant here is that increased market trade has transformed branch products into status symbols regardless of their technical performance.

Section n. 2:
A more conscious design can lead to the preservation of a heterogeneous environment. In the light of present-day cultural erosion, mainly due to migration and mass media, the terms local culture and local identity appear largely impotent.

Section n. 3:
A. Appadurai uses the term *post-national imaginary* to stress the overcoming of the national identity imaginaries.

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[33] Chiapponi (unpublished).
[34] Ibid.

Section n. 4:
For some categories of objects, design derives its inspiration for innovation more from traditions, whose cohesion is guaranteed by temporal transmission, than in a pulverized culture *at large*.

There are many typologies of traditions and these can be approached with a greater consciousness as regards design. This in turn can bring about a re-functionalization of objects and as a result, an opportunity to extend the debate which, even today, tends to confine 'global' and 'local' to matters of style.

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PARADOXES IN THE MEDIATION OF CULTURE FOR FOREIGNERS

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1. Introduction

In her essay entitled "On not knowing Greek" Virginia Woolf writes the following:

> We do not know how the words sounded, or where precisely we ought to laugh, or how the actors acted, and between the foreign people and ourselves there is not only difference of race and tongue but a tremendous breach of tradition.[1]

This tremendous breach of tradition exists not only in the dimension of historical time connecting - or better say estranging - us from other cultures like the ancient Greeks but in the cultural, habitual distance of different contemporary cultures as well. One of the starting points for the interest in a different culture is the belief that the original meaning and influence can be reproduced in the receiving culture. It is obvious, however, that the mediation process will incur necessary, inevitable changes.

2. Translation

The mediation of culture can be considered as a kind of translation, with the intention to reproduce a meaning with different means in a different context. Therefore we have to transform, convert, refashion a piece of culture to adopt it and make it acceptable in a different context, and for a different audience. Accordingly, reproduction through mediation goes together with giving up the original, and creating something else, something different. Gayatri Spivak underlines that the location of the translation is an empty field between two languages.[2]

If for now we restrict the problem of mediation of culture to the field of translation, we can say that every translation is a paraphrase, since translation is not only a linguistic transformation, but also an explanation of the meaning of the original text. Therefore the translation is not a primary text, since it includes the element of interpretation. The translator (or mediator) continuously makes decisions about the vocabulary, the structure of signs, the extension of references, and the general context. Very similar manoeuvres take place when a cultural product or event is being mediated for foreigners.

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[1] Woolf 1948:39.
[2] Spivak 1993:180.

A more recent example than Virginia Woolf's Greeks is Rabindranath Tagore, who translated his own poetry into English with tremendous success at the beginning of the 20th century, but who later on was less satisfied with the results.

Coming from a culture that by its tradition and civilization was not linked to Western culture, and which was in an unequal power relationship with the British Empire, Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore created autotranslations of his works adopting them to the image of the East created by the English-speaking world of the West.

Tagore wrote the following about his understanding of the expectations of an English audience regarding his poetry:

> I believe that in the English version some portions of it may profitably be left out, for I find that English readers have very little patience for scenes and sentiments which are foreign to them.[3]

This impatience is probably characteristic of most cultures towards other cultures.

To meet the expectations of his English audience Tagore gave up the ideal of preserving as much of the original as possible in the translation, and he changed his poems to such an extent that his English translations were only very loosely related to his original Hindi poems. Simplifying his poetry and adapting it to Western expectations resulted in his receiving the Nobel-Prize for literature in 1913.

Two decades later in a letter to Thomas Sturge-Moore, the poet wrote the following about his rewriting and manipulating his own poetry for a different culture:

> As for myself, I ought never to have intruded into your realm of glory with my offering hastily giving them a foreign shrine and certain assumed gestures familiar to you. I have done thereby injustice to myself and to the shrine of the muse which proudly claims flowers from its own climate and culture. There is something humiliating in such an indecent hurry of impatience clamouring for one's immediate dues in wrong time and out of the way places.[4]

The above mentioned example of Tagore shows that in the process of mediating culture for foreigners, there is an inherent element of manipulation, cheating, and misleading, and that the 'other', the receiving culture, remains trapped in the cultural stereotypes created

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[3] Cited by Sengupta 1995:166.
[4] Cited by Sengupta 1995: 171.

and nurtured through translations, images, messages, prejudices, and other components.

3. Stereotypes

But there is a further, rather paradoxical element in this example, namely that the cultural stereotypes are very often maintained and reinforced by those very ones who then protest against these stereotypes. The poet giving a 'foreign shrine' to his works voluntarily gives up the particularity of the original and by doing so perpetuates the existing stereotypes of his own culture, in this case, in the West.

A similar situation can be seen in the practice of giving presents to foreigners. In representing our culture by a present, one often experiences that cultural commonplaces are reproduced. Hungarians, for instance, keep alive the image of a 'goulash-chikosh-paprikash'-nation that never existed when they give presents to foreigners. Horse leather flask (*Figure 1*), Hungarian red pepper, Tokay wine etc. tell very little or nothing about Hungarians and their present culture, and maintain a romantic 19th century image of a nation Hungarians have very little in common with nowadays.

Books on contemporary Hungarian drama, for example, would tell a lot more about this country than pseudo folklore artefacts.

When I served as director of the Hungarian Theatre Museum and Institute we initiated regional cooperation based on this idea of promoting contemporary culture. One of our projects was the Visegrad drama series, including Czech, Slovak, Polish, and Hungarian plays in English translation (*Figure 2*).
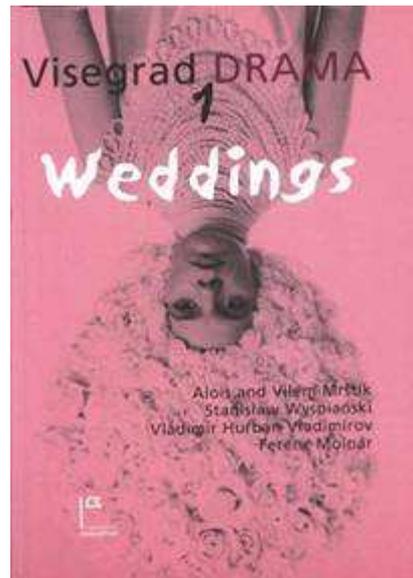
The suggestion to use such publications as gifts was accepted e.g. by the then President of Hungary, Árpád Göncz (he himself a playwright), who once wrote us a letter thanking for the idea, and telling how much visitors appreciated a bilingual exclusive publication of the set designs for Imre Madách's *The Tragedy of Man* (*Figure 3*).

But it is safer to remain within the stereotypes, than to make efforts - often less successful - to change the existing image of a culture. One has to make preliminary decisions about the primary aim of the cultural work to be mediated, whether it should keep as much of the original as possible, or whether it should be adapted to the receiving culture as much as possible. In the former case there is the danger of being rejected as incomprehensible, while in the latter case there is the risk of giving up the basic, unique features of the original work – as could be seen in the case of Tagore's poetry translated into English.
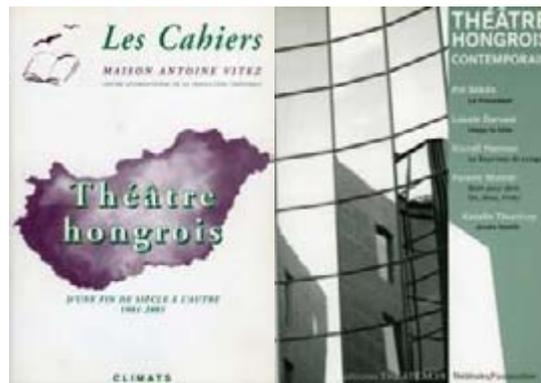
4. Canons

Every piece of art or cultural product belongs to and fits into a local, regional and national canon. This canon is determined by the local tradition and value system (source culture), which cannot be and is not necessarily demonstrated in its complexity to the foreign (target) culture. This target culture nowadays is often an international one, i.e. the global cultural market. It has premises and interests that differ from those in the (emitting) source culture.

The Hungarian practice of presenting cultural products is characterized by an attitude of delegation, based on the idea that the other should get to know and accept the Hungarian canon and what this implies in terms of the significance of a work of art. The experience, however, is that the receiving culture often neglects the 'original' position of a work and the value system surrounding it, and led by its own premises and preferences perceives it in a totally different way than it was meant.

Therefore, when working on a project aimed at introducing Hungarian cultural products in a foreign environment, it is better to collaborate with representatives from the receiving culture and let them select what is of interest to them, rather than forcing our taste on the foreign audience and end up with something far less attractive to that audience. During the 'MAGYart' cultural season in France (2001) and a similar project in the United Kingdom in 2004 ('Magyar Magic'), we promoted Hungarian cultural products that were likely to appeal to the French and English audience.

For 'MAGYart' we published a Hungarian drama anthology and a collection of essays on Hungarian theatre (*Figure 4*), while the Studio Theatre of the Comédie française read contemporary Hungarian plays for one week in November 2001. A similar programme ran at the Cottesloe Studio of the National Theatre in London, during the 'Magyar Magic' event in June 2004. In both cases the translations of the plays were made in collaboration with the playwright, and took into account the habits and expectations of the foreign audience.

5. The Balkans

The diverging canons and different traditions between 'our' and 'other' cultures present a variety of challenges or traps, and necessarily generate paradoxes. When Pécs applied for - and later was awarded - the title of European Capital of Culture the town tried to identify and present itself as 'different' from the previous Cultural Capitals. As a metaphor for this 'difference' a term with strong geographical, political and cultural connotations was used: the Balkans.

In the application file there is the following paragraph on Pécs and its relation to the South-East European region:

> Pécs is a truly 'Borderless City' that opens a cultural door to the Balkans, a region that does not yet belong to the European Union. Though Pécs is not located in the Balkans, it has a myriad links with this region, many more than any other Hungarian city. In addition to its Turkish monuments these links are also reinforced by the South Slav minorities living here. Pécs is an important site on the cultural map of Croatia too; it has a Croatian secondary grammar school, a theatre and a cultural centre. Pécs may become the first European Capital of Culture to open a gateway to the rich multiculturalism of the Balkans, including its Islamic heritage.[5]

Calling Pécs the 'gateway to the Balkans' is in itself a paradoxical gesture. The Balkans have no clear and common political, geographical, cultural identity. There exist (at least) some fifteen different geographical definitions of where the Balkans begin, ranging from the border between Hungary and Croatia down to the border between Bulgaria and Greece. According to an anecdote the Austro-Hungarian emperor, Franz Joseph II, declared that the Balkans start at the gate of the Schönbrunn Castle in Vienna. Nowadays the nations that live in this South-East European region never consider them part of the Balkans, but refer them to 'the others': the other nation, the other culture. The Balkans starts from and with the others.

Primarily because of the wars of the 1990s, and the current tensions in Kosovo, a lot of people think that the region is unstable and dangerous. Why go to Pécs, if it so close to this region, if there is nothing but a gate between this Hungarian town and the Balkans? Why not just go and see for yourself?

This dilemma includes a further paradox namely, how to inspire people of other cultures to become interested in the culture of a foreign town and its region. Either by stressing what can easily and immediately be

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[5] http://en.pecs2010.hu/p/pecs/the_borderless_city/pecs_is_a_cultural_gateway_city.

understood, relying upon a general superficial knowledge, or the opposite way, by stressing the exotic, the strange, the unique, and often not clearly identifiable features?

The 'Balkans' as a metaphor serves the second function. It includes something of the uncanny (in the Freudian sense), and people can project a lot of undetermined presuppositions into this term. There is, however, one major problem with the term, i.e. it has a lot of negative connotations. To overcome the prejudices and misunderstandings the programmes and projects in Pécs during the years up to 2010 focus on the complexity of the cultures of the Balkans.

The preparatory programme consists of a series entitled "East-West Passage", "With the Balkans about the Balkans", the "Balkan World Music Festival" and the "Balkan Gateway Interdisciplinary Conference". It started in 2007, and in 2008 the second "East-West Passage" programme took place from 18 to 21 September.

Part of the programme was a multidisciplinary and international conference entitled, "Challenging Differences – Culture, Ethnics, Gender and Equal Opportunities" which welcomed philosophers, literary and cultural critics, anthropologists, filmmakers, artists, poets and writers from East and West so as to discuss these topics. It encouraged innovative trans-disciplinary dialogues, reinforced the role of Pécs, the 'Borderless City', as a passage between Europe and the Balkans, between North and South, between East and West.

The 2008 keynote speech, entitled "Subduing Byzantium", was delivered by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak from Columbia University (USA). She wondered whether the Balkans and Europe are an adequate allegory for the East-West dichotomy, and she raised the idea that the three cultural capitals of 2010 (Essen, Pécs, Istanbul) were yet another undoing of Byzantium.

The Indian-American literary critic and theorist, coming from a global intellectual background, gave her speech in a peripheral town, at the gate of the Balkans. This in itself was paradoxical, as sometimes one has to go leave his environment to see things more clearly. By identifying itself as the 'gateway to the Balkans' Pécs can represent and demonstrate the diversity, the variety of values and habits, and instead of creating a stabile and fixed cultural identity, the town can show the very essence of culture, i.e. that it is always an alloy, an amalgam, including heterogeneous particles (like the Turkish Mosque on Pécs' main square, now functioning as a Catholic church, *Figure 5*).

The fundamental challenge and paradox in mediating culture for foreigners lay in preservation of the uniqueness of this amalgam, regardless of the fact, that the same components can be found elsewhere too, and that the arrangements of these elements are in permanent change.

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A MIRROR OF CULTURE:
HOW THE CENTRES OF EUROPEAN CULTURE HAVE AFFECTED ITS PERIPHERY USING THE EXAMPLE OF FRENCH LITERATURE'S IMPACT ON TURKISH LITERATURE

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1. Introduction

The title of this article "A Mirror of Culture" promises a lot. Several aspects of the Ottoman-Turkish modernization process can be discussed under this banner, but here I look at a distinct aspect of the process, the modernization of Ottoman-Turkish literature in the 19th century. I argue that Western, and specifically French literature, once established as a model, became a 'mirror' for Ottoman-Turkish literature, in other words the main reference point in discussing, evaluating and defining it. Moreover, this new literary model started off fervent debates on the notions of 'original' and 'imitation'. Here, I focus on the debate of 'Decadents' in the mid 1890s, dealing with the dilemma of 'original-imitation'. I'm doing this in order to show how early Ottoman writers' different relationships with Western literature affected their works and, as such, the future of Turkish literature. But before I go ahead, I want to focus a little bit on the specific modernization process of the Ottoman Empire.

2. The modernization of the Ottoman Empire

The history of Turkey from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic can be read as an experience of coming to terms with modernity. The Ottoman Empire grew out of a modest Anatolian state in the 13th century and reached its apex as a political power in the 16th century. Though once one of the foremost imperial powers in the world, the Empire didn't maintain its place in the realm of international politics. As the military and economic power of Western Europe grew, the balance of power was changed forever.[1] As a result, by the end of the 18th century the Ottoman Empire had grown considerably weaker than other European powers. A prolonged series of unsuccessful wars, the loss of territory and the attenuation of control over its territory were all prominent signs of the political demise of the Ottoman Empire. This was the beginning of a new period, 'the age of reforms' or "the longest century of the Empire"[2], as the Turkish historian İlber Ortaylı would call it.

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[1] Tekeli 2004:19-21.
[2] Ortaylı 2006:32.

As the problem of decline was seen primarily as a military problem, reform efforts began with the military and from there spread into other areas. The entire governmental system was reformed along with the major institutions and structures of the society as a whole, as well as the vast amount of resources poured into reforming the military. The basis for all of these reforms were Western models. As the Turkish historian Şerif Mardin puts it, here "the connection was established once and for all between *reform* and *Europeanization*".[3] Consequently in the Ottoman-Turkish case, 'Europeanization' became another name of the modernization process which implies that there is a state of 'modernity' that can be reached.

Nevertheless, the Ottoman-Turkish modernization can be defined as a 'belated modernization process', especially in comparison to West European cases. The modernity project divided the world into two parts: as Western Europe was at the centre of this process, the rest of the world became a periphery. Therefore the modernization, in other words Europeanization or Westernization, is above all a 'compensatory ideology' built on the attempts of the periphery to recover its own 'historical delay' in relation to the 'modern' world.[4] That is to say, modernization aims at recovering the 'shortcomings' of

> a society that is 'belatedly modernized,' a system of thought that has come to accept its insufficiency before a modern one presuming to be superior, and a culture that has adopted an infantile role when confronted by foreign modern ideals.[5]

But according to the Greek scholar Gregory Jusdanis, traditional structures are not fully compatible with the modern ones and hence conflict is inevitable. As Jusdanis argues "traditional structures do not simply yield to modernization but coexist with new institutions"; moreover the societies that are labelled 'behind the West' or 'belated' "exhibit an uneasy fit between traditional and modern constructs."[6] Actually, this uneasy fit has been one of the distinctive characteristics of the Ottoman-Turkish modernization process after society was divided into two parts. The clash of 'traditional and modern', or the dilemma of 'East or West' and dichotomies such as 'Ottoman-European', 'old-new' or 'original-imitation' deeply affected not only all of the social institutions established during the modernization process, but also people's lives, their thinking and feeling. Therefore, the Ottoman-Turkish modernization process is defined as a "shifting of civilizations"[7] by the Turkish writer Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar and a "traumatic shifting of

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[3] Mardin 2000:135.
[4] Çiğdem 2004:68.
[5] Gürbilek 2003:599.
[6] Jusdanis 1991:xvi.
[7] Tanpınar 1977:101.

models"[8] by the Turkish literature researcher Nurdan Gürbilek. The Ottoman-Turkish literature followed the same pattern.

3. Modernity and Ottoman-Turkish literature

It is generally accepted that the effect of modernization on Ottoman literature was quite limited up until the middle of the 19th century.[9] Up to that point, Ottoman literature had predominantly modelled itself after the Arab and Persian literary traditions: 'Divan' literature with its aesthetic forms, language and metaphors in keeping with Perso-Arab standards had been the unchallenged literary system in which Ottoman-Turkish men of letters expressed themselves. But in the second half of the 19th century, attempts to modernize literature generated in a new literary model: Western, specifically French literature.

However, the shift of the Ottoman literary model was not readily accepted. Indeed the idea that modernization was essential in order to catch up with the superior West had permeated the Ottoman Empire, including the literary field. For early Ottoman writers assuming the roles of 'reformer', 'bureaucrat' and 'man of letters' all at the same time, a change in literary understanding was vital because the previous literary model was not suitable to the modernization project as a whole. But this was not an easy task: as the young Turkish scholar Fatih Altuğ puts it, Ottoman writers were faced with the problem of reorganizing the Ottoman-Turkish literary system which had unexpectedly lost its structure after the 'sudden blow' of modernity.[10] There was a 'crisis' in the literary field, which had to be treated by mending the recently discovered deficiencies of the existing literature, by eliminating 'useless' elements and inserting new ones based on the Western model. Henceforth, the search for an 'appropriate' literary model began and literary debates followed suit.

4. Realism and naturalism

In the second half of the 19th century, French realism and naturalism occupied a central position in the debates about the model Ottoman literature should adopt. The turn towards realism began in the 1860s, with the first works of modern Ottoman-Turkish literature: influenced by the premise of 'the convenience of reality', early Ottoman writers tried

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[8] Gürbilek 2003:600.
[9] Despite the fact that accurate information about the first half of the 19th century (and before) is hard to come by, recent studies have increased our understanding of the 'modernization' of Turkish literature. Especially the dominant narrative of a distinct split between the periods before and after modernization is questioned: in reality there is more continuity than was previously believed.
[10] Altuğ 2007:72.

to weaken the prestige of the allegorical representation of the external world in Divan literature. However the search for realism in a positivist sense came only later. In the mid 1880s, the Ottoman intellectual Beşir Fuad wrote a biography of the French romantic Victor Hugo in order to introduce him to the Ottoman literary milieu. Despite having *Victor Hugo* as a title, the biography included a study on the French naturalist writer Emile Zola as well. By doing so Beşir Fuad actually aimed at contrasting Hugo with Zola, declaring the superiority of Zola in terms of literary understanding and encouraging Ottoman-Turkish writers to adopt his naturalistic method.

Beşir Fuad's approach provoked different reactions. One of the prominent figures of modern Ottoman-Turkish literature Namık Kemal opposed him and instead defended romantic literary methods. Ahmed Midhat, the prolific Ottoman writer well-known for his moderate views on modernization criticized Beşir Fuad because of his materialist world view and pointed to the 'danger' of materialism. In addition, throughout his works, especially in his famous novel *Müşahedat* (*Observations*), Ahmet Midhat described Zola's naturalism as "immoral and corruptive" for Ottoman society and instead attempted to domesticate naturalism by depicting it in a more 'innocent' way.[11]

On the other hand Nabizade Nazım, following in the tracks of Beşir Fuad, wrote the first fully realistic and naturalistic works in Ottoman-Turkish literature. Halid Ziya, the future prominent Ottoman novelist, published in these years a literary study on the novel genre, and pointed out that the novel only reached its apogee with realist and naturalist literary works. In brief, the biography of Victor Hugo raised an interest in realism and naturalism; encouraged the drive into realistic prose and touched off fervent debates on the notions of 'romanticism', 'realism' and 'naturalism'. The debates didn't come to an end in the following years. Rather, in the middle of the 1890s, with the establishment of a new literary periodical *Servet-i Fünûn* (*The Treasury of Sciences*) they moved into a new phase.

5. Servet-i Fünûn and the 'Decadents'

The journal of *Servet-i Fünûn* brought together a group of young writers. Unlike their predecessors, they were educated in Western-style schools, and well acquainted with Western culture. At this point they differed from their predecessors, for example the moderate modernizer Ahmed Midhat, by ignoring the boundaries of 'tradition' in the literary modernization process and assuming a more liberal approach with regard to the Western world. What they were really after, was a further integration with the West. This ideological attitude implicitly affirmed the

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[11] Ahmet Midhat 2000:3-8.

superiority of the 'modern', 'new' literature over the 'traditional', 'old' one, and hence they unconditionally adopted the Western literary models. In this sense *Servet-i Fünûn* members, who were "closely attuned to contemporary French literary movements", created a new literature mainly modelled after French symbolism in poetry, and realism-naturalism in prose.[12] Therefore, as the American scholar Jennifer Noyon put it, "their names have been linked to the French Parnassians, the Realists, and the Decadents."[13] However, this reputation didn't have positive connotations in Ottoman-Turkish literature.

In the second half of the 1890s, *Servet-i Fünûn* became a literary centre for the modern Ottoman-Turkish literature and was critically acclaimed and attacked at the same time. On 22 May 1897, Ahmed Midhat wrote an article on the literary understanding of *Servet-i Fünûn* writers. In this article ironically entitled "Decadents" he argued, without pointing directly at the *Servet-i Fünûn* circle, that young writers created an 'alien' and 'imitative' literature in terms of content and form. According to him, these writers adopted only the 'corruptive' samples of the Western literary model, specifically the naturalistic works, in the words of Ahmed Midhat "infamies described in a vulgar language by Zola."[14] As such he accused the 'Decadents' of being 'alien' and creating 'art for art's sake', thereby denying the social, political and moral functions of literature and not taking literature to the masses.

The answer of the *Servet-i Fünûn* circle to this article was immediate. *Servet-i Fünûn* writers such as Tevfik Fikret and Hüseyin Cahid responded to Ahmed Midhat shortly after the publication of his article. First of all, they argued that they had formed a 'new' literature, not an 'alien' one. In addition to this they emphasized that they respected the legacy of their predecessors, but had interpreted it in a new social context. Thus for them, this 'new' literature was based on the early modernizing efforts in Ottoman Turkey, not on imitative attempts. Secondly they criticized Ahmed Midhat for being 'ignorant' of Western literature. Therefore they didn't accept the title of 'decadent' in the sense Ahmed Midhat used it.[15]

The choice of the title "Decadents" for an article criticizing young Ottoman-Turkish writers was not a coincidence. 'Decadent', which implies 'decaying', was in fact the title of a French periodical first published in 1886; this periodical was widely known for its language scandalizing the bourgeoisie and attacking its values. Thus, the word 'decadent' refers to the periodical and to the writers gathered around it.

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[12] Noyon 2001:129.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Gökçek 2007:29.
[15] For a full discussion see Gökçek 2007.

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By attributing the title of 'decadents' to the young Ottoman-Turkish writers, Ahmed Midhat made a comparison between two groups: for him, the Parisian *Decadent* circle and the *Servet-i Fünûn* circle were similar in terms of their attitudes towards society and their literary understandings. As a result, he believed young Ottoman-Turkish writers were following the wrong example and imitating the wrong Western model.

Here one can ask whether the comparison made by Ahmed Midhat was right or not. But there is another, far more important question to be asked: Why did he make such a comparison and assume a critical approach towards the *Servet-i Fünûn* circle? The attitude of Ahmed Midhat resulted from his reaction to the 'extremisms' in the modernization process. Ahmed Midhat's perspective of modernization was significantly limited by tradition: he followed the framework of tradition and drew lines in the modernization process in order to preserve traditional values. Therefore he was strongly opposed to the 'attitude of extreme emulation' of young writers regarding the Western model, arguing that an 'extreme emulation' might produce the danger of becoming a 'simple imitation' of the 'original' model.

6. Conclusion

This debate between Ahmed Midhat and the *Servet-i Fünûn* circle reveals some of the prominent characteristics of the literary modernization process in Turkey. It is clear that the basis for modernization in Ottoman Turkey was relatively unstable: on the one hand modernizers had to respect local realities; on the other hand they had to follow the West by going forward. But they had to move cautiously in order not to drift into purely Western ways of living, thinking or feeling.[16] In this sense, the writers who were 'influenced most' by the Western literary model faced the prospect of losing their roots and cultural identity by simply reworking themes that grew out of an entirely different system and tradition. As Nurdan Gürbilek puts it, this was the impasse modern Ottoman literature was facing and in which "the Turkish novelist is either a snob, a parvenu, a dandy, or an unrefined provincial stuck in the narrow traditional world".[17] Being in favour of the Westernization of Turkish literature might seem 'dandy', while those who still believed in the worth of the traditional model might seem 'provincial'. This is obvious in the debate of "Decadents", where *Servet-i Fünûn* writers are 'alienated decadents' and Ahmed Midhat is a 'narrow-minded ignorant'.

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[16] Koçak 1996:99.
[17] Gürbilek 2003:603.

As a result, the search for originality, as well as the dichotomy of 'original versus imitation' were inevitable once Ottoman-Turkish literature began to model itself after Western literature in its belated modernization process. In the Republican era, the situation of Turkish literature was quite similar: According to Gürbilek literary criticism in Turkey is still "an anxious effort of comparison programmed to discuss from the very start the deprivation, insufficiency, and shortage of its object: Turkish literature."[18] Therefore, one of the prominent Turkish writers Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar is seen as a 'Turkish' Marcel Proust; the contemporary Turkish writer Adalet Ağaoğlu is critically acclaimed of 'equalling' the works of Virginia Woolf; the Nobel prize-winning Turkish author Orhan Pamuk is criticized as imitating Umberto Eco's *The Name of the Rose* in *White Castle* and Thomas Mann's *Buddenbrooks* in his first novel *Cevdet Bey and His Sons*. Finally, Turkish literature is still looking for the ways to establish a 'pure, original identity', often overlooking that its originality actually lays in its dichotomies.

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[18] Gürbilek 2003: 600.

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ESSEN, CRACOW AND VILNIUS IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE: CONTRIBUTING TO A TRULY EUROPEAN HISTORY

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1. A common textbook of European history

I want to start my article by making some remarks about myself. I began studying History at Vilnius University in 2003. Vilnius University's History Faculty is the largest centre of history studies in Lithuania and specializes in two chronological fields: Lithuanian society in the late medieval period through the early modern era and 20th century Lithuanian history. Within this broad chronological sweep there are several centres within the History Faculty that focus on specific aspects, for example ethnic minorities or medieval legal history. The overall scope is rather broad. One field of interest is the history of textbooks and their adaptation in the modern world. This centre is led by Professor Arūnas Vyšniauskas, who introduces students to current trends in the development of history textbooks. In my report I will present one of the projects on textbook research in which I participated as a representative of Vilnius University.

Cicero once said: "Historia est magistra vitae" or in English – "history is life's teacher." Cicero was making the point that the study of the past should inform people living in the present and the future. However throughout the centuries historians, no matter how educated, erudite, or intelligent they were, have struggled to convey this knowledge to the general public. The question is, whether modern historians can find a better way to convey the lessons of the past to a contemporary audience?

The modern world has little free time and is constantly in a hurry. Unfortunately for historians, the first casualty of this hectic world is… reading: the monograph, which is the traditional avenue for the dissemination of serious historical knowledge, seems too long, boring, and obtuse to many people today. And yet due to globalization and the technology revolution there is a hunger for accessible information about every imaginable topic: from the North Pole to the Sahara; from the slave trade to the collapse of the Soviet Union; about the Great Depression and the lessons it holds for our world. To meet this demand and take into account the lack of time that characterizes our society, it is obvious that we need a succinct and straightforward work of history that addresses the entire human experience, from pre-history through the modern world, and covers the entire globe. Having said that, I must admit that my primary focus is Europe. Ideally we would need a single history textbook that can be used in, say, the schools of Europe's oldest

democracy – England, as well as in the schools of emerging democracies such as Georgia or Ukraine or any other country in between.

There is little doubt that the member states of the European Union would benefit from a common history curriculum and standard history textbooks in their schools as a means to instill the lessons of the past while helping students understand the world from a national as well as truly international perspective. As a result this curriculum should encompass the entire history of Europe as well as local events to give students a strong understanding of the origins of modern Europe.

2. The making of a common textbook

This ambitious task has been attempted before. In 1992, an international working group consisting of 12 European scholars under the direction of the French banker Frédéric Delouche compiled the *Illustrated History of Europe*, an history textbook designed for the whole of Europe.[1] This expansive work was considered to be an excellent work of scholarship, but was largely ignored because it was deemed too difficult for school-aged readers. Moreover, critics claimed that, contrary to its fundamental mission, a number of nationalistic viewpoints appeared in different translations of the book. Another attempt was made by the famous British historian Norman Davies who compiled a book on European history in 1996.[2] So to conclude, the main problem is that these two books are too difficult to use as an ordinary history textbook. They are best used as supplementary materials.

There have been several other attempts to write a common history book, notably by French and German social scientists. Although a common Franco-German textbook covering the history of the 20th century was released in recent years, it still only represents the history of two out of the twenty member states of the European Union.

In my opinion, the creation of a truly European textbook has proven impossible primarily because historians and authors from different countries have not been able to reach agreement over which events and what names should be included in a standard textbook of European History. Not surprisingly, this difficulty is the result of differing national understandings and uses of the past. Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians, for example, perceive the defeat of Nazi Germany not only as a victory over a great evil, but, sadly, also as the beginning of fifty years of Soviet occupation, which had an equally destructive effect on the Baltic region. This viewpoint, born from immense suffering and a deeply ingrained dislike for Soviet totalitarianism, is unpalatable for

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[1] Delouche 1993.
[2] Davies 1996.

Western historians and often leads to the breakdown of scholarly dialogue. By way of another example, imagine what the end of World War I may mean to a Polish student and, conversely, a German student. For the Pole, the Treaty of Versailles sets off a (brief) golden period of national self-determination with the resurrection of the Polish nation state, whereas the German student may see the treaty as a extremely unfair punishment that ultimately led to the rise of the Nazis. These are merely two examples, but they vividly illustrate how hard, if not impossible, it is to write a truly European textbook that reconciles different national understandings of the past.

3. Urban Kaleidoscope

At present there is a joint German, Lithuanian, and Polish project which seeks to overcome the above-mentioned obstacles. The project is entitled "Dark Times and Golden Ages: The Destiny of European Cities. Urban Kaleidoscope" and is conducted by the Georg Eckert Institute in Braunschweig, Vilnius University and the Małapolska Teacher Training Centre in Cracow. The project is led by researchers from the Eckert Institute and focuses on both 'dark' and 'golden' times in three European cities that have been or will be designated European Capitals of Culture: Cracow (2000), Vilnius (2009), and Essen (2010). The idea behind this project is to take a bottom-up approach in the history of the three cities.

The project has the advantage of tackling one other major shortcoming of the existing common textbooks of European history, i.e. they focus too narrowly on high politics and the lives of the elite. These topics often come across as boring, distant, and unimportant to everyday life. Moreover they are open to very different interpretations which can cause tensions. The "Dark Times and Golden Ages" project has more modest aims. We concentrate on the history of the late medieval and early modern periods in the three cities. Although the temporal and geographic scope of the project may seem limited, the experiences of these three cities and their inhabitants provide enough materials for historians to analyze. Each city is an illustrative example of life and events in a country. Whether it is Rome – the capital of the mighty Roman Empire, Essen – the centre of industrialization, or Vilnius – a unique city of baroque architecture set amid northern forests, the history of any locality can reveal important insights into the lives of people and the broader society to which they belong. Given the universality of the local experience the historians working on the project hope they can put aside polemics and get to the business at hand: writing a comparative history of different cities as a starting point for broader transnational histories.

Central to our project is the distribution of a survey in which respondents are asked to reflect on the 'Dark Times' and 'Golden Ages' in the history of their respective cities. Participants had to specify a time

period for either 'dark' or 'golden' periods (*table 1*) and write a contribution on five mandatory themes: migration, architecture, technology, the environment, culture and daily life. Furthermore they had to identify five other (individual) themes and write about them too (*table 2*).

Table 1: Periodization

	Golden ages	Dark times
Krakow	"Krakow's Cultural Heritage" 16th century	"Communism" 1945-1956"
Vilnius	"The 16th Century - Vilnius as a Multicultural Centre"	"1655: Russian Invasion"
Essen	"Industrialisation" ("Krupptown") (1871–1900)	"Battle of the Ruhr" (1943)

Table 2: Individual focus themes

1. Memory cultures / the history of dealing with the past
2. Trade
3. Social and population structures
4. Structures of rule
5. Infrastructure
6. Economic structures (sectors)
7. Political Situation
8. Education, research and culture
9. Religion
10. Minorities
11. Literature, Film, Music
12. Gender Studies etc.

Since the project is the result of a close collaboration between students and academics from Braunschweig, Vilnius, and Cracow it will result in teaching materials which fairly and accurately reflect European history in these three European Capitals of Culture. Moreover the project will provide large amounts of audiovisual material (images, maps, and iconography, audio and video files) on the individual themes so as to actively engage students.

Since we ultimately want to provide a framework for a broader European history textbook we pay special attention to the methodological and didactic components of the project. Extremely important is the focus on 'Europe' and what it means. Also important is student involvement: through assignments students get to know the content of the materials and are encouraged to come up with their own ideas and solutions; and last but not least, students must transfer these contents to other historical events.

During the project it turned out that the three groups had different didactical approaches of the materials. The Lithuanian group, led by Arūnas Vyšniauskas, tried out an untested but modern and very promising system of internet hyperlinks. The idea is to create hyperlinks to the servers of European Heritage sites such as www.europeana.eu and www.epaveldas.lt. These servers contain millions of digital items such as maps, documents, photos, and paintings from across Europe. The main advantage of this system is that there are no copyright issues involved and that you can access the materials online from wherever you are. There is no need for (expensive) visits to archives, museums and libraries. The main drawback, for the moment, is that the system requires a complete computerisation of schools (every student must have his own computer) and fast internet connections.

The Germans and Poles stuck to a more traditional approach. They looked for documents in archives or libraries, copied them (and acquired the copy-right) and, eventually, created assignments. It is only natural that these didactical differences appeared in the project, given the different experiences and backgrounds of the project participants. Finally a compromise was reached: the Germans and Poles used the conservative approach in their assignments, whereas the Lithuanians used a mixed system of both traditional and modern approaches (with hyperlinks).

4. Examples

The following example illustrates how hyperlinks can be used to create assignments in history textbooks. It is taken from the golden age of Vilnius (The 16th Century – Vilnius as a Multicultural Centre), deals with the theme 'City planning and city development' and its subtheme 'Jagiellonian Vilnius':

The election of Casimir, Grand Duke of Lithuania (1444–1492) to the throne of Poland meant that the union of Lithuania and Poland was renewed. This union between the two states continued with few interruptions until the male line of Jogaila's (Grand Duke of Lithuania 1382–1432, King of Poland 1385–1432) dynasty finally died out in 1572. During this period Lithuania continued to elect one of Jogaila's descendents to the office of the Grand Duke. Casimir was succeeded by Grand Duke Alexander (1492–1506) and by Sigismund the Old (1506–1548). The Poles, afraid to sever the ties with Lithuania, usually elected the same person to the royal throne of Poland. At the beginning of the 16th century the Jagiellonian dynasty had taken control over a large part of Eastern and Central Europe. Even though the Grand Duke of Lithuania did not reside in Vilnius all the time, the capital of Lithuania was the heart of Jagiellonian Europe.

Each of the subthemes is followed by an assignment:

1. Vilnius and Jagiellonian Europe
Map of Jagiellonian Europe: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/e/e9/Jagiellon_Realm.png Shared Copy: http://r0.sharedcopy.com/4frja4
Map of modern Eastern Europe: http://z.about.com/d/goeasteurope/1/0/w/-/-/-/revised-eastern-europe-map.jpg Shared Copy: http://r1.sharedcopy.com/40n9qdo
Question: What countries which exist now in modern Europe were under the rule of the Jagiellonian dynasty at the beginning of the 16th century?
2. Lithuania – the largest state in Europe in the 16th century?
Turning the Pages™ in the British Library and magnify the details http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/ttp/ttpbooks.html Instruction 1: Please select the First Atlas of Europe compiled by Mercator in the 1570s Instruction 2: See Pages 93 and 94 Instruction 3: With Magnify Tool find Vilna Instruction 4: Push Audio Button and hear out comment Instruction 5: Push Text Button and read the text
Questions: 1. What is your opinion about the idea of the British Library analyst that after the union with Poland in 1569 Lithuania became the largest country in Europe? 2. How is Vilnius marked and can you compare it to the other cities on the map?
3. The most important fair in Vilnius Kaziukas fair or simply ,'Kaziukas' is the most important fair in Vilnius. This fair takes place during the last weekend before 4th of March, i.e. the day of St Casimir. He was a prince of Lithuania, who died at the age of 25. He was very devoted to the Catholic Church and after his canonization the Holy See proclaimed him patron of Lithuania.
Kaziukas 2008 Video http://vids.myspace.com/index.cfm?fuseaction=vids.individual&videoid=30082429 From the 1936 German Documentary Film "Wilna", Universal-Film AG (Ufa) http://www.youtube.com/watch?Qy4fy5FkU
Questions: 1. Did you notice any differences between the 'Kaziukas', the citizens of Vilnius and its environment in the two films? 2. What have these two films in common?

The main problem with these assignments is that the links have to be kept up-to-date, as internet addresses may change after some time.

5. Conclusion

By way of conclusion I can only express my hope that "Dark Times and Golden Ages" will achieve its goal, i.e. the creation of a truly inter-European history of three important cities. "Dark Times and Golden Ages" will initially be available as a website (http://urban-kaleidoscope.eu), but we hope that from this foundation the project will grow into an extensive enterprise that richly documents the shared history and culture of Europe well beyond the original three cities. Finally, it is our belief that it is precisely this kind of projects which will eventually result in truly European textbooks and history curricula.

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EUROPEAN CAPITALS OF CULTURE AS INCENTIVES FOR LOCAL TRANSFORMATION AND CREATIVE ECONOMIES: TENDENCIES – EXAMPLES – ASSESSMENTS

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1. Introduction

Since the idea of European Capitals of Culture was launched, the capability of the programme to contribute to the conversion and restructuring processes of European cities has always been a major issue of debate.[1] Especially in the aftermath of the intensively discussed cultural year of Glasgow in 1990 the idea of local or regional transformation has attracted much attention.[2] The city of Glasgow has used the programme in its broadest meaning as an instrument to foster city-development. Though today Glasgow is considered as a 'milestone' in the history of the European Capital of Culture-programme, the alteration of the initiative towards a primarily 'city-marketing event' cannot be neglected for the period of the 1990s. While contributing first and foremost to the attraction of tourists the improvement of the local environment – of, by and for the (local) people – has more or less been on the fringes. Against this background, the question has been raised in how far European cities have hitherto used their nomination as European Capitals of Culture to improve the local environment by cultural means. In addition, it has been asked to what extent culture is generally able to play a substantial role for local transformation.

In its first part, this contribution analyses from an historical point of view the development of the European Capital of Culture-programme in the course of time. It identifies three different periods as well as reasons for the alteration of focal points and strategies as regards the initiative. In view of general 'Leitbilder' it will be asked to what extend the framework of the programme has been used primarily as a tool to advance image building and to promote tourism[3] or whether culture has been perceived as an innovative force and a source of urban regeneration. Special attention will be given to the question how the activities of the European Capitals of Culture in the last few years can be characterised. Will they be traced 'back to the roots' in accordance with the 'archetype' of Glasgow, or will they refer to the intensely discussed new creative turn?

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[1] Rydzy 2005:97-106.
[2] García 2005:841-867.
[3] Richards 2000:159-181.

Regarding these more recent thoughts, the second part of the article contributes to the question whether the European Capital of Culture-programme can provide new incentives for the debate on creative industries. In the last decade, creative industries have been seen as a relevant indicator of a prospering city-development.[4] As they are not only a means to vitalize local and regional potentials, but also refer to sustainability, creative industries have become an important factor in cultural development. This contribution will reflect on this notion empirically, but beyond mere statistical data. Empirical evidence will be drawn from examples in Athens 1985, Berlin 1988, Brussels 2000, Lille 2004, Luxemburg 2007, Liverpool 2008 and Ruhr 2010. In particular, it will look to what extent creative milieus can be considered as a guiding principle in the preparation process of the European Capital of Culture 2010 in the Ruhr area.

In its third and final part this contribution intends to bring together the two preceding chapters in order to discuss the present appearance of the European Capital of Culture-programme and its perspectives. Especially in light of 2009 – the 'European Year of Creativity and Innovation' – the question arises, whether marketing elements prevail, or whether others targets have been taken into account and, if so, whether they have replaced them.

2. On the History of the European Capital of Culture-Initiative: From Political Integration to City-Marketing and Beyond

In 2010, when the Ruhr area along with Pécs and Istanbul will be the European Capital of Culture, the initiative will celebrate its 25th anniversary. This is a unique occasion not only to throw a retrospective glance at the initiative, but also to analyse from an historical point of view the changes of the programme. Unlike other studies of the authors[5] this analysis aims in particular at scrutinizing the cultural evolution and less the political or European integration dimension of the initiative.

2.1.The origins of the European Capital of Culture-initiative (the 1980s)

Culture was broadly neglected at the beginning of the European integration process in the 1950s for several reasons. On the one hand, the Jean Monnet 'Method'[6] of European integration focussed primarily on the technical cooperation of experts in economic terms (ECSC and EEC); on the other hand member states insisted on retaining control of their cultural identity. Even today national member states and citizens express their fear of losing their cultural identity in an anonymous

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[4] Scott 2000; Heßler/Zimmermann 2008:11-38.
[5] Mittag 2008:55-96; Oerters 2008:97-124.
[6] Cf. on the Jean Monnet 'Method: Wessels 2001.

European 'super-state'. When the European City/Capital of Culture-initiative[7] was introduced in November 1983 by Melina Mercouri and subsequently launched in June 1985 the cultural ministers neither established distinctive regulations concerning the organisation of the programme nor defined any precise hints in regard to its configuration. Melina Mercouri's initiative intended to let people participate in Europe through culture. However, she did not think of the culture of a specific city, but considered the designation of a city as a way to bring together and showcase various European cultures. With the European Capital of Culture the ministers responsible for Cultural Affairs intended to further the cause of the European integration. At a moment when 'Europe' was largely associated with (the problems of the) European agricultural policy the European governments were looking for a project that could put European integration in a positive light. The European Capital of Culture-initiative was ideal as it was of common interest to all the member states: It did not cost the member states any money, the cities profited from the initiative and the national ministers kept control of the initiative without transferring any competences to the EC/EU-level.

There were no particular regulations for the designated cities. They were expected to stimulate a lively dialogue between the different European cultures, thus expressing common features as well as respecting cultural peculiarities. Generally speaking, only one rule applied:

> The Ministers responsible for Cultural Affairs consider that the 'European City of Culture' event should be the expression of a culture which, in its historical emergence and contemporary development, is characterized by having both common elements and a richness born of diversity. The event has been established to help bring the peoples of the Member States closer together, but account should be taken of wider European cultural affinities. The event should open up to the European public particular aspects of the culture of the city, region or country concerned. It may also concentrate on the city concerned a number of cultural contributions from other Member States, primarily for the benefit of the inhabitants of the particular region. Between these two poles, a wide variety of emphases can be placed and inter-related themes chosen so as to enhance the city concerned and

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[7] Until 2004 the official label was "European City of Culture". The title "European Capital of Culture" was officially introduced in May 1999 when the former intergouvernemental initiative was established as a community action. As the original proposal of Melina Mercouri permitted both notions and as some of the designated cities already used the title "European Capital of Culture" a clear differentiation is not possible. In the course of this contribution we will generally prefer the notion "European Capital of Culture" except for those cities that explicitly used the European City of Culture title.

mark the particular occasion, if any, which has provided a reason for choosing it.[8]

With Athens (1985), Florence (1986), Amsterdam (1987), West-Berlin (1988) and Paris (1989) the first five 'European Cities of Culture' were well-known and established centres of culture in Europe. Their activities consisted more or less of summer events in terms of duration and they primarily addressed the classical 'high culture'.[9] Although the limited involvement of local artists was met with scepticism[10] there had been exceptions. By 1985 Athens brought artists and cultural actors not merely to central places, but disseminated culture by including local theatres, small municipalities and yet to be discovered 'hidden' places e.g. a quarry converted into a theatre stage for Peter Stein's "Orestie"[11]. In 1988, Berlin launched "Berlin in the centre of Europe", a programme which embodied a deep political dimension although this was not recognized very widely in the aftermath. By inviting artists from East European countries the programme wanted to make a statement, i.e. that political boarders could not define Europe. Berlin anticipated further developments when it not only claimed to be a stage for European art, but also initiated a process in which artists and citizens met and exchanged artistic ideas ('Werkstatt Berlin').[12] However, these few initiatives remained exceptions. Hence, criticism prevailed that the European Capitals of Culture were oriented towards classical culture as in the cultural exhibitions of the Council of Europe.[13]

2.2. Glasgow's impact and the changed notion of the European Capital of Culture-initiative (the 1990s)

All that changed significantly when Glasgow became European City of Culture in 1990. The city of Glasgow, contrary to former European Capitals of Culture, represented a municipality suffering from structural change,[14] which was not to be associated with culture at all. "The title of 'European City of Culture' was in Glasgow's case bringing the status rather than the status of the city bringing the title.'[15] By leaving behind well-established cultural metropolises and turning to an industrial city in decline, the European Capital of Culture-programme took on a new dimension.

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[8] Official Journal 1985:3-4.
[9] Myerscough 1994:10-12.
[10] Van Gent 1988:479-482, here 480.
[11] Fischer 2008.
[12] On Berlin 1988 cf. Hassemer 1988:513–517; Höynck 1988:523–531; Tomerius 1989: 7–9.
[13] Van Galen Last 1988:493-498.
[14] Dieterich-Buchwald, Dieterich and Steiner 1988.
[15] Booth and Doyle 1994:32.

The old industrial town of Glasgow did not only take the opportunity to shift away the attention from classical 'high culture', but also used the programme to refurbish large parts of the city. "Glasgow's miles better-campaign" considered culture as a means to reuse traditional places by converting, for example, a church into a cultural centre, thereby bringing back people into urban spaces long neglected by city sprawl. The urban renewal programme had many facets: for instance the renewal of the Victorian sandstone buildings in the city centre, the modernization of the public transport system and the opening of the Royal Concert Hall. It was mainly the concept of Robert Palmer[16] – with the support of the mayor and the city government – to use culture as a means to reconcile cities with their inhabitants and create a meaningful environment for city dwellers. This goal could only be reached thanks to the substantial budget Glasgow was able to raise via public and private support.

Glasgow's concept had a deep impact on the ECoC-initiative. Since then European Capitals of Culture are nominated not only for the cultural qualities they already have, but also for their creative concepts as well as for their innovative and long-term strategies. However, not all people welcomed the turn the initiative had taken. Critics of this conceptual alteration like Spyros Mercouris, the brother of Melina Mercouri and honorary chairman of the European Cultural Capitals and Months-network, argued that the original idea of the ECoC as a meeting place of people to allow dialogue on culture was betrayed by making functional use of culture.

As a result of the cultural city year in 1990 a quite heterogeneous period began with several cities taking up – in different variations – Glasgow's pioneering concept. During this period the ECoC became a public event that primarily had the intention to improve the image of the city and to enhance city tourism. Following the success of Glasgow, many cities started to restore their buildings and churches, to build up new theatres or concert halls and to launch PR-campaigns. Others, however, kept addressing 'high culture'. In particular the established European cultural metropolises showed little ambition to venture beyond the known 'high culture'. Drawing the balance of Madrid 1992 the speaker of the organizing committee had to admit: "We have failed to get through to the ordinary people."[17] In contrast to Dublin (1991), Madrid (1992) or Lisbon (1994) other cities such as Antwerp (1993) and Thessaloniki (1997) or Copenhagen (1996) and Stockholm (1998), which hardly have

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[16] Robert Palmer is currently Director of Culture, Cultural and Natural Heritage at the Council of Europe. He had been cultural consultant of a number of Capitals of Culture (Glasgow, Brussels). In addition, he has been in charge of several reports on the European Capitals of Culture. Of special importance are those from 2004 and 2009.
[17] *Irish Times* 22.10.1992.

been noticed as cultural metropolises before, put conceptually more emphasise on a broad cultural approach.

As the ECoC-initiative became more important and the financial and organizational efforts increased, the investments had to be legitimated by long-term effects e.g. economical growth, the increase of tourism, etc.[18] By doing so, the original idea of cultural participation lost some of its importance. The bidding cities wanted to put themselves on the tourist maps, while growing numbers of tourists became the key benchmark for a successful European Capital of Culture. This was particularly important in a market in which frequent, short city breaks became increasingly popular. In these circumstances the title of European Capital of Culture guaranteed a boost for tourism. By overhauling their image cities could use culture to the their own advantage and transform the cultural capital year into a successful marketing strategy. The reports of John Myerscough (1994) and Robert Palmer (2004) revealed this trend on a solid empirical base. The most important motives for a city to apply for the title of European Capital of Culture are primarily to enhance the image and attraction of the city and to stimulate tourism, and secondly to improve cultural life and the cultural infrastructure.[19] Based on these priorities the Palmer-report came to the conclusion that the revenue from tourism rose in the period of the cultural year at an average of more than 12 per cent while the long-term effects of the event on the city's image could hardly be calculated. Yet, 80 per cent of the people in former cultural capitals indicated that 'their' city has profited from the nomination.[20]

2.3. Changes of the European Capital of Culture-programme in the 21st century

During the 1990s, the ECoC-initiative was characterised by a growing public awareness and an increasing number of cities applying for the title. This trend – and the Maastricht Treaty allowing the EC/EU to develop cultural policies on top of those of the member states – finally forced the European Union member states in 1999 to give the European Capital of Culture-programme a regular EC legal base. Although the transformation into a Community initiative did not alter the resources of the programme, the European Union established a detailed set of regulations so as to assure a higher quality and sustainability of the programme, as well as to counter the tendency to use the title solely as a marketing instrument.

Hence the stress was now on long-term developments to the benefit of the citizens of the designated cultural cities and with positive effects on

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[18] Oerters 2008:97-124.
[19] Palmer and Rae Associates 2004, part 1:14.
[20] Ibid., part 1:19-20, 47–50, 112; Myerscough 1994:27.

the European integration process. It would be wrong, however, to see these reforms primarily as an expression of Europe's regulatory frenzy. With the introduction of clear-cut criteria the European institutions wanted to meet the criticism of unprofessional preparations and unsuccessful arrangements in some cultural capitals.[21] Hence, the decision of the European Parliament and the Council of 25 May 1999 "establishing a Community action for the European Capital of Culture event for the years 2005 to 2019" stated that the application must specify how the applicant 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 of the European Union and leading to lasting cultural cooperation, and to foster their movement within the European Union; to ensure the mobilisation and participation of large sections of the population; to encourage the reception of citizens of the European Union and reach as wide an audience as possible by employing a multimedia, multilingual approach; to promote dialogue between European cultures and those from other parts of the world; to exploit the historic heritage, urban architecture and quality of life in the city.[22]

The modification of 2006, further specifying the initiative again, stressed – among other elements – the participatory dimension again. It says:

> As regards 'City and Citizens' the programme shall: (a) 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; (b) be sustainable and be an integral part of the long-term cultural and social development of the city.[23]

Since the adoption of the new EC-guidelines a number of alterations in the programme can be observed, as the following examples indicate. Already in 2000 when Brussels – together with eight other cities – became European Capital of Culture, participatory elements were gaining more attention. Brussels was a typical example of urban fragmentation. While streets around the Place Sablon exhibited high life, other areas were steeped in poverty. Not only the fragmentation of authority over 19 municipalities, but also the tensions between the Flemish and French speaking population made that a revitalization of

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[21] Besides the modified legal framework, the enlargement of 2004 has also contributed to the renewal of the initiative. Between 2009 and 2019 always a West and a Central or East European city will be nominated together as European Capitals of Culture. This decision might lead to a clearer outline of the program in view of its European dimension.
[22] Official Journal of the European Union 1999.
[23] Official Journal of the European Union 2006.

some urban areas was deemed necessary. Robert Palmer, the director of the Brussels programme, managed to create a consensus between the two major linguistic and culturally distinct communities in the city on how to use arts and culture for urban renewal projects. Based on this consensus, for instance, youth centres were established in areas were until then only poverty and crime ruled. Above all the Brussels minds were united by the idea of a special parade, an event that has become a tradition that is organized every second year (Zinneke Parade). As such Brussels 2000 stands for a way to bring together people that otherwise would not speak to each other.

In 2004 the city of Lille used the European Capital of Culture-nomination to induce far-reaching changes and generate a long-term 'metamorphosis' of the city. For the Palmer report it described its mission statement as follows:

> We dreamt of Lille as a spaceship changing the fabric of time, a place where everyone can live at their own pace, cross through exotic parallel worlds, stroll through the new frontiers opened up and already dissolved (…) a process of metamorphosis with the ability and energy to perpetually remodel the world.[24]

Lille intended to use the designation as European Capital of Culture as an opportunity to change the perception of the city in a national and international perspective and aimed at overcoming and transforming the structures that had shaped the city. Lille 2004 was the first European Capital of Culture to expand the cultural programme geographically to the entire Nord/Pas-de-Calais region and parts of Belgium, more precisely to 193 cities, towns and villages, where c. 2,500 cultural events took place. This was not only meant to reshape the area as a cultural space, but also to attract economic investments to the region.[25] As this strategy proved successful, other European Capitals of Culture, such as Luxemburg in 2007 and the Ruhr in 2010, followed the concept and involved the entire region. The inclusion of the Lille region was particularly successful in terms of the involvement of locals, both residents and artists. Street festivals, workshops and meetings were only a few opportunities for local residents to participate in the programme. The entire programme was multi-faceted and designed to involve a large number of cultural producers (17,500) and to attract as many different audiences as possible. There were special projects for children or programmes taking place in socially disadvantaged areas. With its unprecedented 'ambassadors' programme the city again set an example for other European Capitals of Culture.[26] Some 17,800 citizens

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[24] Palmer andRae Associates 2004, part-1: 48.
[25] Sacco and Blessi 2007:132.
[26] Liverpool 2008 launched volunteer programmes as well and in this case was very successful. Due to the importance attached to the integration and preparation of citizens

volunteered as 'relais d'information', backstage, in the logistics or the reception of artists. 200 of them became full-time volunteers. The improvement of cultural facilities for artists and residents was of particular importance. Urban development and heritage regeneration programmes led to the development of cultural infrastructures in French as well as in Belgian cities: twelve 'maisons folie', new and improved exhibition venues and a new sports park for freestyle skateboarding and BMX were built, the Opera house, churches and monuments were restored. The overall budget for capital infrastructure amounted to 70 million Euros.[27] In the course of the cultural year new networks were created which had an impact on the spread of cultural production over the entire region. These networks included local organisations, transnational institutions and partnerships with local businesses and companies. "Lille 3000", the successor organisation of the association "Lille Horizon 2004" which was established for the European Capital of Culture-event, is still in charge of the cultural development in the region of Nord-Pas de Calais. On the slogan "the voyage goes on" Lille 3000 wants to retain the dynamism of the European Capital of Culture-year. The association builds on the know-how of the Lille metropolitan area and also benefits from the networks established in 2004. The ambassador programme was continued within Lille 3000 as well. The case of Genoa, Lille's counterpart in 2004, however, proves that different approaches in the configuration of the cultural year still prevail. Due to its short-term approach and the focus on cultural highlights and tourist attractions, the event was a success in economic terms, but hardly produced any sustainable impact.[28]

A more novel, qualitative step forward was taken by Cork 2005. Being a rather small town, Cork succeeded in activating the local population to such an extent that even the Irish Council of the Arts took notice and now has a better appreciation of cultural resources there. Cork organised cultural actions in all sorts of places, including hospitals and jails. For poetry and translation they developed a special system: they asked locals who spoke the language to act as an intermediary and translate foreign poetry.

In the light of these recent developments it seems appropriate to re-evaluate the European Capitals of Culture programme. In view of the new EU-regulations and its more clear-cut criteria selection committees now give more weight to the views and approaches of the bidding cities.

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the European Capital of Culture 2008 enjoyed great popularity. Local customer facing businesses could access materials, information packs and trainings – all free of charge. RUHR.2010 plans to integrate volunteers as well.

[27] Lille Metropole 2004:6.

[28] Sacco and Blessi 2007.

The committee that went over the 2008 applications gave several reasons for its decision in favour of Liverpool, in particular:

> the cultural contribution to powerful ongoing efforts to regenerate the city and to overcome the consequences of the economic changes of the past decades, the commitment of the citizens to use 2008 for a new quality of life in the city, the involvement of many of them in the preparatory process and in the 2008 events as such.[29]

The Panel concluded "that the proposal promised another organic boost to urban regeneration, city tourism and cultural merit." The city of Liverpool, which beat five considerable competitors, had been one of Britain's major ports. At the beginning of the 19th century nearly 40 per cent of the world trade, including large quantities of steel and textiles from northwest England, were shipped via Liverpool. Not unlike Lille, Liverpool saw itself confronted with a considerable decline in the 1950s: While the city had approximately 850,000 inhabitants in the 1930s, nowadays it is only about half that size. The city at the Mersey River is facing numerous problems, notably unemployment and run-down areas. Although by far not all development projects had been accomplished at the beginning of the cultural year 2008 the city of Liverpool managed to draw attention with its industrial-cultural programme. Besides musical performances the emphasis was put on elaborate urban development activities. More than 10 million visitors came to Liverpool in 2008.[30] These figures indicate that the city was the cultural capital with the highest visitors rate.

The decision for RUHR.2010 can also be seen as a return – 'back to the roots' – to the Glasgow concept, but revitalized with a new spirit. The selection committee for 2010 stated:

> Finally, it felt that this transformation of what was once Europe's biggest industrial region and the 'coal pit' of Europe into a vibrant metropolis of the future via 'Transformation through Culture' could become a symbol of the new role that culture needs to assume in any European metropolis, and could become a symbol to other city agglomerations in Europe that face similar challenges.[31]

2.4. Interim Conclusions

To an increasing extend culture is considered as a tool of city development and urban regeneration. A survey on the Economy of

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[29] The Selection Panel for the European Capital of Culture (ECOC) 2008, 2004:5.
[30] Palmer and Richards 2009:54.
[31] The Selection Panel for the European Capital of Culture (ECOC) 2010, 2006:13.

Culture prepared for the European Commission in 2006[32] identifies three 'distinctive roles' of culture in local development. Culture firstly serves as an engine for tourism and therefore generates direct and indirect profits. Secondly, cultural industries produce economic benefits on a regional level. As cities form ideal places to encourage creativity and therefore to host cultural and creative industries, clustering takes place which helps cities to compete on an international level so as to attract talented people and business investments. Thirdly culture has a social impact on urban and regional development, i.e. it has the capacity to integrate marginalized communities, to strengthen social cohesion and improve communication.[33]

Apparently, most of the European Capitals of Culture addressed at least some of these 'roles'. Summarising the historical evolution of the European Capital of Culture-initiative it can be concluded that the former festivals of art turned into potential catalysts for transformation processes since the Glasgow experience at the latest. Accordingly, most of the subsequent European Capitals of Culture had high expectations of the title. The objectives of the cities were manifold: cultural, economic and social. While the cities set their own priorities within these targets the majority of the cities understood that they had to pursue a long term strategy of city development and urban regeneration. The attraction of visitors proved to be a very important issue too. Yet, the improvement of the local infrastructure, cultural facilities and venues was also addressed. Involving citizens and the local art scene by means of project calls or volunteer programmes are now common as well. Promoting a new image of the city was both an aim by itself and a means to achieve economic targets, and therefore played a significant role. Although the goals of most cities were very similar, their implementation and the leverages used largely differed – resulting in different sorts of European Capitals of Culture. Consequently, their achievements regarding the local or regional transformation and long-term impacts vary considerably.[34]

3. On Urban Regeneration and Creative Industries

The European Commission expresses its expectations of the European Capital of Culture-programme in the following mission statement:

> A city is not designated Capital of Culture solely for what it is or what it does. It is awarded the title principally on the strength of the programme of specific cultural events which it proposes organising in the year in question, which is meant to be an

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[32] KEA European Affairs 2006.
[33] Ibid.:145-185.
[34] Palmer and Rae Associates 2004: part 1:14; 47-51.

exceptional year. In this respect, the concept of Capital of Culture is entirely different from that of, for instance, the UNESCO World Heritage sites. This title is more than just a label – it crowns a seminal year for the city in cultural terms. Any applications in the form of a city tourist brochure would therefore be inappropriate. The city is asked to draw on its special features and demonstrate creativity. It follows that, although the city's heritage and long-standing cultural life may stand it in good stead, they may form only a basis for the organisation of the event.[35]

Referring to the 2004 Palmer report which assessed the European Capital of Culture as "a powerful tool for cultural development that (…) offers unprecedented opportunities for acting as a catalyst for city change"[36] the European Commission asserts that the potential of the European Capital of Culture-event was not completely realized in the past and "the action still needs to be improved, particularly with regard to its long-term effect on the cultural development of the city and region concerned."[37] While the creative industries are not specifically linked to the European Capital of Culture-action the European Commission stresses that the programme should "be sustainable and be an integral part of the long-term cultural and social development of the city" and part of a "lasting cultural development strategy." Furthermore, the 2006-survey of the European Commission demonstrated that creativity has extraordinary effects on a prospering and sustainable development of cities.

Thus, it seems appropriate to state that within the scope of the rising relevance of the European Capital of Culture-initiative to local and regional transformation schemes – promoted by both the cities and by the EU institutions – creative industries may become more important. In view of this, it is of particular interest to see in how far the European Capital of Culture-programme provides incentives for the debate on creative industries and accordingly how creative industries can offer new opportunities for the programme.

3.1. Cultural and creative industries

When discussing creative and cultural industries it is important to have a clear understanding of these concepts. Although these concepts are not new[38], only recently statistical data has become available that underpins the general contribution of culture to economic growth and social

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[35] European Commission:11.
[36] Palmer and Rae Associates 2004, part 1:188.
[37] Official Journal of the European Union 2006.
[38] Heßler and Zimmermann 2008:20-22.

developments, notably employment.[39] Whereas in the past the economical aspects of culture were largely neglected, now culture and economy are perceived as interrelated spheres.[40] The concept of 'creative economy' which emerged in the last decades and referred to creativity as a force in contemporary economy is based on the correlation between cultural and economic development.[41] The aforementioned study measuring the socio-economic impact of the cultural and creative sector in Europe indicates that the sector's turnover is more than 654 billion Euros and that it employs more than 5.8 million people, meaning that it is an important economic sector.[42] Notwithstanding the rising interest in cultural and creative industries and the growing number of surveys on the topic, its final position is not yet clear. The definition of 'creative' industries is a matter of debate, especially when it comes to its relation to 'cultural' industries. While some studies use these terms interchangeably, other surveys distinguish between the two concepts.

In the debate several historical milestones can be identified. 'Cultural industry' (single noun) first appeared in Max Horkheimer's and Theodor Adorno's criticism of mass culture[43], while the term 'cultural industries' (plural noun), with a more positive connotation, emerged in the 1970s. Then, in the 1980s, a lot of plans, articles and studies were published that referred to terms such as creative milieus, innovative milieus, creative industries, creative class and other related vocabulary. With the European Capitals of Culture-programme in view, John Myerscough published a study about the economic importance of the arts in Great Britain. He noted that

> the issue is now not so much whether the arts have an economic dimension. Rather, what is the specific and distinctive economic contribution the arts can make? How can this be most appropriately encouraged and exploited? And what is the relevant policy frame in which to relate the interests of the arts to wider economic aims?[44]

On to the initiative of the former Minister for Economic Affairs Reimut Jochimsen one of the first Cultural Industries Report in Europe was presented in 1992 in North-Rhine-Westphalia.[45] The survey

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[39] The lack of a European wide statistical framework however seems to be a key problem to address and utilize the economic impacts of the culture and creative sector properly. Cf. KEA European Affairs:5.
[40] Wiesand 2006:10.
[41] UNCTAD 2008:16.
[42] KEA European Affairs 2006:6.
[43] A distinction between two separate spheres not aspired to intertwine forms the basis of this concept.
[44] Myerscough 1988:2.
[45] Cf. for the incentives of this study Zimmermann and Schulz 2009:21-22.

demonstrated the economic relevance of cultural industries, notably with regard to employment. Its turnover was comparable to that of the chemical or food industry. Compared to other economic sectors the growth in the cultural industries was described as above average.[46]

In these first studies cultural industries refer to activities that are directly related to cultural production. The North-Rhine-Westphalia report further referred to activities for profit and excluded cultural activities supported by public authorities from the definition. However, there were other interpretations as well: UNESCO declared in 2005[47] that cultural industries included

> those activities, goods and services, which (…) embody or convey cultural expressions, irrespective of the commercial value they may have. Cultural activities may be an end in themselves, or they may contribute to the production of cultural goods and services.[48]

In Australia the term 'creative industries' emerged in the wake of a report on the 'Creative Nation' ordered by the Keating government in 1994. The report responded to the arising "homogenised international mass culture" in order to demonstrate the national government's ability "to confront the future" in a time of "global economic and technological change."[49] As such the 'Creative Nation' cultural policy linked the support for the arts to future economic prosperity. In Europe, the term received attention in the UK, when the first Blair administration appointed in 1997 a task force to investigate creative industries as an 'engine' of economic development. Based on the notions of creativity and intellectual property 'creative industries' have a wider scope than 'cultural industries', including commercial fields that are not directly related to the arts.

However, not only the definition of what 'creative industries' are is a matter of debate, but also the identification and classification of different specialisations within these creative industries. The UK Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) assumes in its "Creative Industries Mapping Documents" that the term creative industries refers to

> those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job

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[46] Arbeitsgemeinschaft Kulturwirtschaftsbericht NRW 1992: 6-7, 9, 42, 48-52.
[47] In 1986 UNESCO had already established a Framework for Cultural Studies in the process of cultural production, which was particularly used in New Zealand, Australia and Canada.
[48] UNESCO 2005:5.
[49] Commonwealth of Australia 1994:1-9.

creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property.[50]

The 1998 Mapping Document was actually the first attempt to measure the economic impact of creative industries in the UK and therefore intended to map the general opportunities and threats as well as to make useful recommendations to both the creative industry sector and the government. By 2001 the importance of creative industries was already broadly acknowledged: both the government and the sector were willing to cooperate and take measures to support the creative industries. Hence, the readiness to contribute to economic development, regeneration and social inclusion grew considerably, on the regional as well as on the local level.[51]

However, there are other classification schemes of creative industries. The World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO), for example, defines intellectual property as an expression of creativity and thus identifies 'creative industries' as "activities or industries where copyright plays an identifiable role."[52] The 2006 study prepared for the European Commission takes a different tack when it comes to 'copyright industries'. Unlike the DCMS documents it distinguishes cultural fields in a narrow and in a broader sense.[53]

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[50] DCMS 2001:5.
[51] Ibid.:4.
[52] WIPO 2003. WIPO distinguishes industries that are engaged in the creation, production and manufacturing, performance, broadcast, communication and exhibition, or distribution and sales of intellectual property (core copyright industries: Press and Literature, Music, Theatrical Productions, Operas, Motion Picture and Video, Radio and Television, Photography, Software and Databases, Visual and Graphic Arts, Advertising services, Copyright Collecting Societies) and those which produce equipment to facilitate these activities (interdependent copyright industries). Moreover WIPO identifies "partial copyright industries" which are related to these activities only to some extent and "non-dedicated industries" engaged in facilitating these latter activities.
[53] KEA European Affairs 2006:56.

Creative Industries Mapping Documents 1998 and 2001	
Advertising	Advertising
Antiques	Architecture
Architecture	Art & Antiques Markets
Crafts	Crafts
Design	Design
Fashion	Designer Fashion
Film	Film & Video
Leisure software	Interactive Leisure Software
Music	Music
Performing Arts	Performing Arts
Publishing	Publishing
Software	Software & Computer Services
Television & Radio	Television & Radio

The economy of culture in Europe: culture and creative sector (2006)	
Core Art Fields	Visual Arts
	Performing Arts
	Heritage
Cultural Industries	Film & Video
	Television & Radio
	Video Games
	Music
	Books & Press
Creative Industries and Activities	Design
	Architecture
	Advertising
Related Industries	PC & MP3 Player Manufacturers, Mobile Industry, etc.

The model does not distinguish between different actors. It includes self-employers and major companies as well as public, non-profit and commercial players. The model is often presented in the form of concentric circles: cultural content in the centre inspires the industries in the outer circles. The United Nations Commission on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) extended the concept of creative industries yet again. Creativity in the UNCTAD-classification of creative industries not only comprises artistic activities but is linked to economic fields, more precisely to "any economic activity producing symbolic products with a heavily reliance on intellectual property and for as wide a market as possible."[54] This definition differs considerably from the DCMS-approach, which links creative industries to their "origin in individual creativity,

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[54] United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (2004): Document TD(XI)/BP/13, 4 June 2004, as cited in: UNCTAD (2008):13.

skill and talent." Creative industries seem to be classified in accordance to the demands and objectives of the respective surveys.

Differences in definitions are less related to the identification of certain industries as creative industries – almost the same industries are represented in all approaches – but to their classification and distribution over core and peripheral fields. In view of the purposes of this article it is irrelevant to investigate the differences in definitions. It is far more important to discuss the general function of the debate on creative industries in the so-called new economy.

3.2. The 'creative class'

In his economic theory Richard Florida identifies a new social group – the 'creative class' – as 'the' prerequisite for economic growth and development. Florida's controversial observations on the creative class are based on a larger variety of individual occupations than in the above-mentioned DCMS-approach. The creative class is not restricted to artists, but includes people from a lot of different sectors, i.e. people that are creating economic profits through creativity and sharing a common set of values (individuality, meritocracy, diversity and openness). The creative class encompasses people in science, engineering, architecture, design, education, arts, music and entertainment. In addition, people in business, finance, law, media, health care may be also considered as part of this 'class'.[55] Florida also refers to parts of the ethnic minorities and the urban gay and subculture scenes who are attracted to the creative class, its tolerance and the urban milieu.[56] The inclusion of economic, as well as cultural activities of the creative class are extremely important for cities: as centres of 'creativity', they possess the key to sustainable economic growth. Florida argues that with the emergence of this new social class and with creativity being a driving force of the economy, societies have entered the creative age.[57]

One of his main findings is that culture and its urban flair attract the creative class. As the 'new' economy largely depends on knowledge and expertise companies increasingly start to move to places where the so-called 'high potentials' live. Thus, the 'quality of place' depends to an ever larger extent on non-economic factors. These findings imply that culture not only has a locational advantage, but also that new cultural and economical policies have to be developed so as to secure growth and development.

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[55] Florida 2002:69.
[56] Ibid.:79-82.
[57] Kaschuba, Färber and Gdaniec 2007:15.

To be creative means changing the organizational culture of a city. It means creating the conditions within which people can think, plan and act with imagination. It means there needs to be creative individuals, organizations and communities as well as creative education and training. This can then establish a creative milieu.[58]

Richard Florida identifies the qualities of cities that are most likely to attract the creative class. He highlights the "3 T of economic development: Technology, Talent, and Tolerance"[59]. Especially tolerance is considered relevant since

tolerance acts indirectly, given places have an edge in attracting varied talent from across the entire demographic spectrum. This ability to attract talent in turn bolsters their ability to build and mobilize creative capital, which in turn leads to the ability to innovate, create new business, attract other companies, and ultimately to create new wealth and prosperity.[60]

According to Richard Florida and others 'creative' cities find new ways to tackle development, regeneration and the reshaping of the economy. Notwithstanding the different definitions and concepts culture and creative industries can be seen as key factors of urban development.

4. On Creative Industries and the European Capital of Culture-Programme

Creative individuals are regarded as resources of cities, regions and places. Their significance has been increasingly acknowledged, as they not only strengthen the international competitiveness of a city, but also serve as a driving force behind city regeneration. "It posits that conditions need to be created for people to think, plan and act with imagination in harnessing opportunities or addressing seemingly intractable urban problems."[61]

This last aspect indicates that the creative industries-approach fits in very well with the concept of the European Capital of Culture-initiative. The fostering of creative industries can be considered as one way to cope with the challenges of both urban regeneration and regional conversion – especially in view of the considerable problems that cities and regions such as Lille, Liverpool or the Ruhr area are facing. On the other hand the European Capital of Culture-programme provides a

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[58] Landry 2007:10.
[59] Florida 2005:37.
[60] Idem 53.
[61] Idem 14.

framework with international attention, sensibility on urban issues and funds to initiate such a development.

It has to be taken into account, however, that the 'setting' of creative industries can only be planned to a limited degree. The example of the city of Amsterdam shows that high potentials of the creative industries have followed primarily the local art scene, while in Dublin or Copenhagen it was a booming technical branch that attracted high potentials. Therefore it is important to identify the 'transmitters' that stimulate and attract the creative industries. Following this train of thought Richard Florida's triangle may be completed by a fourth 'T', i.e. actors or branches that have the ability to induce creative industries. Following this logic special attention should be paid to innovative technical branches like the computer industry or other high level branches of human capital but as well to more cultural related branches like the music industry or architecture.

Whereas in the past European Capitals of Culture only partially addressed creative industries, a number of new Capitals of Culture wants to induce transformation and regeneration through the promotion of creative industries.

In 2010 Essen and the Ruhr region will be European Capital of Culture. The Ruhr has a number of characteristics in common with some of the recent Capitals of Culture, notably with the Luxemburg region and with Lille and Liverpool – the latter two both being centres of industrialisation in the 19th century and both confronted with a severe conversion process. Moreover, all are facing comparable migration problems. Unlike Luxemburg however, the Ruhr area has yet to redefine itself to a certain extend. The stress will be not so much on tourism – the most coveted goal of most Cultural Capitals, – but on the establishment of a sustainable 'creative class'. Under the heading "Transformation through culture – culture through transformation" urban transformation through culture became the central theme of the bid, and it won over the German national jury.[62]

> Essen's candidacy takes as its theme the metamorphosis and the concomitant upheavals that are likely to dominate the development of many cities in the future, including those in the new member states of the European Union. It is thus an issue of international relevance. "Essen for the Ruhr" clearly indicates the

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[62] In the beginning 16 German cities applied for the title in 2010: Augsburg, Bamberg, Brunswick, Bremen, Essen for the Ruhr (later named RUHR.2010), Görlitz with Zgorzelec, Halle (Saale), Karlsruhe, Kassel, Cologne, Lübeck, Münster, Osnabrück, Potsdam, Regensburg, Lutherstadt Wittenberg. Finally, Essen for the Ruhr competed with nine other cities on a national level. In 2005 the German national jury designated Essen for the Ruhr and Görlitz with Zgorzelec as candidate cities for the title. The European jury officially announced the decision in favour of Essen (for the Ruhr) on November 13, 2006.

enormous significance that culture has in this process and underlines the cultural potential that can be found and released when dealing with the witnesses to and monuments of a bygone industrial age.[63]

RUHR.2010 is the first European Capital of Culture to integrate creative industries as such into the overall concept. The 'City of Creativity' chaired by the artistic director Dieter Gorny represents one of the four constituent parts of the concept. Regarding creativity as a driving force of economic development the promotion of creative industries aims at positively influencing the some 20,000 already existing creative businesses in the Ruhr area. The focus on creative development is evident in the entire concept of RUHR.2010. The 'City of Possibilities', led by Karl-Heinz Petzinka, deals with urban development and problems of changing societies. The 'City of Cultures', directed by Aslı Sevindim, addresses cultural diversity as a cultural and economic asset for the region.[64] The RUHR.2010 concept meets several demands: As part of the overall reconversion process the cultural year 2010 should strengthen cultural authority and social power in order to cope with the economic, administrative and societal challenges of the future. The aspiration is not less than a paradigm shift, which can be expressed in terms of urban regeneration or re-urbanisation. This intention is closely related to the recovery and the reorganization of public areas, the mobilisation of local people and the self-determination of the cities and their inhabitants. By setting these targets the Ruhr area aspires to develop places with a distinctive urban character and to tackle problems and conflicts in a creative way. As such the participative process is above all a cultural process, since

> Kunst und Kultur schaffen besser als andere Medien und Aktivitäten die Voraussetzungen des gegenseitigen Kennenlernens, des Vertrauenbildens und der wechselseitigen Anerkennung der jeweiligen Besonderheiten und Traditionen.[65]

Nevertheless, the risk remains that only a few people – mainly the cultural elite – will profit from the European Capital of Culture-programme. The experiences of former industrial cultural capitals, in particular Glasgow in 1990, exemplify the challenges the Ruhr area is facing.[66]

The mere statistics illustrate the perspectives: although 36,000 people are still working in the mining industry, the creative industry of the Ruhr area already employed more than 40,000 people in 2007. The fifth

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[63] City of Essen and the Ruhr Regional Association 2005:87.
[64] Essen for the Ruhr 2008:15.
[65] Scheytt, Sievers and Wagner 2007:12.
[66] Mooney 2004.

Culture Industries Report of North-Rhine-Westphalia lists for the Ruhr area 9,837 companies active in publishing (literature, books and press), music, arts and crafts, design, movies and TV, and maintenance art.[67] The number of such enterprises in the Ruhr area is even higher than in Düsseldorf and Cologne. In terms of sales rates, however, the Ruhr area lags behind. Ebert and Gnad conclude that the Ruhr area suffers in particular from the lack of a central 'emitter' with regional 'forward-and backward linkages'.[68] In their view the region lacks 'hot spots' – centrally located urban cultural places that can attract different people.

The report on North-Rhine-Westphalia considers the European Capital of Culture-year 2010 as an opportunity to develop the Ruhr's culture and creative industries. Therefore both the 'inward' (domestic) and 'outward' (foreign) policies of the region are important.[69] This includes in particular the capacity

> to strengthen the culture and creative industries' 'creative core' in the region, to attract talent from the rest of Germany and from abroad, to involve new entrepreneurs, to improve the region's external image with regard to the potential displayed by culture and creative industries, and, as far as possible, to link these to tourism-related initiatives.[70]

In accordance with these findings creative industries represent far more than just an economic sector within the programme of RUHR.2010. They are considered to be the driving forces for social innovation and change. Furthermore they form the core of what is called the 'Metropolis Ruhr'. Therefore, they play a crucial role when it comes to identity creation and perception from the outside.

As creative industries and urban issues are becoming major targets of the European Capital of Culture-year, the number of people affected by the event will increase. As a new type of protagonist the small and highly diversified 'creative' businesses come into the focus of the programme. New Media and even Video Games are part of the plans for RUHR.2010. Events such as the 'Loveparade' with more than a million contributors and participants challenge traditional definitions of arts and high culture.[71]

Consequently, the shift in the concept of the European Capital of Culture demands for new policies that go beyond the subsidization of cultural and art projects. Therefore, RUHR.2010 principally intends to nurture structures rather than single projects. "Linked platforms and structural

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[67] Ministerium für Wirtschaft Mittelstand und Energie 2007:208.
[68] Ebert and Gnad 2006:37.
[69] Ministerium für Wirtschaft Mittelstand und Energie 2007:218.
[70] Ministerium für Wirtschaft Mittelstand und Energie 2008:19.
[71] Schmidt 2008.

projects will create synergies and a new cultural economic power."[72] To establish sustainable structures in the region the 'creation' of cooperatives and sector-specific committees is encouraged; market places are rearranged via fairs and festivals. In addition, RUHR.2010 seeks to stimulate new activities within the creative sector. In doing so the Capital of Culture primarily acts as a facilitator, not as a donor. Hence, the structures should pay for themselves from the very beginning, as is the case, for instance, with the 'Living Games Festival'[73] or the 'Ruhr Music Commission' (RMC).[74]

Additional initiatives are taken to develop creative quarters hosting the different creative businesses. Priority is given to the support of synergies and networks instead of physical infrastructure and massive financial support. As a mediator and promoter RUHR.2010 intends to facilitate and further the communication between businesses and public authorities.

In the spring of 2009 the Dutch daily *Het Financieel Dagblad* already listed Essen among the 50 most creative cities of Europe. But the city will enhance its merits. In order to facilitate dialogue a database of the already existing 'creative' companies will be built, while more 'targeted' communication (newsletters, digital platforms, dedicated festivals) will be used. For instance, an IP-TV platform will be created where topics like contemporary art, culture, creativity and their economic impact will be treated. In 2008 a Festival called "Essens kreative Klasse" took place already for the second time, with 160 actors and businesses organizing 140 events. RUHR.2010 wants to become "a model for Europe"[75] by connecting structural change with creativity and by merging economic and cultural objectives.

> The radical changes around the world offer an enormous opportunity which the Ruhr Metropolis must use, if it wants to play a major role in the range of urban cultural centres around the world, and make the most of the optimistic pioneering atmosphere that can lead to more jobs and a steady rise in the standard of living. […] The creative economy claims to be able to step into the centre of urban development with art and culture,

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[72] Essen for the Ruhr 2008:84.
[73] The Living Games Festival is the first cultural event in Europe on Computer-and Videogames that highlights the creative dimension in the framework of coding/programming Videogames.
[74] The informal network "Ruhr Music Commission" (RMC) has been found from actors of music industry due to an initiative of RUHR.2010. It aims to collectively promote the interests of the companies in the music business and to enhance the dialogue between politics and administration. Schmidt 2008; Essen for the Ruhr 2008:124.
[75] Schmidt 2008; Essen for the Ruhr 2008:78-80; 125.

and lay the foundations for social, economic and cultural growth in the future.[76]

In this respect RUHR.2010 may indeed introduce a new phase of the European Capital of Culture-initiative. The European Capitals of Culture in 2011 and 2012 already tread in its steps. Turku (Finland) 2011 started the preparation and bidding process in 2001. The example of Turku is typical of the European Capitals of Culture becoming a long-term project, with a long preparatory period and its attachment to lasting transformation: "Turku 2011 is more than one year. It is a process through which Turku emerges as a pioneer and a creative centre of the Baltic Sea region cooperation."[77] The creative economy plays an important role in this process. According to its application Turku 2011 expects to increase the turnover of the creative industries by 6 per cent annually and to double the export of creative industries. As a result of the designation as Cultural Capital it is expected that almost 10,000 new jobs will be created. Maribor (Slovenia) 2012 has very much the same attitude since it regards the European Capital of Culture as "a unique opportunity for the whole region to prosper via common programmes". In its mission statement it underlines that the region should be able

> to use and develop its potential by means of culture, education, systematic encouragement of innovation, sustainable energy resources, information communication technologies (ICT), creative industries, cultural tourism etc.[78]

With the help of culture and the concept of the European Capital of Culture 2012 Slovenia even expects to foster general cohesion – especially in the less developed parts of the country.

Irrespective of the question whether these aims will be achieved or not, their mere existence is noteworthy. In view of the recent developments of the European Capital of Culture-initiative the focus on creative industries is likely to become more prominent in the future.

5. On the Potential and the Limits of Linking Creative Industries and the European Capital of Culture-programme

It has become a tradition in the European Union to focus each year on a specific target of the European policy. While 2008 was the "European Year of Intercultural Dialogue" the European Parliament adopted in September 2008 the proposal of the European Commission to call 2009 the "European Year of Creativity and Innovation". In its proposal the Commission stated that it

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[76] Essen for the Ruhr 2008:124-125.
[77] The city of Turku:8.
[78] Maribor 2012.

requires a broadening of the creative skills base involving the whole population. In particular, there is a need for skills and competences that enable people to embrace change as an opportunity and to be open to new ideas in a culturally diverse, knowledge-based society.[79]

The main purpose of the year seems to be the promotion of creative and innovative approaches that will result in both social and economic effects. In this notion, the proclamation refers also to the idea of creative industries and gives an idea about the potential of enhancing – or re-vitalising – the European Capital of Culture-initiative.

While this contribution centres on the question in how far the European Capital of Culture-programme has provided incentives for the debate on urban metamorphosis through culture and creative industries, a second question can be raised accordingly: does the promotion of these aims give the programme a new impetus? In this respect, it is helpful to have another look at the city where the programme had the highest impact on urban development. Glasgow proved to be a good experience and served as a model for culture-led urban development. The Glasgow experience enhanced the prestige of the entire programme and made it attractive for cities that did not have an acknowledged cultural profile yet. As such the experiences of Glasgow and its successors created higher expectations and, consequently, led to increasing investments of the cities. While city branding and the attraction of tourism have prevailed for a long time, a shift towards issues related to urban development has become visible in the last decade. Beatriz García noticed that

> it may be no coincidence that Glasgow's most acclaimed legacies are also the two aspirations featuring most prominently in the aims and objectives of a majority of cities having since hosted the title.[80]

Nevertheless, every attempt to use the European Capital of Culture-nomination solely for economic purposes has proved unsuccessful in the history of the initiative. Hence, culture needs to be in the centre of the programme; otherwise it will lose its basis. According to García's studies "there is, however, little question of the programme's effect on increasing city competitiveness and promoting culture-led regeneration agendas in an expanding Europe."[81] But it is noteworthy that sustainable urban renewal cannot be reduced to the sum of money invested or the physical infrastructure put into place. To make any progress in the renewal of cities, fresh ideas are needed on how to use free spaces in

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[79] European Commission Press release 31.03.2008.
[80] García 2005:863.
[81] Ibid.:834.

the city and to foster sustainable development. Social and economic cohesion as well as urban renewal are inconceivable without the cultural bondage that derives not only from a restricted amount of 'high culture' but that can also be taken from new cultural horizons allowing a large number of people of different backgrounds to be creative.

Consequently, the aspect of creative industries deserves a stronger consideration. Especially the upcoming Capitals of Culture see themselves as driving forces in this regard. The focus on creative industries can be seen as an opportunity to move the programme forward again. RUHR.2010 displays new approaches that go beyond the subsidization of cultural and art projects and stresses the role of cities as facilitators. Hence, the idea to stimulate creative industries by paying attention to city quarters and bringing together people with new ideas, energies and synergies may contribute to the viability of society. As such, cultural actions may reap lasting benefits and achievements. In this respect Robert Palmer's statement in the 'Preface' to John Myerscough's 1994 report can be regarded as groundbreaking:

> A city encompasses a concentration of different energies which foster a milieu which is creatively dynamic and culturally productive. It may not be entirely accidental the initiation of the Cultural Cities Scheme from 1985 coincided with renewed emphasis on the cultural, economic, social and political importance of cities in Europe.

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ANSWERING TO THE AUDIENCE: OPPORTUNITIES AND TENSIONS IN POPULAR THEATRE PROGRAMMING WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE ROYAL COURT LIVERPOOL AND THE 2008 EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE

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1. Introduction

The idea for this article came from a personal encounter during Liverpool's year as Capital of Culture. Standing in front of *Nuda Veritas* (1899), part of the exhibition of Gustav Klimt's work at Tate Liverpool, I was struck by the surtitle; a quotation from Friedrich Schiller: "If you cannot please everyone with your art, please a few. To please many is bad." I was taken aback by this simple aesthetic and moral absolute: "To please many is bad." Walking to Lime Street railway station after the exhibition, I passed the Royal Court Liverpool and the Schiller phrase came to me again as I considered their 'many-pleasing' season of stand-up comedy, revivals and new work. I remembered the venue's ambition from a programme note: "To re-establish the Royal Court as the home of popular theatre."[1] This current season would not please everyone but it would please more than a few; during a year when culture is under close examination in Liverpool, is this 'bad'?

1: The Royal Court Liverpool. Posters depicted are advertising its 2009 season, "Council Depot Blues", "Night Collar" and "Slappers and Slapheads"

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[1] Kevin Fearon, 2008. Personal interview, 1 February.

2. The Liverpool Everyman Theatre

The Royal Court Liverpool (I am very tempted to call it the 'other' Royal Court in order to distinguish it from the Royal Court, Sloane Square, London but will simply shorten subsequent references to 'the Court') celebrated its seventieth birthday in October 2008 and its first full year as a producing house. The venue began life as Cookes New Circus in 1826, then burnt to the ground in 1933 and was rebuilt in its current Art Deco form in 1938. It survived the Blitz and performances by the glam-rock group, Slade; its 1,200 capacity - half that of its near neighbour to the left, the Empire, twice that of it near neighbour to the right, the Liverpool Playhouse – has, in the past, made it an appropriate choice for large-scale touring theatre, pop acts of a particular vintage, some home-grown pantomime and Christmas variety shows.

In terms of English theatre history, the Court narrative is eclipsed by that of the Everyman, the latter marked its forty-fourth birthday in 2008 and the venue is celebrated in Ros Merkin's excellent verbatim anthology: "Liverpool's Third Cathedral, The Liverpool Everyman Theatre in the words of those who were, and are, there". However, the stories of both theatres converge in the person of Kevin Fearon. A graduate in Politics and Economics from Manchester Poly and Production Manager of the Shaw Theatre, Fearon was appointed as General Manager of the Everyman in 1993, one of the recurring periods of crisis in the Everyman's turbulent history. Fearon states:

> Because it did not have the funds to produce its own shows it was being turned into a touring house and the vibrant, important work that the theatre had produced over the previous thirty years was being eroded.[2]

Although not hidebound by it, Fearon was inspired by the founding principles of the Everyman:

> A firm local commitment and involvement with Liverpool issues both present and past
> An abundant use of music
> The encouragement of local writers and actors
> An irreverent approach to the classics
> An informal and lively style of production [3]

At the Everyman, Fearon instigated the "Playing Away" season where touring and co-productions were staged at other venues such as the Philharmonic Hall and, crucially, the Court. Another first for Fearon was the founding of the Rawhide Comedy Club at the Everyman Foyer Bar in

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[2] Merkin 2004:239.
[3] Eddershaw 1996:78 Footnote 6.

February 1995. After five years Fearon became tired of the struggle for funding and the corporate responsibility of answering to artistic directors and boards; he resigned. *The Stage* newspaper praised his tenure: "[Fearon] has been widely credited with successfully steering the Everyman through some of the most difficult times of its history".[4] Fearon took out a £100,000 second mortgage on his mother's house and bought the lease of the Court. It is worth pausing here to give due weight to the risk Fearon has taken; failure would mean his mother becoming homeless, this was and remains a high stakes artistic gamble.

At the beginning of the third millenium, Fearon was in an ideal position to re-invent this neglected city-centre venue. His time at the Everyman had shown him what works for a Liverpool theatre-going audience and his experience with Rawhide Club demonstrated the considerable appetite for stand-up comedy in the city. Anxious not to see his mother on the streets, one of Fearon's first initiatives was to move the lucrative Rawhide Comedy Club to the Court. However, the comedy was a means to an end: "I had always wanted to do theatre at the Royal Court and bringing Rawhide in was like a Trojan horse."[5]

2: The Everyman Liverpool. Posters depicted are advertising its 2008/09 pantomime, "Mother Goose"

During his time at the Everyman, Fearon produced "Night Collar" (1996), a series of character-based comic sketches roughly linked by the metaphoric and literal 'vehicle' of a Liverpool Black Cab working the inner-city streets on Christmas Eve. Note the seasonal timing of the central situation, reminiscent of Willy Russell's "Breezeblock Park"

[4] Stage and Television Today 1998.
[5] Kevin Fearon. 2008. Personal interview, 1 February.

(1975), John Godber's "The Office Party" (1992) and foreshadowing Tim Firth's "Flint Street Nativity" (1998), all can be programmed as an alternative to the Christmas pantomime. "Night Collar" was the fastest selling show in the Everyman's forty-four year history, until recently with the Capital of Culture-backed "King Lear" starring Warrington-born Everyman veteran, Pete Postlethwaite.

To date, there have been no qualitative or quantitative surveys of the Court audience so any consideration of a demographic is entirely speculative. However, it is interesting to reflect that, by 1996, the programming of events has, in effect, 'groomed' an audience – an audience attending concerts also experienced pantomime, is then offered the opportunity of the comic spoken word via Rawhide Club (Fearon's creation of a club shows marketing nous, immediately inculcating a sense of belonging so often missing in more traditional theatrical venues), in turn that spoken word is given a narrative form in the sketch-based comedy "Night Collar".

In 2003, the Court stages the night-club set comedy, "Slappers and Slapheads" by Les Pentin and Fred Lawless (there is a tendency for two male playwrights with these productions – perhaps following the situation-comedy model, Galton and Simpson, Esmonde and Larby, Croft and Perry – narrative humour somehow requiring an audience reaction even at the writing stage). The comedy in "Slappers and Slapheads" is obvious and gendered, as one reviewer notes:

> Far too many jokes in this play rely on tired clichés - particularly the ones about Sue being up the duff, having a bun in the oven [...] the list goes on. And the play certainly stops being funny with the ridiculous ending in which she gives birth inside a children's ball pool in the basement.[6]

The setting, and indeed the critical response, reminds one of Godber's "Bouncers" (1984), although it has to be said that the Godber work seems like Tom Stoppard when compared to "Slappers and Slapheads". Both plays, "Night Collar" and "Slappers and Slapheads", achieved considerable box office success and were categorised, by some, as "rough-edged street-life sitcom".[7] They achieve notoriety within the Liverpool arts establishment, the *Liverpool Echo* Arts Critic, Joe Riley commented:

> [The success of these plays] either speaks volumes for democracy and market forces, or it sits uncomfortably with the notion of Capital of Culture. Could you hire the Philharmonic Hall

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[6] Watson 2004.
[7] Riley 2004a.

and busk on the Steinway piano? Perhaps. But if so, the mind boggles.[8]

3. Liverpool 2008 and the Everyman Theatre

Riley's comments are indicative of the general media attention regarding the nature and ownership of 'culture' in Liverpool in 2008. There has been much written on the organisation of Liverpool's Capital of Culture year and considerable journalistic discussion of the tensions therein; there is no space in this paper to revisit those debates. The argument is essentially a heart-felt tension between wanting 2008 to be a showcase for indigenous Liverpool talent on the one hand and using the once-in-a-generation influx of cash to bring national and international names and events to the city on the other - the football rattle versus Simon Rattle[9] – in one sense, the popular versus high art debate writ very large and very public.

A substantial part of the annoyance on the domestic side comes from the success of Liverpool's bid being based on, for want of a better term, 'Liverpool-ness'. The Department of Culture Media and Sport states unequivocally: "Liverpool won the 2008 race because people – the city's greatest asset – were at the heart of the bid."[10] The official bid documentation made much of the artistic impact of local talent: "And who could overlook the Beatles' contribution to popular music or that of writers such as Alan Bleasdale and Willy Russell to theatre?" [11] Actually, the official programme could and did overlook Alan Bleasdale and Willy Russell; both hoped to be invited to contribute, both were surprised to be ignored. Fearon was not so forgetful and seized the opportunity provided by the build up to 2008 to re-engage these crucial Liverpool writers with live theatre. In 2007 Fearon announced the following programme to further consolidate the position of the Royal Court Liverpool as the home of contemporary popular theatre:

> "Stags and Hens" (1978) (first performed on closed circuit television at Manchester Poly then the Everyman Theatre) – Willy Russell
> "On the Ledge" (1993) (Nottingham Playhouse then Royal National Theatre) – Alan Bleasdale
> "Eight Miles High" (1991) (First performed at the Bolton Octagon)– Jim Cartwright
> "Brick Up the Mersey Tunnels" - Dave Kirkby and Nicky Allt

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[8] Riley 2004b.
[9] The conductor Simon Rattle's visit to Liverpool was one of the designated 'highlights' of Liverpool 08.The Liverpool Culture Company also commissioned "The Shankly Show", a theatrical celebration of legendary Liverpool football club manager, Bill Shankly.
[10] Department of Culture, Media and Sport website.
[11] Liverpool 2003:15.

"Brick Up the Mersey Tunnels" will be dealt with at the end of this article but it is important to focus on the other three plays, all revivals of important work – Russell and Bleasdale both re-wrote their respective texts and were very active in the casting and production side. Cartwright demonstrated his commitment by directing a revised version of "Eight Miles High". Despite the high profile of these three writers, coverage in the national press was sparse. Alfred Hickling did review "On the Ledge" (a surreal tale of "scallies", suicide attempts and greedy property developers) for *The Guardian* and was struck by a combination of absent Liverpool voices, the enterprise of the Court and the prescience of Bleasdale:

> Perhaps the most conspicuous omission from Liverpool's year as Capital of Culture is the deafening silence on the part of the city's two most significant playwrights. You might think the programme would find room for Alan Bleasdale or Willy Russell. Were they invited? Did they decline? How come it has been left to the Royal Court - a cabaret-style comedy venue that receives no public funding - to pick up the slack? […] Back in 1994, the play [On the Ledge] felt nihilistic; now it seems prophetic. Perhaps there was no need for Bleasdale to produce a Capital of Culture play after all. "On the Ledge" suggests he had already written it. [12]

The Independent and *The Times* both recommend "On the Ledge" but fail to review it. *The Telegraph*'s Dominic Cavendish gave "Stags and Hens" a five-line critique, summing it up as "unexpectedly good"[13] which is an awkward quotation to use in promotional literature. Fearon shrewdly re-united Bleasdale and Russell with another Everyman colleague, director Bob Eaton. "Bob Eaton was at the Everyman in '81 when they had that house style."[14] Eaton followed the late Ken Campbell as Artistic Director of the Everyman and established his scouse credentials with a tribute play, "Lennon":

> This [Lennon] is popular theatre with a strong sense of commitment to the city and to its people. It's not a fringe theatre […] I am interested in filling this theatre with people who don't normally go to the theatre. We've had an overwhelming response since last summer.[15]

When actors such as Andrew Schofield and Eithne Brown are added to the mix, the 07/08 Court season is a timely reunion of Everyman talent and may be more Everyman than the Everyman itself. The revivals of
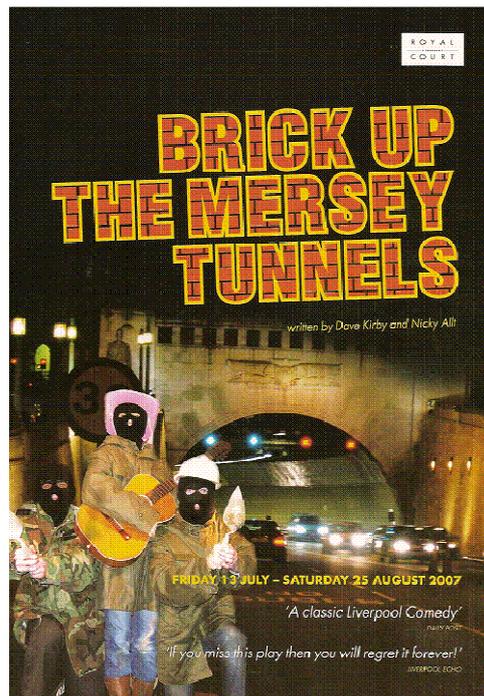
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[12] Hickling 2008.
[13] Cavendish 2008.
[14] Kevin Fearon. 2008. Personal interview, 1 February.
[15] Eaton 1982.

work by Bleasdale, Cartwright and Russell are important and give local credibility and a grudging national profile to the Court.

3: The 2008 poster for "Brick Up the Mersey Tunnels"

4. "Brick Up the Mersey Tunnels"

Important as they are, however, none can be described as the phenomenon which is "Brick Up the Mersey Tunnels". Written by ex-bricklayer Dave Kirby and journalist Nicky Allt, the authors gave the *Liverpool Daily Post* critic Phil Key an effective summary of their play with music:

> The play revolves around a stuck-up Heswall wife named Ann Twacky[16] and her row with two Liverpudlians. "Wirral people were delighted when they were allowed to use the Chester postcode CH in 1999," Kirby reports. "They felt liberated." So Mrs Twacky is furious when she gets mail with the Liverpool 'L' code instead of CH. She complains to the Royal Mail and gets an ex-soldier and postal worker Gerard Gardener suspended. She also has a row with Dickie Lewis, a Liverpudlian who claims he is from Wirral just to get business there. He calls his business Countryside Conservatories but when he starts building one for

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[16] The character's names are all based on local Liverpool place-names and incidents.

Mrs Twacky, she gets him thrown off the job. Mrs Twacky's husband Dennis is hen-pecked and from Birkenhead. Back at a Liverpool dock road cafe named Rennie's Cafe run by the gold-digging Maggie the two meet a drunken tunnel engineer Nick Walton whose wife has run off with a Wirral cockle entrepreneur and the three devise the plan to seal off the Mersey tunnels.[17]

The musical numbers, all sung and accompanied by the cast supported by a live band, are parodies of well known pop and easy listening songs: "Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia" becomes the "Blue Rinse Mountains of the Wirral", there's a country and western number: "Like a Nine-stone Cowboy", and of course Pink Floyd's "Another Brick in the Wall". This light-hearted take on the class war has had three runs at the Court, playing to a total of seventy thousand people during the traditional 'dark' months of the summer.

Unsurprisingly, there has been no national coverage of the play and no reviews in any of the 'quality' press. Equally predictably, local media coverage has been substantial and the *Daily Post* review is reasonably typical:

> Rarely has a play developed such an affinity with its audience as "Brick Up The Mersey Tunnels". Back for the third year in a row, [...] the event is now as much about its audience as the play. They yell, they cheer, they rise up and they just love this piece of local entertainment as if part of it themselves.[18]

The final section of this article will try to ascertain why this particular play has been so commercially successful and whether this has any wider cultural or performative significance. The *Liverpool Post* review suggests one factor, the audience. Clearly, by dint of geography, they feel ownership of the subject matter; a debate on class as postcode is provoked by the central narrative conceit – does Wirral always equate with 'Posh', does Liverpool always equate with 'Scally'[19]. But Key's review also describes the active role of the audience. They do not sit in respectful silence until prompted to applaud. These responses are more akin to challenging what Diane Paulus, in her article "It's all about the audience" terms "the cult of politeness".[20] Paulus argues for a redefinition of the role of the audience to create radical theatre. She suggests that this may be achieved by a performance that:

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[17] Key 2006.
[18] ibid.
[19] A colloquial Liverpool term meaning a disreputable, troublesome individual. Thought by some to be an abbreviation/corruption of the nineteenth century American term 'scalawag' meaning a Southerner who collaborated with the Republican north after the civil-war.
[20] Paulus 2006:346.

> Wakes up the audience
> Creates freedom for the audience
> Breaks all the rules of audience etiquette
> Positions the audience as collaborator.[21]

It is difficult to claim "Brick Up" as radical theatre in the sense outlined by Paulus but the drinking-in-the-auditorium, panto-trained, stand-up comedy heckling, sing-along-concert going audience at the Royal Court are certainly the most vocal, least self-conscious theatre-goers that this academic has ever experienced. This active audience role for the Liverpool people is noted by Paul du Noyer in his definitive book, *Liverpool: Wondrous Place*:

> There seems damned little difference between the watcher and the watched. The enjoyment of entertainment isn't the desperate and often self-conscious style of the southerner nor the dour, determined style of the midlands, but an exuberant, robust celebration of the laugh-today-for-tomorrow-we-die sort.[22]

Further apocryphal manifestations of this active audience/supporter role are descriptions of the city of Liverpool itself as 'the fifth Beatle' and the vociferous Kop as the twelfth man in the Liverpool football team.

A second factor is the nature of the humour of the show, described by authors and reviewers alike as "a surreal comedy".[23] In this terrorist-sensitive age it is an act of surrealism to create a comedy around militant direct action. However, Liverpool is no stranger to this subversive idea; Bill Morrison gave us the Northern Ireland 'troubles-based' farce "Flying Blind" in 1977 at the Everyman and the same venue tackled devolution for Liverpool in "Scouse" by Andrew Cullen twenty years later. Research for this article uncovered the significance of surrealism in the Liverpool psyche. Du Noyer says of the city: "the dominant fondness […] is for melody and a kind of populist surrealism."[24] Alexi Sayle talks of the significance of surrealism in the second part of his recent BBC trilogy on Liverpool. [25] John Belchem, Professor of History at the University of Liverpool and editor of *Merseypride: Essays in Liverpool Exceptionalism* notes:

> A series of writers and dramatists, including Alun Owen, Neville Smith and Jim Allen, brought Liverpool to national attention, enabling the next generation of playwrights (often ex-schoolteachers) – Willy Russell, Alan Bleasdale, Jimmy McGovern

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[21] Paulus 2006:335.
[22] Du Noyer 2007:2.
[23] Wirral Globe, 2007; BBC Website.
[24] Du Noyer 2007:4.
[25] Alexi Sayle discusses surrealism in programme two, twenty-three minutes from beginning. "Alexi Sayle's Liverpool", BBC2, 13 June 2008.

et al. – to probe more deeply into scouse surrealism (from wacker to wacky).[26]

There is much that is surreal in "Brick Up the Mersey Tunnels" but the scene where Anne Twacky, the Wirral snob who causes such outrage, has a meeting of her support group, a kind of Birkenhead Daughters of the American Revolution, is surreal in the best traditions of pantomime excess. The definitive physical manifestation of the Liverpool fondness for surrealism is evident throughout the city its fondness for the "Super Lamb Banana"[27]

4: One of the one hundred and twelve replica Super Lamb Bananas installed throughout Liverpool during 2008

So the show permits an active audience, it has a surreal sense of humour, and it is also local – specifically, it has the dual characteristics of localism described by John McGrath in "A Good Night Out".[28] Firstly: "Characters and events have a local feel" and secondly "a sense of identity with the performer […] [that] he or she cares enough about being in that place with that audience and actually knows something about them."[29]

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[26] Belchem 2006:58.
[27] The original "Super Lamb Banana" was a public art commission for the Art Transpennine Exhibition of 1998 by Taro Chiezo.
[28] McGrath 1982.
[29] McGrath 1982:58.

This is epitomised by the casting of Andrew Schofield as the leader of the 'Kingsway Three'. Schofield is very well-known on Merseyside, born and brought up in Kirkby (attended the same school as Dave Kirby), star of Alan Bleasdale's "Scully" (1975)[30] series and a long list of significant Liverpool productions. Suzanne Collins came to fame as Nikki Shadwick in the Liverpool soap "Brookside" and the other four members of the cast are long-serving Merseyside actors and all appear in other Court productions. In effect, what Fearon has done with the current season is to recreate the repertory tradition a few paces away from the Liverpool Playhouse; one of the first homes of repertory theatre. This repertory system is one of the reasons Russell has re-engaged with the Liverpool theatre industry, another is the use of ex Everyman Artistic Director Bob Eaton to direct all the shows bar "Eight Miles High".

The inaugural season of Court-produced work has certainly had an impact, seeing the old guard of Bleasdale, Russell and Cartwright re-engaging with their back catalogue, and the new generation of double-act playwrights, epitomised by Allt and Kirby's current work, connecting with a local audience. But is it popular theatre?

Perhaps not, not if you continue to apply McGrath's template of the characteristics of popular theatre to the latter work. There is no space here to re-hash the debate over McGrath's stipulations on directness, comedy, music, emotion, variety, effect, immediacy and localism[31] but I would like to conclude by considering the less well-known caveats McGrath attaches to each characteristic, the third column of the table headed 'if not handled critically':

> Localism, as a sense of place, can lead to chauvinism
> Comedy can be racist, sexist, even anti-working class[32]

"Brick Up the Mersey Tunnels" celebrates "Liverpool-ness" but it is chauvinist. It never reaches out, it never becomes a wider debate about class equality or, crucially for such a student-centred city, the marked lack of social mobility in twenty-first-century England. The comedy has racist, sexist and homophobic elements. Immigrant labour is blamed for the lack of work in the construction industry – the 'Polish Plumber' scenario. "Scouseness" as a function of belonging has an inherent problem, as Diane Frost in Merseypride notes:

> […] the notion of 'scouseness' was and still is, something Black Liverpudlians are excluded from since to be 'scouse' is to be

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[30] A conscious play on the term 'scally'.
[31] McGrath 1982:54–58.
[32] McGrath 1982:59.

white and working-class. One only has to examine the crowds at Anfield.[33]

In conclusion, "Brick Up the Mersey Tunnels" is a significant yet flawed work of popular theatre. It represents the coming together of a number of factors and one man taking a very high-risk gamble. It has to please its audience as they are the sole arbiters of its existence. I don't think it is anti-working class but listening to the arch, re-written lyrics to the Johnny Cash classic "I Walk the Line" I was struck by Rita's observation from the 1980 Russell play - she sits in her local pub and all around her are singing away happily, she notices her mother in tears: 'I said; Why are y' cryin', mother? She said, 'Because – we could sing better songs than those'.[34]

Those important caveats considered, I still think the Royal court is poised to become a significant popular theatre venue. As Bleasdale says:

> It's providing a great introduction to the theatre for people who wouldn't otherwise have set foot inside the door and hopefully inspiring not only new actors to go on the stage, but also new writers to get involved.[35]

But they should heed Willy Russell:

> The only time I object to a Liverpool tag being put on me is when it suggests a parochial quality, which I refute completely. I always will, you write about everywhere. The danger in Liverpool is that chauvinistic Liverpool sort of thing, which is well akin to Nationalism. I've seen a few things on stage here which are the equivalent to that awful Scottish New Years Eve TV. And if I see that I run a mile.[36]

The lasting theatrical legacy of 2008 may prove to come from the Royal Court; a Liverpool theatre that has received no capital of culture money, no arts council funding and 'answers to the audience' - who have no compunction about answering back.

5. Post Script: 2009 and beyond

Since writing this paper the work of the Royal Court Liverpool has started to attract greater coverage and analysis in the national media. *The Guardian* summary of Liverpool's 2008 activities is the best example of an emerging recognition:

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[33] Frost 2006:64.
[34] Russell 1996:329.
[35] Bleasdale 2008:7.
[36] Russell in Du Noyer 2007:162-163.

The Royal Court is an independent venue that receives no subsidy from the council or the Culture Company, and so reserves the right to be cynical. But it was also the only venue to produce revivals of work by the city's most celebrated writers, Willy Russell and Alan Bleasdale, who otherwise maintained a notable silence.[37]

It is to be hoped that this venue continues to develop a new and committed audience for popular theatre in the legacy years of Liverpool 08. Certainly Russell is maintaining his commitment and has agreed terms for a revised version of "Our Day Out" (1983) to be performed at the Court in 2009. The Everyman theatre will close for major refurbishment in 2009 and is projected to remain 'dark' until 2011. It will be interesting to see what role the Court chooses or is asked to play during this theatrical interregnum and beyond. The last word(s) rightly belong to Kevin Fearon:

So now 2008 is nearly over. It has been a success for the city but not necessarily for all the right reasons – huge sums of money have been spent but has it been well spent? On the bright side we'll be saying goodbye to the well-paid bureaucrats who will claim the success as theirs. That means the city can be returned to the people who care about it, who were here before 2008 and want to be here after it. Perhaps now things can settle down and we can get back to spending the money available for culture on culture for the people of this city and invest in our cultural buildings many of which are in dire need of restoration, not least our own theatre.[38]

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EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE: WHO'S CULTURE? LESBIAN AND GAY CULTURE IN LIVERPOOL

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1. Background

2008 saw Liverpool crowned European Capital of Culture bringing a myriad of 'cultural' activities and initiatives. The City Council is currently drawing together a new Cultural Strategy to move the city's cultural presence forward after 2008.

The University Network of the European Capitals of Culture (UNeECC) held its conference in Liverpool in October 2008, the theme of which was 'Whose Culture(s)?' As two Gay Sociologists living and working in Merseyside we began to consider the question: whose culture? For us, consideration of this question sparked another question: to what extent has gay and lesbian culture been incorporated into the Capital of Culture celebrations? Which, in turn, snowballed into a series of fundamental questions: What is the nature of gay and lesbian culture? Are 'gay' and 'lesbian' cultures the same or separate? More fundamentally, does gay and lesbian culture exist in Liverpool?

Liverpool has no formally-planned 'gay commercial zone' on the lines of Manchester's Gay Village, however, there is an area centred around one street which contains most of the commercial venues. Liverpool has two cultural festivals which are centred on 'LGBT' (lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender) interests: 'Homotopia', a diverse mixed arts festival held in November, and 'Outsiders', a film festival with monthly screenings and a yearly festival in October. These events occur annually, that is, irrespective of Liverpool's Capital of Culture status.

Previous research by one of the authors investigating the nature of 'gay and lesbian community', used Liverpool as one of the two key research sites and highlighted the relative lack of provision in Liverpool for lesbians and gay men and identified a general feeling amongst the lesbian and gay community that the city is not necessarily regarded as 'gay-friendly'.[1]

This research is the first stage of a planned larger study of the perceptions and experiences of 'gay culture' in Liverpool and the effect of Capital of Culture status on lesbian and gay people living and/or working in the city.

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[1] Homfray 2007.

2. Methodology

In order to identify key themes and perspectives, seven in-depth interviews with gay or lesbian individuals with direct involvement in either cultural provision or policy formulation or implementation in Liverpool were conducted. The interviews were unstructured and conversational in order to facilitate a free flow of ideas and for content to be directed by respondents as much as possible. Interviews were recorded, transcribed and analysed by the authors.

3. Results

A number of key themes relevant to our research questions emerged from analysis of the interview data: the difficulties of defining 'culture' generally and 'gay culture' specifically; 'Gay culture' in Liverpool; the role and/or effect of Capital of Culture status, and the way forward, that is, what will happen when the Capital of Culture year ends?

3.1.Defining Culture

Culture is a social construct, therefore ambiguous and difficult to define. It means different things to different people and definitions will change over time and according to context. Broadly speaking, 'culture' can be divided into two main definitions: culture as a 'way of life' following the cultural evolutionism of Tylor[2] and/or later pioneers of Cultural Studies such as Williams[3]; and the 'big C' 'Culture' of 'high' and 'low' artefacts or individual creativity: film, literature, theatre, Art and music. Sociological investigation into the Capital of Culture operates in a somewhat uneasy sense of needing to acknowledge both understandings of the term. We would conclude that our respondents used the two meanings interchangeably, or in a manner which reflects their own priorities and interests.

3.2.Defining Gay Culture

Adding 'gay' into the mix introduces another contested term: 'gay'. For this research, we chose to use the term as an 'umbrella' which incorporates 'lesbian'. It became clear that there was a sense that gay culture is dynamic and multi-faceted, and not particularly easy to conceptualise, for example: "Gay culture is fluid, it's always changing" (Respondent 1♀). "Gay culture is not homogenous in any sense" (Respondent 2♀). Discussing this concept in the context of Liverpool as a city enabled some further focus.

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[2] Tylor 1871 & 1881.
[3] Williams 1958.

3.3.Gay Culture in Liverpool

All of the respondents in this study lived in Liverpool or its immediate suburbs. Three had spent time in the city, left, and then returned, so were able to reflect on their experience of the city over different periods of time. There was no agreed definition of what 'gay culture' is, although all respondents took the view that it did exist.

Both the commercial gay scene and 'gay artistic products' were recognised as elements of 'gay culture', although respondents qualified this recognition:

> Gay culture is a strangely difficult one (to define). Is it an alcohol fuelled culture? Is it Canal Street in Manchester, Compton Street in London, or Stanley and Victoria Streets in Liverpool? Or is it art, photography, paintings, homoerotic work? (Respondent 5♂)

Some respondents appeared to equate 'gay culture' with a perception of the 'gay scene', for example: "I'm not sure what Gay culture is, beyond the bars, beyond Stanley Street. Obviously there's the film festival, and Homotopia." (Respondent2♀)

Others saw the value of the 'scene' for gay culture:

> There's more to gay culture than bars, but we shouldn't underestimate the synergy of people meeting in commercial venues and other cultural exchanges, creating a dynamism in their own right. (Respondent4♂)

Similarly, the presence of openly gay people involved in the Arts was acknowledged but:

> A Gay artist doesn't necessarily have his or her art defined by their sexuality. There are many artists who define themselves as Gay, Lesbian or Queer, their work is informed by their experiences, their passion and beliefs. (Respondent3♂)

Despite the uncertainty, there was an appreciation of the continuing need for a 'separate' gay culture in respect of recognition and easing isolation through active portrayal. The general view of Liverpool's gay culture is that it exists and is more prominent than it used to be but is still "playing catch-up. It's always lived in the shadows of Brighton, London, Manchester. There's been a lack of LGB visibility across the board." (Respondent3♂)

A comment made by one of the respondents who had left the city and returned was:

> I was born in the city, left it when I was young and came back when I was 20, left again, then returned in my 30s... I saw enormous changes and am seeing even more now – I chose to come back here. (Respondent3♂)

But another respondent noted: "I don't think Gay is necessarily something that's cool to be in Liverpool." (Respondent2♀)

It was clear that Liverpool's gay culture, or lack of it, reflected broader characteristics of the city:

> I think people who share common sexual identities will share common experiences, threats and opportunities, particular to their sexuality and so there will be a Gay culture (in Liverpool) which may be distinct from, say, London. (Respondent4♂)

The city was described by various respondents in ways which appear, on the surface, contradictory, but perhaps indicate both the complexities and uniqueness associated with Liverpool. These descriptions included: "old-fashioned, shackled by nostalgia, tough, unforgiving, rough, open-minded and diverse." (Various Respondents)

Whilst some respondents had made positive decisions to live in or return to Liverpool, the predominant view continued to emphasise ongoing barriers to the development of Liverpool's Gay culture. This was summed up by one of our respondents:

> Merseyside has some distinct trends which make Gay people's lives vulnerable and I think the city has without a doubt an extremity of verbal abuse against Gay people far higher than other localities. I think that's created a time lag compared to other cities where people who are homosexual do not want to identify as being gay, openly gay, as they might do when they move to London, Brighton or Manchester. There's a lack of confidence, a lack of openness because people fear social oppression or worse, and that camouflaged sexuality reflects the lack of progress of the city as a whole. I think the two are closely linked. Gay people in Liverpool don't feel organised, don't feel confident, don't feel comfortable with their sexuality, and are not going to campaign for change when other cities have been through that pain threshold. (Respondent4♂)

3.4. The Role of the Capital of Culture

One of the aims of this research was to discover whether the needs of gay and lesbian people had been taken into account in the agenda and programme of the Capital of Culture. Our respondents expressed strong views on both sides of the argument. Positive statements included:

> Capital of Culture? Wonderful. I thought it would be an absolute disaster and I was wrong. It has been hugely successful... The gay community has had £250-300,000 put into Homotopia and Outsiders, and they have done a fantastic job. (Respondent5♂)

I think the Capital of Culture is a strange mix of energies and personalities with different agendas. I think overall they have done a good job at promoting and marketing the city and positioning it as a more progressive and modern city... (Respondent3♂)

This respondent also noted that: "I think a visible LGB community is important to achieve this. It has to be across all spheres, in business, politics, the arts, in every field for it to really connect." (Respondent3♂)

Some respondents were more critical or sceptical of the inclusion of gay culture in the Capital of Culture agenda:

We are totally sidelined... the amount of money given to Homotopia, which allows the city council to tick their LGB box, is ridiculously small in comparison to the amount of people who are LGB in this city. (Respondent1♀)

I think they can put a big tick by the gay box because of Homotopia, but the amount of money is risible, laughable. (Respondent2♀)

Lack of funding appeared to be a particular bone of contention:

It [the Capital of Culture] pays lip service. Isn't that what 08 is meant to be about, why they gave it to us? There is very little investment it seems to me. Prior to the Culture Company, arts employed two people in the City Council, now it employs 75 or more... but there's very little investment in the culture itself. (Respondent2♀)

Lack of challenging content was another theme of discontent:

If gay culture was part of the Capital of Culture then it's passed me... The cultural events we have had, as entertainment, are fine. I haven't seen any events which are going to challenge the homophobia in the city... (Respondent4♂)

One respondent explained this in terms of the Capital of Culture failing to note key dates in the 'gay calendar':

The Capital of Culture team and the Council had an ideal opportunity to mark those days in the LGBT calendar this year (e.g. World AIDS day), but there's been nothing there. We are still invisible, and you know, silence equals death. (Respondent7♂)

Others expressed concern about the limitations of specific events:

I think that the Capital of Culture will affect part of the community, it will affect the artistic community, it will encourage those people involved in that sort of culture, but it hasn't spread

out to the wider community. How can one year stimulate culture? (Respondent4♂)

Gay culture has been part of the Capital of Culture through Homotopia. There's always an argument about focused events because they don't permeate the rest of the year. (Respondent6♂)

However, the same respondent also noted that: "I think they have done an excellent job and found an excellent balance..." (Respondent6♂)

3.5.The Way Forward?

Respondents were aware that the future remains uncertain in terms of where Gay culture, and indeed, the wider 'cultural provision' in the city will head, summed up by one respondent: "The Capital of Culture has created a buzz in the city but I'm worried about what will happen afterwards. Will there just be a void?" (Respondent1♀)

Terms such as "incorporating gay sensibility" and "a more upfront Gay culture" were used, indicating that the hope was that the positive elements of influence within the Capital of Culture could be maintained and integrated more thoroughly within mainstream cultural provision and activity. Although one respondent noted that: "It doesn't have to be excessively open. The hidden can be quite subversive." (Respondent6♂)

It would be logical to expect this group of people, given their concerns and depth of knowledge and involvement in this area, to be actively supportive of a Cultural Strategy for Liverpool. Some expressed views were much more negative, to give two examples:

I haven't read the Cultural Strategy. I didn't think it would be worthwhile reading. ...I like plans which are specific. They haven't got any money to spend in the next year so they can't be specific, and I think Homotopia may find it very hard to survive. (Respondent7♂)

I haven't seen the Cultural Strategy. I don't know anyone who has, and it's symptomatic of things being bureaucratically led. (Respondent2♀)

There appeared to be awareness that the Capital of Culture has created a shift in attitudes with regard to the possible legacy, but equally, a concern that the current strategy contained no guarantees with regard to specific budgets or provision for the future, post-Capital of Culture, Liverpool:

The document I saw made oblique references to the uniqueness of Liverpool, and immediately you want them to define what they mean by this uniqueness. Is it the friendliness of the people on the streets, the passion for the city... I don't get this, or is it

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> indefinable? From what I have seen, as a document, it could be anywhere. There's no vision. They are calling it a manifesto, and for me that's quite radical, more like a map, what we are going to do, than a strategy. The devil is to be in the detail and that will be the contentious bit, who gets money and who doesn't. (Respondent6♂)

Given the history, respondents were concerned that gay culture would not be given any particular priority in this situation, and this underlined the continued need for gay people themselves to be actively involved in creating change:

> If gays and lesbians want to see the city change, don't knock on anyone else's door – knock on your own first. We have the responsibility. I took a decision to be open and honest and I invite every other gay and lesbian to force change when you decide you don't want to be a second class citizen, it's in our hands to force change. It is our responsibility. If we aren't prepared to fight for our rights, don't expect others to fight it for us. (Respondent4♂)

4. Interim conclusions and plans for further research

The research has not clearly defined either 'culture' or 'gay culture' but has provided us with a range of different and diverse perspectives, some of which may be driven by the focused nature of the sample. Whilst there is acknowledgment of the contribution of the Capital of Culture, the overall flavour of contributions was sceptical, even cynical. We intend to continue to formulate these ideas and the areas not covered in this presentation using our data gained to date. Future research will involve a wider study investigating the views and experiences of gay and lesbian people not directly involved in 'cultural activity' or policy development and the effect of the Capital of Culture on them.

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PLACE BRANDING AND THE 'LIVERPOOL'08' BRAND CAMPAIGN IN 'CITY OF LIVERPOOL'

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1. Introduction

Place branding brings together a range of existing specialisms, in particular those of brand management and development policy, to create a new discipline with equal emphasis on visionary strategy and hands-on implementation.[1] Furthermore, Place branding ensures that the place gets due credit for its real strengths and positive behaviour, and that the place brand gains appropriate equity from the recognition, which that behaviour deserves.

1.1. Background

Arguably, the debate relating to place branding and its inception is extremely active and intriguing. Brands have been used as marks of identification at some time in almost all countries and civilisations. McNeill and McNeill (2003) believe that branding was developed as a result of "humans [being] drawn together in patterns of interaction and exchange, cooperation and competition since earliest times."[2] Destination and place branding is considered to be a relatively new field of study.[3] Blain et al (2005) believe that branding within the context of tourism destinations started to gain visibility in 1998 "with destination branding [as] the focal topic at that year's Travel and Tourism Research Association's Annual Conference."[4]

Places using events such as arts or sports led initiatives to regenerate and rebrand themselves has been well documented[5], and include for example, the Football World Cup, Olympic Games, European Capital of Culture and American Capital of Culture. Mooney believes that "*culture* has become central to urban regeneration programmes throughout Europe"[6], whilst Garcia states that "the principle of 'arts-led' regeneration was explored in US cities in the 1970s and consequently developed with a wider cultural remit, in European cities."[7]

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[1] Placebrands, 2006.
[2] McNeill and McNeill 2003:23.
[3] Hankinson 2001; Kavaratzis, 2004.
[4] Blain et al 2005:334.
[5] Rowe and McGuirk 1999; Garcia 2004.
[6] Mooney 2004:329.
[7] Garcia 2004:314.

However, whilst destination event branding has been well documented, Caldwell and Freire (2004) believe that there is a lack of empirical research in the field of place branding, and Anholt (2004) notes that there is little clarity or agreement about terminology or definitions in this discipline.

2. Place as 'Brands'

There are numerous definitions of brands in the literature[8] and the consensus of opinion suggests that a brand is associated with a consistent group of characteristics, images, or emotions that consumers recall or experience when they think of a specific symbol, product, service, organization or location. A Brand does not suddenly emerge, but evolves through a developmental process that has a number of distinct phases[9] from an unbranded commodity to a cultural brand icon. The process starts with brand recognition[10] and occurs when consumers generally know brand qualities. If a brand has accumulated widespread positive sentiment among consumers, marketeers say that its owner has acquired brand equity - the ability to retain current customers and attract new ones.[11] Consequently, over time, brands can create significant value for their holder.[12]

A place brand strategy should determine the most realistic, most competitive and most compelling strategic vision for the city, region, or country, and ensures that this vision is supported, reinforced and enriched by every act of investment and communication between that place and the rest of the world.[13] However, 'Place branding' is not the same as product or service branding, and whilst it is grounded in both corporate branding and general marketing theories, these have had to be adapted to suit the purpose.[14] This is largely because place brands are multi-dimensional constructs. They lack a single ownership but instead have a multiplicity of stakeholder groups and influencers. These include, for instance: local residents, local authorities, businesses and commercial entities, Chambers of Commerce, public bodies, the media – and so on. At the same time the place brand has multiple consumers: this largely comprises the groups above, but in addition, there are business tourists, leisure tourists, commuters, inward investors, and

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[8] Kotler and Keller 2006:274; Brassington and Pettitt 2006:301; de Chernatony 2006:13.
[9] de Chernatony 1993; Goodyear 1993.
[10] Keller 2003.
[11] NetMBA 2006.
[12] Kotler and Gertner 2002.
[13] Placebrands, 2006.
[14] Kavaratzis 2004.

event organisers[15] as well as the through traffic (that takes with it, a particular brand perception).

Without a single ownership to direct the brand, and with the disparate user groups who impose contrary demands, then there is no consistent message to underpin and unify a place brand. Nevertheless, according to Ward (1998), place branding, as a strategic marketing activity, has increased significantly over the last quarter century. Its application now extends beyond the traditional areas of inward investment and leisure tourism to include a wider role in attracting new residents, new employees and business tourists to a location. Place branding includes both short-term campaigns such as those associated with bids to host specific events – for example, Sidney's successful bid to host the Olympic Games – as well as longer-term repositioning strategies as exemplified in the recent nomination of Liverpool as the 'European Capital of Culture' for 2008.

Place branding not only applies to cities, regions and countries, but also applies lower down the spatial scale[16], to places such as shopping destinations and leisure parks. It thus covers a wide area of activities and locations and involves a wide range of stakeholders from both the public and private sectors. As a consequence, the study of place branding also extends across a wide area of academic interest.[17]

2.1. Difficulties in place branding campaigns

There have been uncertainties and complexities observed in carrying out place branding programmes due to the limited public sector budgets, influencing raising awareness or creating differentiation through propagation of logos, symbols and strap-lines.[18] Cities with larger budgets have however, succeeded in developing positive brand images linked, for example, to attributes such as heritage and history, the character of the local people, associations with famous people, 'capital' city status and international city status. In particular, the development of positive brand images such as these has led to the successful transformation of several post-industrial cities, such as New York and Glasgow, into vibrant leisure and business tourism destinations.[19]

2.2. Liverpool's approach to re-branding

Liverpool'08 is a longitudinal brand campaign carried out over a five-year period, in order to regenerate and re-brand the 'City of Liverpool'

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[15] Aaker 1996.
[16] Ashworth and Voogt 1994.
[17] Hankinson 2001.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ward 1998.

and create a lively and vibrant city for the future, long after 2008, its designated year of 'European Capital of Culture'.[20] According to the North-West Development Agency[21] and the North England Inward Investment Agency[22], Liverpool is a fast developing city. They suggest that Liverpool is one of Britain's most vibrant, energetic and innovative cities and has been enjoying a remarkable economic renaissance in recent years as one of the nation's fastest growing sub-regional economies. Moreover, policy makers have recognized the benefits of place branding that can attract inward investments for the destination economical progress in terms not only of job creation, but also capital, technology, production and management techniques.[23]

However, the link between place and its impact on the local and regional economy has received little attention. Indeed, as noted by Jevons "the bottom line question that is often unasked is whether our understanding of what brands are, and what branding does, is much clearer as a result of all the research that has been published."[24] In the case of place brands, and particularly from other cities who have gained 'European Capital of Culture' status, there is a dearth of research and very little evidence that the place brand drives inward investment or promotes the local (or regional) economy.[25]

3. Analysing Place Brands

A wide range of analytical methods have been applied to place branding, for example, the use of case studies[26], convergent interviewing techniques[27], focus groups[28], open-ended questions and Likert scale questionnaires[29] as well as the Brands Box method of de Chernatony and McWilliam (1989).[30] However, the real issue is what is actually being measured and how this reflects that holistic nature and complexity of a place brand.

The authors propose to survey the various place brand creators and influencers, together with the different brand user groups which will be set against both current and historic indicators of economic performance. Focus groups and interviews with the various stakeholders will provide information relating to perceptions of the Liverpool Brand

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[20] Liverpool08 2006.
[21] NWDA 2006.
[22] North England 2006.
[23] Audrey et. al 2003.
[24] Jevons 2005:35.
[25] The Mersey Economic Review 2006.
[26] Prideaux and Cooper 2002.
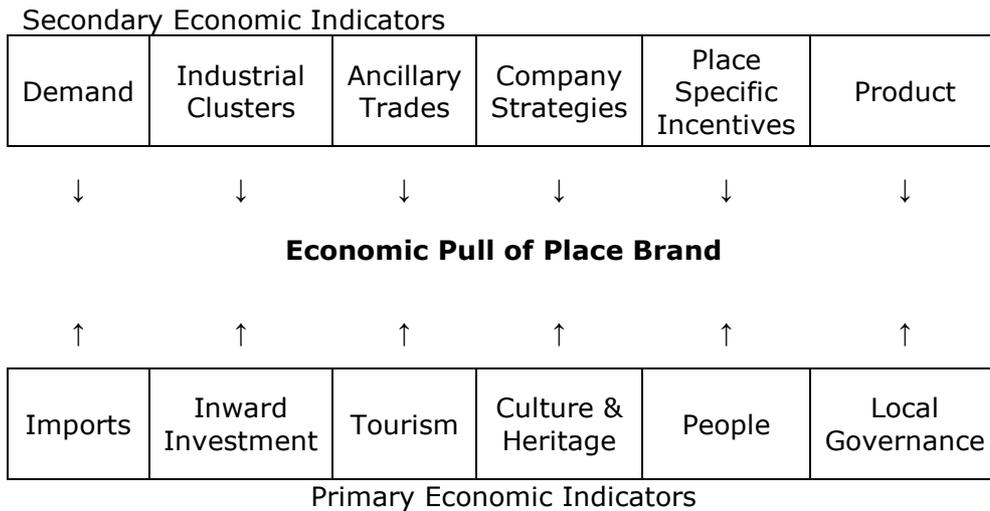[27] Hanlan and Kelly 2005.
[28] Curtis 2000.
[29] O'Leary and Deegan 2002.
[30] See for instance Clarke 2000; Hankinson 2001, 2004; Caldwell and Freire 2004.

and how this might influence and impact on the economy over time. Questions will focus on company strategy, production factors, ancillary trades and industrial clusters, place-specific incentives as well as local and regional product/service demand. Other components such as those proposed by Anholt (2005) and modified by de Chernatony (2006), for instance, tourism, culture & heritage, people, exports and immigration and governance may also be influencing factors and will be accounted for within this research.

The research will be categorized into primary and secondary influencing economic indicators as shown in figure 1 below:

Secondary Economic Indicators

Demand	Industrial Clusters	Ancillary Trades	Company Strategies	Place Specific Incentives	Product

| ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ |

Economic Pull of Place Brand

| ↑ | ↑ | ↑ | ↑ | ↑ | ↑ |

Imports	Inward Investment	Tourism	Culture & Heritage	People	Local Governance

Primary Economic Indicators

4. Anticipated Outcomes

This research will fill a gap in our current understanding of the influence of place branding on the economic performance of that city and its region. It will attempt to identify those particular elements within the cocktail of factors that are critical for enhancing the strength of the place. This might would be useful to the brand developers for creating strong and reliable brands which would have a long-term future.

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CAPTURING PUBLIC VALUE: AN EXPERIMENTAL ECONOMIST'S APPROACH TO THE IMPACT OF LIVERPOOL EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE 2008

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1. Introduction

This paper will explore the application of experimental economics techniques in order to better capture public value of arts & cultural programming. Specifically this is applied to the Liverpool 2008 European Capital of Culture (ECoC) program. To do this, we first briefly establish the current landscape of publicly funded arts & cultural programming and the increasing use of economic techniques to find 'book' value to the provision of such.

We then go on to review the most common currently used techniques in order to highlight the differences in the experimental approaches to be detailed. A concise grounding in the economic theory is then given, which underlies the use of the experimental methods, as well as the rationale for arts & cultural programming to be provided as a public good. The experimental techniques used are then expounded (particularly the contingent valuation method), followed by some initial results and conclusions regarding the applicability of the method to capturing public value of such.

2. The landscape of Public funding

The landscape of public funding for arts and cultural programming has changed dramatically since the early post war era. Since the creation of the DCMS in 1997 and later the publication of the DCMS 2004[1] working paper 'Culture at the heart of regeneration', the promotion of regeneration of arts & cultural projects and events has become a National Government Policy. Such a policy inevitably results in a focus on 'measurable' outcomes and benefits. In many cases funding sources come with auditing responsibilities as Public money is often under intense 'value for money' scrutiny. So much so, that an element of reflexive assessment is becoming an essential part of any bid for arts & cultural programming funding.

Such reflexive assessments are not necessarily economic – they can focus on wider social impact issues such as participation or community enrichment but economic implications often draw the most scrutiny,

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[1] DCMS 2004b.

both politically and in the media, and the generation of such expectations is likely to remain prevalent in the current culture of public arts provision (however rightly or wrongly some individuals and organisations within the arts community perceive this to be)[2].

Liverpool's experience in successfully bidding for the title of 2008 European Capital of Culture has been no exception to this. After the regenerative success of Glasgow's experience in 1990[3], Liverpool Council (and its 2008 ECoC operational group) made clear its intention to use the opportunity of hosting a year of exceptional arts & cultural programming as a platform for sustainable regeneration[4] and a plethora of regeneration predictions made their way into the public sphere, most of which were economic.

In 2003 it was widely reported across public media that Liverpool's 2008 European Capital of Culture year:

- Could lead to an additional 1.7m tourists;
- Could generate an additional £200m in tourism income;
- Would potentially create no less than 14,000 new jobs;
- Would receive a boost to the economy of investment from public and private sources totalling more than £2.4 billion…

In short, a radical economic regeneration.

Indeed, part of Liverpool's 2008 bid, and interestingly now those for upcoming years (e.g. Marseille's bid for 2013[5]), include reference to a programme of research and monitoring into the impacts (economic and social) of attaining the title and providing a year of enhanced arts and cultural programming. Moreover, Marseille's, proposal is one of the first to cite Liverpool's 'impacts 08' research program as a benchmark for developing their own research model.

Some scholars have argued that such accountability raises the profile of arts and cultural programming, which might otherwise struggle to maintain funding, while others believe that focusing on such impacts could be ultimately detrimental by distilling the provision of such programming into purely utilitarian objectives.[6] However, this later argument, in the opinion of this article's authors, may derive it's main thrust from criticisms of the application of traditional methods of assessing economic impact using direct market values (and their proxies) to distil economic impacts via directly measurable monetary terms, that is tangible, market values, whereas, as shall be expounded

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[2] See Throsby (1994) for a consideration of the application of economics to arts and culture.
[3] See Myerscough 1991.
[4] Liverpool Culture Co 2003.
[5] Marseille-Provence 2013 2008:189.
[6] See Frey 2005 & Seaman1987.

in the next section, the methods used in more recent, experimental approaches to finding value do not suffer such limitations.

3. The many 'measures' of economic impact

There are many ways to measure economic impact – and each with respective insights and limitations. It would be difficult to give a just analysis of each of these within the limited scope of this article. The authors would therefore draw your attention to Towse 2003 and Snowball 2008[7] as excellent sources of reference concerning the use of different economic impact measures and will limit this section to a brief reference, along with the main reason mitigating their use.

Both demand side (focusing on end consumption choices and issues) and supply side (focusing on the provision of programmes and additions to the value chain of production) provide valid, though very different, perspectives for analysis.

Accounting principles can give net book values for the worth of arts & cultural institutions or industries. Trade statistics, VAT and even regional GVA figures can all be used to estimate bottom line 'book value' of arts & cultural industry and provision regionally or nationally. However, such direct approaches, such as accounting for how much money is invested in a programme (or injected into the economy), remain very much flat, first tier measures that can not fully capture the complexity of economic interactions within a region as well as the trade-offs involved. Not even withstanding a lateral widening of approaches to include assessment of so-called leveraged implications, such as attempting to quantify how much *extra investment* is then 'leveraged' from the private sector[8]; how much money is spent on support activities within the arts context or how much *employment* this would generate.

However, *prima facie* these remain in the first tier, that is to say do not take account of secondary or knock-on effects which can themselves cause further effects in the region. Such effects can be measured more fully using **Input-output analysis** – so named because it maps, inputs and outputs within a region and hence the effects of changes within small elements of these on the whole. By inputting a change in inputs (say from an investment in arts & Cultural programming) and allowing the input-output tables to adjust to the flow through several iterations, a measure of the change in the entire circular flow of money can be derived. This approach therefore takes account of the spending and re-

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[7] Towse (2003) as a collection of edited chapters outlining different aspects of cultural economics and Snowball (2008) as a comprehensive guide to economic impact assessments of arts & cultural programming.
[8] That is for every £1 invested publicly, how many £'s are matched by private business sponsorship.

spending which is initiated – that is the circular flow as well as where that spending might otherwise have been diverted from and hence provides a fuller analysis of the impact.[9]

This is sometimes referred to as ***multiplier analysis***, where the input-output model projects the flow of money through the economy and hence gives a measure of how much more spending occurs from the initial investment – i.e. a multiple. The results are most often quoted as a multiple of output for every pound of input into the project or event. Such 'multiplier' figures are becoming increasingly familiar within assessments of projects as well as particular sectors. Impact assessments for arts & cultural projects and events have found surprisingly high multiplier effects of between 1.2 and even 1.7.[10] That is for every 1 euro invested, a multiplier effect of 1.2 – 1.7 Euros can be expected to be the final impact.[11] Multipliers of this sort are also quoted concerning employment (i.e. direct, indirect and iterative effects).

For a fuller account of the use of multiplier analysis in the measurement of impact of arts & cultural programming see Phythian-Adams et al, 2008.

Such analyses can very successfully capture the economic impact of investing an arts & cultural programme in terms of further spending and investment encouraged. However, it does not capture the value to the consumer, that is, a consumer may be more concerned with the benefits they *feel* of consuming a chocolate bar, than its potential multiplier value in stimulating their local economy! Even if there were no other benefits, the satisfaction derived from the chocolate bar was sufficient for the consumer to value it enough to purchase it (trading-off potential consumption in many other things).

This would then beg an obvious approach to the problem of measurement – to simply measure the magnitude of consumption (of that arts & cultural programme) and assign an appropriate value to it, based on either a proxy or on consumption forgone which has a defined value to create a market value. Indeed some methods of study adopt this approach - for example, the 'travel cost' method of valuation which uses the cost value of travel and associated costs as a proxy value for that good (e.g. a visit to a national park)[12], also more directly 'insurance values' or derived proportional values from tourist numbers are used as a valuation based on replacement/loss.

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[9] Regional Input output modelling has been developed from National Trade Input-Output modelling and has only recently been applied to assessing economic impact of regional arts & cultural programming. See Kurz et al (1998) for a reliable history of the discipline.
[10] Phythian-Adams, Sapsford & Southern 2008.
[11] Strathclyde University 2005.
[12] Clawson, Marion and Jack Knetsch 1966.

However the problem lies in assigning such proxy values, where a replacement cost might itself be measured in other market based things (for example – the Mona Lisa painting – in terms of calibre of replacement and impact on visitations to the Louvre) – or indeed, when travel costs may themselves be subsidised or non-existent – and therefore make an inadequate proxy. Moreover it is these open market transactions that often fail to value those externalities and intangibles which make public goods special – and can lead to a very low or indeed zero value, which likely would not reflect it's full economic value (the value of consumption of other goods the consumer would be willing to offset against it).

This is because open market transactions are affected not only by consumer's choice, but on scarcity value. Most starkly, clean air is so abundant that although an absolute necessity to life is not directly market valued - until there is no clean air.

It is therefore necessary for economists to use non-standard methods of valuation, based more directly on the principles of valuation in consumer choice. Over the last 50 years experimental methods have been developed to extract consumers' willingness to pay for a given quantity of good (see the inverse demand curve cited below) using hypothetical markets and stated preference techniques. The authors of this article have been involved in research to apply these innovative, experimental methods to the problem of capturing the value of publicly provided arts & cultural programming, particularly in the case of Liverpool in 2008.

4. An experimental approach to 2008

In order to expound those experimental methods to the problem of capturing the public value of Liverpool's 2008 Capital of Culture programme, we must first show where this is rooted in economic theory. Firstly by extending some basic economic assumptions to those end users, (no matter the provider) and secondly by showing how the application of the theoretical models can provide aggregated data from those end users – which is presented in a later section.

5. Economic Theory: Welfare and Utility

Firstly, we establish the subjects of the study as the widest sample of the public who are essentially considered to be the end users or 'consumers' of any programme of public events by 'experience'[13] and by the consumption of other intangible benefits. Secondly, we extend the

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[13] Experience goods are those which we buy to experience like a music concert, see Andersson & Andersson (2006) for an indepth consideration of arts & cultural goods as 'experience' goods.

assumptions of the economic discipline, that of rationality and maximisation behaviour to those consumers. (In lay terms we assume that the public isn't stupid or irrational!) It is from this basis that we can extend economic theory to 'understand' their preferences and use measures to place a monetary value on that, based on the trade-off between the opportunity cost of not consuming other goods (i.e. paying more money in taxes) versus the trade-off of not experiencing or benefiting from the intangibles of the arts and cultural programming. This value can then be expressed in terms of general prices.

Economics uses notions of 'Utility', Utility being a measure of how much satisfaction an individual derives from consuming a good or basket of goods, gained from consumption amid restraints (such as budget) to analyse consumers' market behaviour. These interactions create optimisation problems where consumers try to maximise their utility (or satisfaction) given their budget constraints by choosing different amounts of goods within their budget. This is most clearly represented graphically - as in diagram 1 (below).

Consumption of each good (A & B) consumed is measured along each axis and each indifference curve (IC) depicted (so called because the consumer is 'indifferent' to any mix of goods A & B on the curve) represents a different fixed level of utility, with each IC ascending from the origin representing a higher utility level (overall satisfaction).

The budget line (BL) denotes the constraint of a budget on amounts consumed of each good. The consumer then maximises their utility by trading off between the goods within their budget to their equilibrium point ε, which shows how much of each good A and B they will eventually choose.

Diagram1: Utility
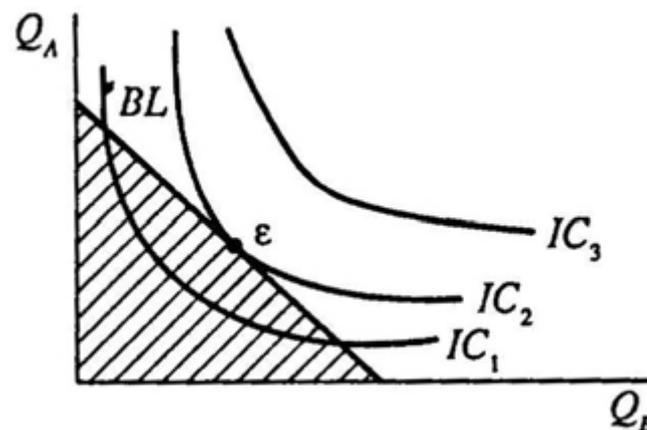
This trade-off choice mechanism can be developed further to isolate one good by plotting the consumption trade-off of that good against a second which is denoted as a notional basket of all other goods. Our focus good B can therefore be any good, be it a direct consumable like a chocolate bar, an indirect consumable like a CD or even an 'experiential' good like a music concert. Consumers make the same choices to trade off consumption in the basket of all other goods to have more or less of the studied good.

Each equilibrium of choice can then be mapped in terms of prices and quantities to create an individual's 'demand curve' for that good as in diagram 2 (below) where the left hand side shows the trade-off choice at two different sets of prices (and hence two budget lines BL_1 at the higher price and BL_2 at the lower price). The right hand side of the diagram summarises each of these points (at different prices) and shows how much the individual purchases (or consumes) at each of these prices.

This demand diagram can be interpreted as we have mapped it, the quantity demanded at each price level. However, importantly, we can also read the price on the vertical axis as the amount the individual is willing to pay for each quantity given on the horizontal axis. It is this notion of 'willingness to pay' which is used in our analysis.

Diagram 2: Mapping individual's Demand from Utility
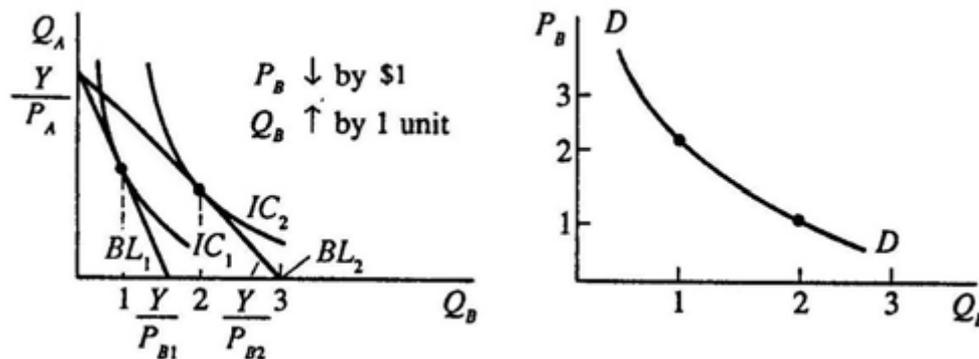
'Market' demand curves can be derived by aggregating those of individuals operating within it.

In lay terms, the Utility theory of value is based on the trade-off decision. Every time a decision is made to purchase a good (be it a chocolate bar or a Paul McCartney concert) – it is also a decision NOT to purchase (i.e. consume) something else. This consumption which must be forgone in order to consume a good is called the 'opportunity cost' and this is how 'value' can be compared across goods, using price (money) as a universal currency of exchange.

It is this opportunity cost value of exchange that economists are confident consumers understand. Giving up an extra Euro of other consumption to buy a chocolate bar – or a 100 Euros to go to a Paul McCartney concert. This understanding of consumption forgone means that the consumers' 'willingness to pay' for a good is based on the exchange value of all other goods in consumption foregone.

These trade-off decisions do not only occur in respect to price, but in other costs, such as time or even energy. The consumer at all points maximises the satisfaction they can gain based on a range of qualities – including such things as current endowment (how much they already have), immediacy (time to satisfaction), longevity and even complimentarity (other goods required to maximise enjoyment or potential to enhance the satisfaction of other goods).

Although these decisions seem incredibly complex, they are essentially made in their multitude in our every day environments - to buy the frappuccino on the way to work, or to walk past the coffee bar and opt for a better grade of sandwich at lunch. This is not to infer that all consumption choices necessarily maximise the consumer's objective welfare. Indeed, historically some public choice decisions made from a central mandate were based on the notion that people didn't know what was best for them(!). Choices for public and private 'bads' such as cigarettes have often been cited. However, the consumption and trade-off choices remain the same, what is different for those individuals is perhaps the values or uncertainties placed on long term health effects as well as the high value the alleviation of addiction distress may have in that decision.[14]

In addressing this issue - that of the changing nature of satisfaction is also raised. Indeed, it is likely obvious to most that what satisfaction is derived from 'consuming' a particular toy as children may, inevitably wane with age. However, we can also take these issues of education and of changing tastes and preferences into account, in our analysis by looking at changes in consumption pre and post consumption experience, using the same principles.

5.1. The demand for 'Public' goods

The discipline of economics attempts to understand the forces affecting the provision and consumption of not only private goods (those which we purchase and consume individually and which confer their costs and benefits on us individually), but also a wide taxonomy of goods. A classification of goods of particular interest are those which are classed

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[14] See Richard Cornes (1996) for an in-depth consideration of public goods and externalities.

as 'Public goods'. Public goods differ from the private goods used in the theory above in three main ways:

- They are often non-rivaled – that is, one person 'consuming' it does not prevent another – the most often cited example of such is a street light or perhaps more contemporaneously – a city region providing Wi-Fi;
- They are also non-excludable – that is, it is difficult or impossible to exclude someone from also consuming the good (i.e. whether they've paid or not), again, a street light is such an example, but goods such as 'clean air' or 'National defense' are also often cited;
- Because of the above qualities, such goods may not be provided in an economy, or not to a sufficient level – as the provision may often rely on payment from many for a good which would essentially be free to consume – but only if others paid for it! And therefore in order to ensure they are provided at a sufficient level (or at all) they are often provided publicly (collectively).

In reality, no such goods exist that are absolutely and strictly the case, but operationally many such goods do have these properties. Also, some goods can have what are classified as 'externalities'. These are effects from consumption that are conferred on all rather than the individual, such as for example, good health care (where a population where 80% privately fund health care has positive externalities reducing the disease rate and probability of pandemic for ALL, including those choosing not to pay for private health care). In many cases these externalities can be intangible (e.g. warm feelings of safety from a street light) as well as fully tangible (e.g. smog).

5.2. How do you measure the value of a 'Public' Good?

Historically, arts & cultural goods have used regulations and controls to remove the commonalities (and hence market failures) of public goods, by using legal mechanisms i.e. copyrights and patents to artificially (in pure market terms) 'exclude' free-riding consumers. In the case of a wide ranging arts & cultural programme for a capital of culture year, there would no doubt exist a mixture of 'Public' goods as well as private goods, some with 'Public' externalities.

The decisions consumers face for 'public' goods is a different one from private consumption, however, many experimental studies have shown a willingness of consumers to pay for public goods despite the free-rider (non-payer) problems associated with them.[15]

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[15] Snowball 2008.

The programme of events for the capital of culture differs from the choice to consume ordinary goods in these important 'public good' ways: *Firstly*, the framework, as well as many of the events are purely publicly provided in that it is/they are paid for jointly via the public purse (taxation). *Secondly*, consumption of many of the experiences are free at the point of consumption, indeed, the LCC promoted that 70% of the events in 2008 were free at the point of consumption.[16]

Also the goods are essentially non-rivalrous – that is are not used up by the act of consumption. The Superlambananna does not combust if the number of eyes looking at it doubles – or if a million more postcard sized copies are printed. Even where finite capacity is the case – it is often sufficiently large to allow all those wishing to enjoy it – for example – the Matthew street music festival can generally hold all of the people who want to come to it.

Public goods commonly have more intangible values (i.e. things that otherwise can't be valued) and that is often why they are public. A good example of this is the value of a public statue. We can measure the cost of putting up the statue (which is what we traditionally would have done), but that may not reflect the value we – the end consumers – put on it. It may make us smile every day on the way to work. It might spark the imagination of our children as we walk by. It might make us feel a sense of community when we stop to enjoy looking at it and notice that others do too. We may feel like it brightens the neighbourhood up – or even make us feel safer! All of these things are valued in our preferences for that statue, even though we are not paying *directly* to look at it.

This means that the pursuit of measuring the value of arts & cultural provision is often one attempting to measure personal inclusive 'values' people have for arts & cultural product that may include utterly intangible things! This is why our valuation method is sometimes called 'measuring the unmeasurable'.

5.3. Measuring the Unmeasurable

A technique called the Contingent Valuation Method (CVM) is used to value intangible benefits of goods. This is sometimes called a 'stated preference' method – because people are literally asked to state what they would do contingent on a set of conditions! Those conditions are carefully selected to create a hypothetical market situation, in which a respondent can signify their willingness to pay (or not) for a good at a certain market price. Some of the conditions are set down in the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) panel review

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[16] Liverpool Culture Company 2003.

of the contingent valuation method which were published in 1992 and others are from examinations of previous good practice. CVM's have become widely used in areas of environmental impact assessment and therefore a multitude of studies have refined the methodology over a period of time and certain 'benchmark' standards have emerged. However, the method is still subject to further refinement, especially in the wider application to other public and quasi-public goods. Its application to arts & cultural programming provision is even more recent, with its defining use in valuing the Royal Opera House in Copenhagen.[17]

5.4. Highlighted Adaptations of the Contingent Valuation Method (CVM)

In this study, the majority of the NOAA Panel guidelines are adhered to, as well as later refinements, such as the use of dichotomous choice offerings (i.e., the respondent is offered a consumption choice at a prevailing market price and may accept or decline). Such a system was not always defined in earlier CVM's, where it was common to find an open ended question of 'how much are you willing to pay' (which is more akin to auction style consumer behaviour). The large sample size is another, with pilot studies approaching 300 responses (as many as 15-20% can be lost depending on the rigors of the cleaning process) and later full studies 600-800. The volume of responses in CVM studies is critical to gaining statistical significance, as each response represents one atomized valuation at certain fixed levels to which many and varied must be added to constitute a 'market'.

In order to maximize efficiency from each response contingent questions are rooted in both the private consumption decision, for instance, "if you were asked to pay an entry price to this event would you pay £X?" and in public provision, "if you were in charge of YOUR council tax, would you be willing to pay X?". The questions are also stepped: Respondents are asked if they are willing to pay AN amount (i.e. "some amount more than zero") first and then asked the questions above with a set amount. They are also followed up with the question, "if not, would you be willing to pay a smaller amount?". In this respect we try to recreate the psychology of open market purchases.

In keeping with more recent evidence of CVM studies a 'certainty' indication is used, where the respondent is asked to rank the certainty of their answer on a four-point scale after each question. Responses indicating a willingness to pay at a certain price which rank a certainty indication below that of a three in four point scale are then rejected. Studies of hypothetical markets of goods (which are replicable in real markets) which are then replicated in real markets show that such

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[17] Bille-Hansen 1997.

certainty indications remove any statistically significant hypothetical bias in the reporting of answers.[18]

One of the more radical refinements made is to offer a wider scale of multiple, randomised market prices to which the consumer is offered a dichotomous choice to 'purchase' or not.

In addition to this market choice data, background data is also collected, from which analyses of differences in valuations within demographics such as age, sex and educational background can be derived, but also a rich variety of geo-demographic data from postcodes (which are themselves used to form part of an hedonic measurement in terms of distances travelled and other consumption costs).

Three events were selected for a pilot study in 2007 - The Hub (urban youth) festival in May 2007 was surveyed both at the event and in the city centre in a follow-up study to capture non-attendees opinions as well as the Mathew St Music festival in August (again attendees & non-attendees) and Creamfields dance music festival also in August (again attendees & non-attendees).

A full list of the events studied in 2008 is available in the appendix to this article.

After the data has been collected, cleaned and sorted an aggregation through statistical analyses provides the market choice data and curves which breakdown the 'willingness to pay' for the arts & cultural programming researched (exampled below).

6. Indicative Results from 2007 Pilots

Contingent Valuation studies can give weighted averages of 'willingness to pay' for an arts & cultural good or project, or indeed programme of events. When appropriately applied across a population (i.e. taking into account demographics etc) it can give a measure of how much the aggregate population should be willing to pay for that good (i.e. event/project/programme) whether privately or publicly (depending on the set up of the preference decision matrix) and as in the case of most CVM studies currently published likely show a value far exceeding that of the cost.

However, such studies offer another tantalising facet – that by invoking a market approach, such studies can capture the 'true' economic value with a degree of accuracy not afforded by abstracted modelling – such as input-output analysis, which essentially has to simplify the workings of the economy in order to model it. Such ideas emanate from the notion of the wisdom of crowds. Indeed, crowds are statistically best

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[18] See Blumenschein et al 1998 & 2008 for why this approach is selected.

able to guess the number of jelly beans in a jar in a fairground game and more interestingly will trade in the stock market at valuations of a stock that have adjusted to the value in income streams, resale values and risk faster than the best computers can work out - even when some of that information is not even fully known at the time.[19]

The use of this approach lies in some part within the mathematics of large numbers of individual values of a variable, where each acts with different small pieces of information. Given a good (i.e. unbiased) mechanism for summation (i.e. any standard statistical methods), variations from the central tendency (over and under) will cancel each other out, be it from bad information or ignorance, and tend towards a robust centre. In short if you get a large number of individuals to form a market, you can often be more confident in the valuations they make than in those of any kind of industry experts!

Results from a survey of willingness to pay in a hypothetical market (that is a CVM) are often compared against those of proxy methods – such as travel cost and will in most instances exceed these, in the expectation that they provide a fuller measure of all of the intangible benefits (or costs) being measured.

The remainder of this section will present results from the pilot studies done in 2007. These results are from the studies of attendees and studies of a representative (weighted) mix of attendees and non-attendees. In the diagrams (below), the willingness to pay is stated on the left hand vertical axes and the 'survival count' or the number of people willing to pay that amount on the horizontal axis.

6.1. Zero Value counts and Willingness to pay preferences

Firstly it is interesting to note that all CVM studies valuing an array of public goods reveal a hard core of respondents who are actually not willing to pay anything. There are many studies and investigations into the motivations of these people[20] – but it is commonly accepted that these are a mixture of protest voters (people who don't believe in publicly funding the particular good) and free riders (those people who get pleasure out of getting things for free when other people have to pay). In the past, some CVM studies adjusted for this as though this were a reason to reject their valuations, but in these studies, the authors favour the other side of the debate – that their zero valuation represents a valid set of preferences and so these do not need to be adjusted for.

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[19] Surowiecki 2005.
[20] See Diamond & Haussman 1994; Yoo et al 2001 and Bradley et al 2000.

The survival counts (below) from the pilot studies show higher than average zero count for creamfields – and follow-up questions identified that the more commercial the festival the more likely the respondent to reject the idea of funding publicly. The prevalence of 'no' voters (assuming they are not being adjusted for) creates an interesting point of debate concerning the point at which public funding should be pursued – for instance, as the 'no' votes exceed half – it may logically be questioned whether public funding is applicable at all. In the case of Creamfields – which is a privately funded event – the 'no's did approach, but didn't quite breach the majority at 46% and follow-up questions revealed a bias amongst those who attended the festival (see diagram 3 below), expressing a desire to keep certain festivals such as Creamfields in the private sector, due to a belief in the superior quality of such. This is highlighted by the very high private values that were shown (40,000 tickets sold at £60.06 (an average cost of those surveyed when booking fees and costs were added – as well as the existence of a percentage of VIP tickets and those obtaining free tickets).

The results in diagram 3 also highlight an issue with the data from Matthew St, where responses at the festival received a higher than average 'zero' count – particularly for Mathew St – where an unusual 60% of those attending the festival said 'no' outright to tax! This is why the willingness to pay figure is so low in comparison to the follow-up mixed study. It is possibly important to note here, that there were a number of issues with the 2007 Matthew Street event, where health and safety concerns with building works in the city caused all of the outdoor stages - and many of the acts – to be cancelled and a festival run on a smaller and more dispersed scale. The resulting festival received a lot of negative media interest and the respondents at the festival expressed negative feelings regarding the provision through the Liverpool Culture Company and hence affected the figures of the attendees dramatically. However, the figures for the non-attendees did not show this bias to the same extent (hence bringing the results up) and the study ran again in 2008 – the festival's biggest year yet – has shown much more positive results, more in line with expectations.

Figure 3 also highlights the difference between willingness to pay for events via an entry price and willingness to pay collectively as a public good (and hence to provide free at the point of entry). The indications shown tentatively in the pilot data are being confirmed in the current analysis of the 2008 full data. A relationship is apparent between the perceived corporate profile of an event and conversely perceived pure public value of the event and the willingness to pay in private verses public terms. Although this does differ widely between attendees and nonattendees. From the 2007 pilot data, the hub festival (a festival aimed at the urban youth) recorded much higher public value than Matthew Street and Creamfields (when weighted across attendees and non-attendees). As would be expected, both festivals rate a much higher

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public value from those attending. In 2008, the Liverpool Children's festival continues to record a much higher overall public value (that is weighted proportionately to attendees and non-attendees). With the larger data sample it may be possible to conclude that public provision of arts and cultural programs centred around youth record a higher use value, perhaps because of the perceived higher 'non-use' benefits from events than with others.

Diagram 3

Festival	WTP Entry	WTP Tax	Travel Cost
Hub Attendees	**£2.87**	**£4.71** **ZV = 17%**	**£1.76**
- Weighted Average (including non-attendees)	**n/a**	**£5.33** **ZV = 39%**	**n/a**
Mathew St Attendees	**£4.23**	**£1.65** **ZV = 26%**	**£40.08 / £11.49*** ***excluding international**
- Weighted Average (including non-attendees)	**n/a**	**£6.24** **ZV = 35%**	**n/a**
Creamfields Attendees	**£60.06*** ***Av Ticket Price**	**£8.26** **ZV = 29%**	**£30.05**
- Weighted Average (including non-attendees)	**n/a**	**£4.65** **ZV = 46%**	**n/a**

Note: *These results are all post certainty adjustment, which are approximately 20% less than the raw, unadjusted amounts*

Despite the issues expressed by respondents concerning the '07 Mathew Street festival, willingness to pay for its public provision was non-negligible. Using an average 820,000 population of Liverpool or the 1.37 million population of Merseyside, raw aggregate willingness to pay amounts can be calculated.[21]

- Hub festival - WTP tax £5.33 x 820,000 = £4.4 million;
- Matthew St Festival – WTP tax £6.24 x 820,000 = £5.1 million;
- Creamfields Festival – WTP tax £4.65 x 820,000 = £3.8 million.

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[21] These figures are weighted for the proportion of attendees and non-attendees, but not for proportionate demographics.

A raw inverse demand function is plotted in diagram 4, as a survival count at each willingness to pay amount.

Figure 4 also shows that despite very different rejection counts (that is zero valuers), there is a consistent gradient to the valuations of these goods, suggesting that there may be a consistent elasticity concerning the demand for publicly funded festivals.

Diagram 4

Festivals - WTP as tax
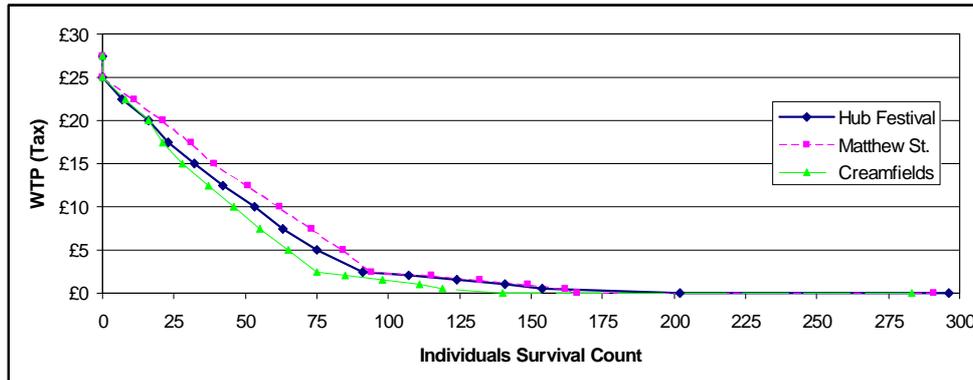
7. Conclusions

The contemporary culture for Funding Arts & Cultural programming is becoming ever more focused on 'impacts' and proposals for valuations and reflexive valuations and assessments have become integral to many bidding proposals. This has increasingly brought economic concepts to the arts. There are many ways to measure economic impacts – mostly with a supply side or accounting focus and these are often the approaches which are most accused of being derivative to the provision. However, new methods and approaches possible using the notion of utility and a hypothetical market for arts & cultural experience goods - i.e. contingent valuation can address these issues. Such approaches measure Willingness to pay for goods which includes intangible values.

Using aggregating mechanisms for individual values which mirror market mechanisms, we can understand if the public values the 'good' more or less than the costs. We can also understand the limitations of these values and the way in which they change with costs (as in normal market situations). Although these methods are relatively new and have during their development brought up a number of methodological issues, growth and experiment in the field has resulted in a more robust tool, by using best practice methods of data collection and aggregation.

Results of such valuations often show that willingness to pay is high, especially when compared to the costs of the arts & Cultural provisions being measured. Moreover we can use these to judge impacts of changes in provisions (i.e. funding levels) at different projects by looking at different elasticities.

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Appendices

Events Studied in 2008

An online CVM survey of the 2008 Liverpool Capital of Culture programme as a whole was carried out in two time periods Jan 08 & Jan 09 to capture values before and after the culture experience.

Additionally a host of individual events, representative of a good spread of events throughout the year were selected: including both regular festivals and one-offs.

Also a focus on the royal philharmonic as an investigation of an existing institution during the Capital of Culture year.

Finally a focus on non-attendees at these different festivals and importantly what their values are for the existence of these institutions and events – as we have seen from the notion of intangible benefits –

you don't have to experience an arts and culture good first hand to benefit from it's intangible effects.

[1] & [10]   Online CVM survey of the program as a whole (Jan 08 & Jan 09 – i.e. longitudinal)

[2]   Streets Ahead (street performance festival) May 08

[3]   Liverpool Open Gardens festival – Cancelled due to non-cooperation

[4]   Liverpool Sound celebration concert with Paul McCartney Jun 08

[5]   Liverpool Children's Festival Aug 08

[6]   Mathew St Music festival Aug 08

[7]   La Machine (giant spider!) live art event Sept 08

[8]   Liverpool Royal Philharmonic commission AND institution Nov 08

[9]   Attendees / Non-attendees comparative Nov 08

**LOCAL CULTURAL HABITUS ON THE MAP:
EVALUATION METHOD FOR CULTURAL POLICY**

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1. Introduction

The objective of the present research[1] is to find out what impact Liverpool 08 will have on local cultural habitus, and how the sustainability of this impact can be measured and monitored. This enquiry should be seen in the context of a wider research interest to understand the influence of elite constructions of culture on regeneration policy in post-industrial cities. The research also focuses both on the interaction between the different local life styles in urban space, and on the interaction of the local population with urban spaces. It analyses the process of social exchange and spatial engagement within urban space in order to find out how this interaction contributes to the construction of a local cultural identity. Moreover, the research examines the effects of large-scale cultural investment on the local cultural and creative sectors, as well as on the cultural infrastructure, and any subsequent consequences for regional entrepreneurship. The final consideration is to establish any lessons which may be learnt from the Liverpudlian experience of European Capital of Culture that may be usefully taken into account by other cities in the UK wanting to base their regeneration on a major cultural event.

Liverpool City Council used as a strong argument in its bid for European Capital of Culture the fact that local communities were supportive, and that these communities, and local cultural producers, would be involved in the programme throughout the year of Capital of Culture, putting local culture into the centre of the rebranding of the city. However, no study had been undertaken by the city council prior to the bid to define in a 'bottom-up' procedure, exactly what local culture means for Liverpudlians. Therefore one of the main preoccupations of this research is to find out first how Liverpudlian cultural habitus is constructed in practice, that is, how they engage with the city in everyday life, and what they do in their free time. This will allow an evaluation of how far the 'top-down' (or cultural policy) approach, and the 'bottom-up' (or 'everyday life') approach match in terms of investing into places and undertaking activities in Liverpool. The aim is to create a tool that can improve understanding between both levels of cultural life and its political organisation in future and should therefore be able to monitor

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the acceptance of cultural policy by the local population. Only in 2009 will the research be able to deal with impacts of Liverpool 08 on the culture field.

The assessment of impacts on cultural space and local cultural habitus of the population in Liverpool due to the European Capital of Culture year is based on qualitative methods. The hypothesis is that such an important cultural investment influences the perception and the use of cultural space by the inhabitants, and that this can be measured by an analytical method such as cognitive maps. This research project therefore undertakes an application of Kevin Lynch's theory about the construction of a legible cityscape onto cultural space.[2] Cognitive maps are thus the tool to pin down the areas in the city that are considered as cultural space by a different range of Liverpudlians in terms of age, class and profession. The aim is to establish the boundaries, junctions and landmarks of this space and to find out how these fit, or do not fit, into the official definition of cultural space as given by the city council and cultural policy. The gap between the two versions has heuristic value for the evaluation of the effectiveness of cultural policy.

The first condition to enable any measurement of the impact of the European Capital of Culture year on local cultural habitus is to establish its status quo. This means to define the limits of the space that is considered as cultural space by Liverpudlians. In other words, cultural space is where cultural life happens, regardless of whether it is a place or space that has recognition as such from the authorities. Cognitive maps can visualise this dimension of everyday cultural space. They are an indirect method to reconstruct from the 'bottom up' the cultural life of Liverpudlians as well as the geographical boundaries of this cultural space. Another condition sine qua non is obviously that no prior definition of what culture is has been adopted to enable its construction from the 'native's point of view'.[3]

2. Cognitive Maps

Cognitive maps became a broadly used method in urban design through Kevin Lynch's work in the 1960s and 1970s. Lynch, trained not only as an architect but also in psychology and anthropology, stood in a post-war tradition that still believed in the determinist power of urban planners and architects to define aesthetics and to construct better cities. However, he had distanced himself from the ideology of the modernists' discourse as anchored in the Athens Charta of 1943 at the 4th CIAM congress (Congrès international d'architecture moderne).[4]

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[2] Lynch 1960.
[3] Geertz 1973; Sahlins 1995.
[4] Cairns 2003:192-93.

Lynch's main contribution to urban design is the idea that it is necessary to integrate social, subjective and psychological aspects into urban planning to create a city whose structural elements are easily understandable. He calls this quality in a city its 'imagibility' or 'legibility'.[5] The specific legibility of a city determines its identity. An urban environment that is conceived in such a way contributes to the sustainability of its quality of life.

Lynch thought that it is only the urban designer who is capable of holding the whole image of a city and its fast growth in his mind, or able to orientate him/herself everywhere in a city, whereas the inhabitants could only grasp certain parts of the city in their minds, and therefore were unable to find their way outside the part of the city they know by their own direct experience. Furthermore, he even believed that a person suffers from emotional insecurity in an unknown or difficult to understand environment.[6] The aim of urban design is therefore to produce a city that reproduces a pattern that takes into account the way people orientate in the city to make the urban environment pleasant and to give it a safe feeling. To find out which are these elements inhabitants refer to, Lynch used cognitive maps. These are representations of the city, drawn on a sheet of paper. They usually show how a person moves from one place to another.[7] The mapping is followed up by an interview, in which the person who drew the map explains it.

Based on his research of several American cities, Lynch concluded that the essential elements of the cityscape are limited to five:

1. *Paths* are all kind of channels by which people move along, from roads, sidewalks to railways;
2. *Edges* are defined as linear breaks in the continuity; boundaries that limit space in a lateral way like seashores, rivers or walls;
3. Another category is the *district*, a substantial two-dimensional section of the city that has an acknowledged identity such as, a red light district or city centre;
4. *Nodes* are junctions of different kinds. They indicate the change of quality of urban structures: places where the way of transport changes or other activities converge as in a shopping mall or in a smaller scale in street corners where certain groups like to hang out;
5. Finally, *landmarks* are considered important as physical objects that act as reference points being external to

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[5] Lynch 1960:2-13.
[6] Ibid.
[7] The principle of the cognitive map has later also been adopted to understand acoustic and olfactory problems in cities. Newer versions of this kind of map are also videos and photography.

paths/edges and outstanding, and therefore separate, inside districts. Landmarks can be stores, topographic places, schools, or any other object that aids orientation within the city.[8] Not all landmarks, however, have a collective recognition as such, which is an important aspect to understand the inhabitant rhetoric as will be discussed further below.

Thus the elements that make a city legible are on one side linear (paths, edges) and on the other side two-dimensional (district), meaning that they can be used to describe a location from inside this space or as an external space next to a linear element. This is also true for a reference-point (landmark) that can be located along a path/edges or inside a two-dimensional element.[9] With these tools, people can represent their city rather individually in a cognitive map even as they refer mostly by common terms to the components on the map.

This leads us to the semiotic aspect of cognitive maps: the inhabitant's rhetoric. How does the public perceive the city? Each map represents the city through a selection of landmarks, nodes, edges and paths. This selection is the individual rhetoric, which becomes even clearer in the interview that follows each mapping through the choice of words that explain the use of the city. This narrative is based on an individual experience, but uses terms that are collectively acknowledged to explain the represented reality. However, repetition and variations on the maps permit the reconstruction of the patterns of inhabitants' 'reading' of the urban space, and to establish how each group inscribes itself in the same, and becomes recognisable as such by other user groups. Thus, each set of individuals becomes recognisable as a particular group with its own rhetoric by other user groups. Every 'code' as Augoyard qualifies the inhabitant rhetoric[10], has specific social, ethnic and age rules. These are at the base of the dense network that inscribes itself into the urban space through all the user groups. The inhabitant rhetoric represents the emotional engagement that each group develops through their interaction with urban space, or in other words establishes the signification that each part of the urban space represents for each group.

3. Data collection

Building on this theoretical basis, over 60 maps have been produced in the first year of research. Age classes have been loosely established, but can be changed depending on the results of the map interpretation.

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[8] Lynch 1960:47-48.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Augoyard 1979:74-75.

There is no intention to produce any representative data, and so the demographic profile of the respondents will not be representative of the city as a whole. In addition to the age classes, there are two other categories that are thought to bring particular insights: members of the Culture Company who have planned and executed the ECoC, and cultural producers. Included in this category are artists of all kinds and people involved in running cultural businesses in the city (creative industries).

Age Group	Total	Female	Male
16 - 24	27	18	9
25 - 35	7	2	5
36 - 55	5	2	2
56 – 70	11	6	5
Over 70	1	1	
Culture Company	3	2	1
Cultural producers:	13	8	5
Total	66	39	27

The places that emerged from these first mapping exercises are mainly pubs, cafés, cinemas and restaurants. But public space, such as particular streets, parks, gardens and public buildings (e.g. St. George's Hall) is also considered culture space. Sometimes people seem to ignore that some of the space (the Albert Dock, for example) is actually not public space, but privately owned. Venues like museums and galleries are places that count as much as open air festivals (e.g. The Hub Festival at Otterspool) or family's and friends' houses to meet and socialise. The surroundings of Liverpool are an integral part of people's life and from Formby and Crosby beach to New Brighton and Speke, Liverpudlians are present.

Concerning cultural activities, there are few surprises: consumption of goods and culture linked with socialising while sharing food and drinks are on the map of all participants. Obviously the type of consumed culture differs from age group to age group: whereas the younger generation is concerned with fashionable music, older generations go to the Philharmonic Hall, to galleries and to the theatre. They all give importance to family meetings and the younger generation in particular values the weekly visit to their grandparents or to other siblings highly. Sport is also important and not only as a way of consumption, but also by actively participating.

It is interesting to state here that the icons that guide people in their orientation in town are not necessarily, or rather rarely, officially promoted icons of the city. More often other buildings with a more human size take over this role. Local churches and football stadiums or even buildings like Radio Merseyside and FACT, alongside the two cathedrals and the Bluecoat are a bigger legibility factor for people than

the Radio City Tower and the Pier Head. Iconic force is also attributed to the natural environment: e.g. the Wirral and the river Mersey (including the ferryboat).

'Lost places' are the last category of data. These also range from public space like regenerated quarters and the particular life style they once offered (second hand book shops in Seel Street, Granby Street and its local ethnic and small business, etc.) to pubs and their musical scene (Gregsons Well), dancing (Cream) and shops (Blackler's, Quiggins). Also in this category belong people that had influence on the artistic scene or were active in promoting a better urban environment by campaigning for planting derelict space.

4. Possible Achievements

The way people engage with space on the basis of what one could call a 'long term relationship', transforms it into a place. The interesting variable here is time, because it is time that finally attributes a specific quality to space through personal and collective investment with emotions, memories and activities.[11] This process of re-appropriation turns space into a place. A place has significance for its user and this is in the first instance an individual experience. However, this experience can be shared with others, which leads to the creation of categories of users for particular spaces, and gives specific identities to the places adopted by these groups. If these places disappear or change, they will still continue in the memory of their former users and some of the icons of this space will remain and evoke for these people a past significance. For this reason, the interview that follows the mapping exercise includes the question about 'lost places'. It also aids understanding of the impacts of urban design interventions on people's everyday life and the change in their engagement with the city. As a matter of fact, the map represents a mixture of present and past as both periods of time appear on it simultaneously. This historicist perception of space contains the awareness of change and at the same time the refusal to accept it. Maps represent the accumulated experience in a determined frame of space and time. It is therefore completely understandable that the younger generation will usually produce maps with less information than the older people:

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[11] Gell 1996:146-260.
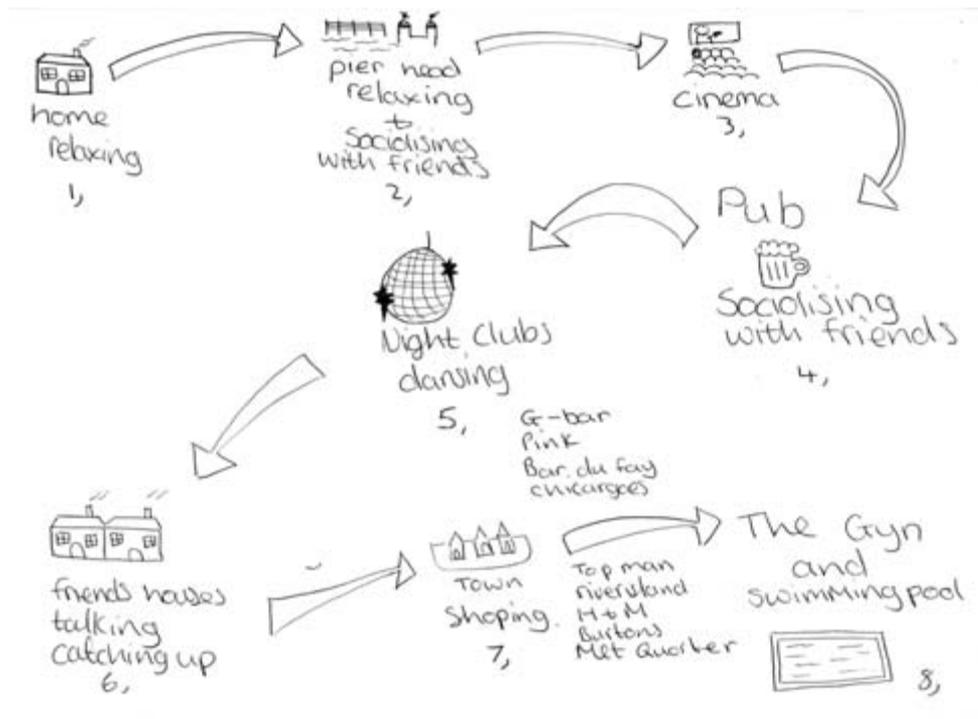
Map of 18 year old man

This does not exclude, however, that there are people of all ages particularly gifted to organise mentally the space used in everyday life. And there are certainly people that have more ability to draw a map than others. But neither the beauty of the drawing nor its geographical accurateness are relevant for analysis in any case.

The genesis of cultural space is therefore a never-ending process, as the city changes through urban design, modernisation, regeneration, gentrification or, on the negative side of change, through abandonment and impoverishment and people adapt their lives to these changes. Places are created through the permanent exchange between people and space, and this relation does not necessarily have anything to do with aesthetics, as much reappropriated space does not match official standards of beauty.

Cognitive maps are a recollection of individual representations of Liverpudlian cultural space. Each map represents a narrative that can then be used for the reconstruction of the city's cultural space. Transforming these narratives into geographically localisable information, they can then be reintroduced again on a geographical map of the city. Paths, edges, nodes and landmarks of cultural space as created by the way the different categories of people utilise it, become visible through this application. Analysing the mentioned places, one can

discover what they offer in terms of cultural attractions and better understand the actual demand of the different target groups for cultural policy. This permits - in theory - an adjustment of policies, if decision makers would adopt this method on a regular base to evaluate and monitor the impact of their policy.

Another result of this method is a better understanding of the impact that urban design has on local cultural life from the population's point of view. Participants in the mapping exercise also introduce on their map places and spaces that have disappeared, but that once had importance for their cultural life. This loss is not always surmounted by the substitution of this place by another. The new place keeps the feeling of an *Ersatz*. It offers similar activities to the old place, but it is just not the same. In time, it can develop into a well-accepted place and become integrated into a personal cultural 'routine'. It is, however, time - not the planner - which will tell who imposes the new space or venue.

For example, the creation of a new venue like the Arena in Liverpool is a deed to be talked about in the newspapers and a political achievement. On the 66 maps that were made until now for the research, the Arena does not appear more than twice. This venue can therefore not yet be considered an integrated part of Liverpudlian cultural life. Concerning disappeared places, mainly young people between 18 and 25 years miss the old Quiggins that has been destroyed as a result of the Liverpool 1 development in the city centre. It was not only a place where this group of people found shops of their liking, but could also meet to hang out together. The new Quiggins on Renshaw Street, on the periphery of the city centre does not appeal to them at all. Only one person out of 27 of that age group uses it, because it is on the way to Lime station and therefore comes in handy. Due to the new legislation that makes it very difficult for young people to find a place to gather in a public space or even in privately owned space like a shopping mall, the loss of the old Quiggins is felt even more strongly.

People in their 60s or older complain, for example, about the disappearance of the cinema club in the Bluecoat. For them the new cultural centre FACT with a modern cinema cannot substitute the old club: the films are not the same, the ambience and the people that go to FACT do not reproduce the same feeling of belonging to this new venue. However, they use these new facilities as can be seen below:
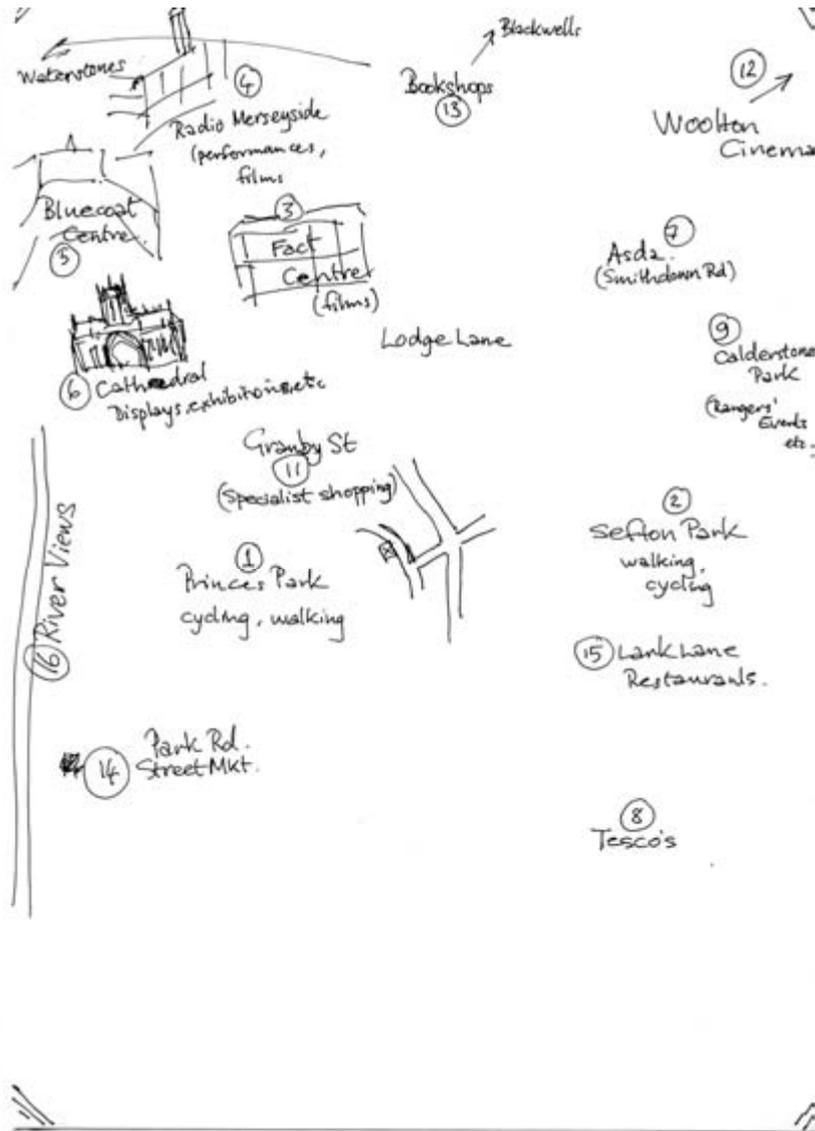
Map of 69 year old man

The above map shows four iconic buildings in the life of this man: the Anglican Cathedral, FACT, the Bluecoat and Radio Merseyside. They are iconic in the sense that the person took particular care in representing these buildings on the map. Particular local knowledge around the area where this person lives is indicated by a precise indication of the streets around the house. The river with the views one gets walking along it is an important edge on this map. It does not show the Albert Dock however. Green space is essential to this man's life as he puts several parks on the maps and indicates the activities he undertakes in each of them.

Places like the Granby area in Toxteth, undergoing a regeneration process now have changed a lot after the riots in July 1981.[12] There was a particular commerce that suited people living in Toxteth, for example. But the shops closed down and moved elsewhere, such as Mattas, an Asian shop, now located in Bold Street. As explained above, you can see on this map the 'co-existence' of past and present as Granby Street still is labelled with its former role as a place with 'specialist shopping'. The loss of small commerce where one was known by name is felt dearly and the experience of buying in big supermarkets is not appreciated. Weekly street markets like that in Park Road or the farmers' market that circulates inside Liverpool (not on the map above), are an alternative as a shopping experience.

Cognitive maps reproduce the emotional dimension of these kinds of losses by putting past and present places together on one map. The ongoing mourning for these places so demonstrated allows insights on the quality of the communication between authorities and users of urban space concerning the needs for urban planning. In the same way, the departments of culture and urban planning of the council do not seem to agree on a cooperative modus to develop the city without damaging cultural space. The lack of knowledge about what cultural space *is* in practice for the inhabitants is the reason for tension and disagreements among all stakeholders in urban spaces.

Identity grows with the personal and collective engagement with urban space, be it public, private, a venue or open space. It is therefore of utmost importance for a strong local identity that a maximum of urban space appears in the inhabitant rhetoric. The city identity depends on this relation. City branding based on local identity makes only sense and is sustainable, when the urban space is constantly used and engaged by local population, meaning that what you brand is what you see and not, as often, that you should imagine what you have been told can be seen. The attraction of a city whose inhabitants are not engaged with urban space diminishes strongly. Sameness in urban space does not only disenchant the local population, but also visitors, the latter taking a particular pleasure in seeing the local inhabitants enjoying their own city. The need of integrated urban design and culture policy seems obvious, but does not occur in practice.

As a matter of fact, the inhabitant of a city is its greatest expert on cultural space, even more so when the inhabitant works in the cultural sector, being an artist or cultural producer. The detailed knowledge of the local cultural sector includes areas that are supported by the council as much as those that are not.

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[12] Parkinson 1985: 15f.

Map of 31 year old musician

The above map gives a good idea of the concentration of information that a local artist can produce about his cultural environment. As a matter of fact, this map is the second map that this person did, because the first one did not leave enough space to detail his knowledge of the city centre. Having nearly twenty years of experience, he was able in the interview to indicate the shift of cultural space from the city centre towards its edge (e.g. Dale Street) and the Dock Road. The arena is not even mentioned on his map. It is therefore essential to integrate local experts into the promotion of local culture and identity to guaranteeing social cohesion and support from inhabitants. The allocation of the responsibility to hold an event like ECoC to local or foreign experts is therefore very delicate.

5. Some preliminary conclusions

Before any change in the usage of cultural space can be stated, the quality, kind and extension of this space must be defined to set a baseline. This has been realised during the first year of the research through a first round mapping. The evolution of the cultural space and its use by different groups is the focus of the second year of fieldwork. The interview after the mapping exercise this year includes a question about what the person has done, or wanted to do, during last year's

ECoC program. The integration of the places that have been visited, particularly new venues like the Echo Arena next to the Albert Dock, could then indicate a possible tendency for the incorporation of these places or the expectation for the continuation of certain types of cultural activities (like, for example, street theatre or more opportunities for community activities). In any case, one can only speculate about a trend, because a real impact on the local cultural habitus can only be measured by a later mapping exercise in two or three years time. As fast as the changes are in the physical regeneration of a city, people do not change their habits in engaging with urban space at the same rhythm. As for transversal quantitative impact analysis, qualitative analysis also can only define the sustainable legacy and impacts much later than at the end of the first year after an event. Nevertheless, the use of cognitive maps could be turned into a permanent tool for monitoring the changes in the inhabitant rhetoric relative to the use of urban space in general and in particular, as in this case, of cultural space. A continuous application of such an analytical and participatory instrument could improve the communication between inhabitants and council regarding the use of public space. This could lead finally to understand what is sustainable in cultural policy and what is not.

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FOSTERING INTER-CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING IN PRE-SERVICE LANGUAGE TEACHER EDUCATION PROGRAMMES

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1. Theoretical Background

In the era of post-modern globalization[1], the cultural and linguistic diversity of communities, the need for connecting to the world through communication technologies and the increasing mobility across borders have changed the nature of language learning and broadened its perspective to include social and cultural goals. In this frame, language learning can no more be considered as a school subject to be mastered but a life-long process which helps the individual to 'exist' as a whole person in a global and social context. Thus, any enterprise concerning language education has to be informed about the socio-cultural needs of the learners to help them face the challenges of the new global order. Following the new paradigm, the foreign or second language user is the one who has intercultural awareness and competence and acts as a mediator between different cultures. This understanding of intercultural competence also entails a critical awareness of language and culture which allows for the critical evaluation of ideologies, practices and products inherent both in home culture and other cultures.[2] Culture is not an object of study but a matter of competence; the competent user of a language is the one who looks at other cultures in a flexible manner and who tries to see how his/her own native culture is seen from the perspectives of others. The language user has the capacity to adopt himself/herself to new environments and even act as a catalyst. Culture has long been established as an indispensable part of language education but the focus on intercultural competence has enabled a projection of the learners' experiences on their own socio-cultural worlds. Canagarajah makes a similar point and says that "The students' primary culture will always mediate their awareness of the new culture."[3]

In the light of what has been discussed so far the language user's identity should be defined in a socio-constructivist frame. The language user is an autonomous being with different values, aspirations and qualifications, dynamically revising his/her individual identity via contact with various other cultures. This frame of reference to a rather post-modern notion of identity aligns with Kumaravadivelu's concept of

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[1] For a more comprehensive discussion of 'postmodern globalization' see Canagarajah 2006.
[2] Byram 1997:34. Also in Risager 2007:234-235.
[3] Canagarajah 1999:188.

'cultural realism'. He depicts the individual as having "multiple, contradictory, dynamic and changing identities" which are continuously reconstructed by the competing forces of the global, national, social, and individual realities and the only way to have an understanding of 'cultural realism' is to develop 'global cultural consciousness' which will enable the individual to have a critical reflection of his cultural experience.[4]

The dynamic nature of identity formation and the need for a more global approach to culture have three important implications for intercultural language education. First of all, language teaching can no longer confine itself to the teaching of target language cultures. Thus, an extensive focus on British, American or Australian culture in contexts where English is taught as a foreign or second language has to be toned down. A language user can interact with people from non-target language countries especially in contexts where English acts as a lingua-franca. Traditional approaches to foreign language teaching where the native speaker[5] is taken as a model for second or foreign language learning can no longer be the norm in gaining intercultural competence.

A second interrelated concern is the avoidance from an essentializing and homogenizing view on language and culture. Any language has culture-bearing and culture-creating potential. Nevertheless, it would not be credible to associate one language with one culture. According to Risager, the close link between language and culture should not be associated with "a closed universe of language, people, culture and history", an ideology which has dominated the scene since the late 18th century in Europe.[6] Riley also rejects a unitary view of culture and claims that all members of a given society cannot have one culture shared by all because people "construct their personal cultural repertoires on the basis of the interactional opportunities available for them." [7] It is only natural that the degree and the quality of interactional opportunities display great variety for the individual members of a given society. Moreover, the cultural repertoire of the individual constantly extends its borders in the act of communication.[8] One language - one culture association often creates a stereotyped image of the target language and cultures. Byram draws the attention to another significant

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[4] Kumaravadivelu 2008:7, 164-165.
[5] Holliday (2008:122) claims that there is oversimplification in the use of the terms 'native speaker' and 'non-native speaker'. These terms are connected to the idea of a language being attached to a particular national culture and therefore, are not neutral.
[6] Risager 2007:166.
[7] Riley 2007:39.
[8] Risager (2007:11-12) problematizes the distinction between second and foreign language and rightly suggests that the 'boundness' between language and culture becomes even more problematic in a foreign language context as the connection between language and culture exists as a norm rather than a reality and is essentially descriptive in nature.

aspect of this kind of homogenizing and claims that when national identities are typically thematized especially in foreign language teaching contexts, the students are "implicitly encouraged to respond in terms of their own national identity."[9]

The complexity of culture and the tendency to view it as a personal construct have brought about a third important pedagogical concern in an intercultural approach to language education. The focus has been shifted from teaching to the learning process which supports the personal and social development of the individual learner. Learners are no longer treated as the passive receivers of knowledge, but construct their own reality through first-hand experiences. In line with this, learners are autonomous agents whose developments are not just linked to their linguistic proficiency; there needs to be an extensive focus on the learners' attitudes, values, belief-systems and opinions.[10]

2. Motivation for the research

The growing discussions on language-culture interrelation and the complexity surrounding the notion of culture and identity on the one hand, and the effects of globalization and the need for intercultural competence on the other have had a serious impact on the planning and implementation of second and foreign language teaching. Language teachers should not only be equipped with professional knowledge and skills in teaching languages, but also manage to inspire in their learners an awareness of the importance of the culture component in language learning. Intercultural competence needs to become a part of their pedagogical agenda where they invest on an informed perspective of self and others. This requires the redefinition of the competencies of the language teachers to include intercultural competence. Are language teachers ready to face this challenge and act as mediators between cultures? The question runs deeper when foreign language teaching contexts are taken into consideration. What kinds of perceptions do the non-native teachers of a foreign language have about other cultures? What are their intercultural experiences? Does pre-service language

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[9] Byram 1989:93.

[10] The affective dimension mentioned here goes beyond or even contrasts with what has been suggested in multilingual education. Stern (1992:226-229) proposes that any involvement in culture teaching needs to have three basic components; the cognitive component includes geographical, historical and social knowledge on target culture(s); the affective component is largely concerned with the learners' attitudes, beliefs and motivations when engaged in learning of cultural content and the behavioral component refers to the language learners competence in interpreting culture-related behaviour and communicating in an appropriate manner. Kumaravadivelu (2008:112-114) criticizes this approach partly because it fails to see the complexities of cultural beliefs and behaviours both in target and home cultures and also because it still sees 'native speaker' as the norm to be reached up to.

teacher education help them develop a critical understanding of the cultural dimension in language teaching?

The present study focuses on a research which has been carried out at an urban state university in Turkey with the participation of English Language Teacher Trainees. The study aims to answer the following questions:

- What are the resources available for the foreign language teacher trainees at an urban state university in Turkey for developing their intercultural understanding?
- What kinds of perceptions and understandings do they have regarding the concept of intercultural awareness?
- Do they think that their training prepares them for their roles as cultural mediators? If so, in what ways?

3. Research Methodology

Data was collected from various sources to triangulate as much as possible. The main body of data was collected from questionnaires comprising open-ended and closed questions. For closed questions informants were asked to choose from a list of options or add in new items to the list when required. The questionnaire also included parts where respondents were invited to write short answers and offer a synopsis of their views on the topic. Metaphor conceptualization has also been used as a research tool to get a deeper understanding of the trainees' attitudes towards learning other languages and cultures. The participants were asked to complete the statement: "Learning other languages and cultures is like …………………………………… ". Additional data was collected from field notes and from various classroom tasks where students worked on films, TV commercials, ads and caricatures and responded in writing.

The questionnaire was prepared in two languages, English and Turkish and the respondents were asked to answer in the language they prefer. Some of the metaphors and written reports produced in Turkish were translated into English and given here as examples. A special effort was made to offer a direct translation of these texts and they were reviewed by a colleague to make sure they preserve the meaning originally conveyed by the participants. For ethical reasons, the questionnaires were given only to the volunteers and the respondents were asked not to write their names on the forms. The permission of each participant was asked to use the collected data and share it with a wider audience.

In the limited scope of this article, only the data collected from the questionnaires and metaphors produced by the trainees will be analyzed and discussed to get a general notion of their perceptions and experiences on culture.

4. Participant Profile

A total number of 160 English Language Teacher Trainees participated in this research. Out of this population, 116 respondents were 2nd (32), 3rd (24) and 4th (60) grade students of a four year English Language Teacher Education Programme. 10 graduate students who were enrolled in the Master's Programme on English Language Teaching also participated in the research. The remaining 34 respondents were students attending an English Language Teaching Certificate Programme which is a one year intensive programme directed at senior and graduate students from other departments who want to work as English teachers. A grand majority of these students are from English and American Literature Departments where the curriculum largely centralizes around culture pedagogy. One particular reason to include this group into the research project is to compare their perspectives on culture with those of the senior students in the ELT Department.

72% of the informants are female; 90% of the participants falls into the 20-25 age span, 4% being below the age of 20 and 6% above the age of 25. 93% of the informants are native speakers of Turkish, but their foreign language learning experience shows variety. 43% of the group studies English only as a foreign language while 45 % speak a second foreign language, though in varying degrees of competence. 12 % of the informants had access to three or more languages. 65 % of the students have been studying English as a foreign language for more than 10 years.

5. Analysis and Interpretation of Data

5.1. Intercultural Encounters

Intercultural encounters are ubiquitous; travel, personal contacts, communications media, published materials can all be potential sources for extending intercultural experience. In order to come to an understanding of the trainees' own intercultural experiences, they were asked a series of questions where they not only gave a portrayal of their own personal experiences of other cultures, but also conveyed what they found significant for their future learners in developing intercultural experience.

Analysis of the data revealed that the majority of English Language Trainees do not have firsthand experience of other cultures through personal encounters and travel. 65% of the trainees have never been abroad and as for the personal contacts, only 44% of the trainees are currently in touch with friends from other cultures. 22% percent have never met a foreign friend and 34% have had some friends but they are no longer in touch with them. These findings are significant if culture is

considered not as "a natural given but [as] a social construct" achieved through encounters between individuals.[11]

Trainees were asked to identify their own means of keeping in touch with other cultures. They were given a list to choose from. There were no restrictions on the number of choices they could make and additional space was given to add new ones if needed. The analysis of their responses shows that the world wide web (136/160)[12] and films (130/160) are the major sources of knowledge about other cultures, which has serious implications for cross-cultural understanding. Direct and up to date information can be gathered from the web, but it should also be noted that information available on the internet is vast and can sometimes be contradictory. Films are the trainees' favourite resources for the expansion of their cultural repertoires, but this raises another issue: images and representations used in the construction of media such as films are filtered through the producers' lenses and are prone to particular perspectives and particular interests. Films can turn out to be potential vehicles for conveying an 'idealized', 'stereotyped', and thus 'ideological' view of the cultures portrayed. TV (110/160), newspapers (86/160) music (107/160), and books (102/160) are also important gateways to other cultures for trainees. Although they may be rich in offering culture knowledge, they are not interactive and therefore have limited potential for fostering intercultural communication. The trainees' direct contact with other cultures through 'e-friends' (59/160), 'travel' (47/160), 'e-mail exchanges' (60/160) and 'friends' (52/160) are relatively limited when compared to other sources.[13] Another significant research finding is about the trainees' views on the influence of language teaching materials on their intercultural competence. Although they have direct access to these materials as part of their education, only half of the trainees (79/160) think they have learned something about other cultures from these materials.

In the second phase of data collection, the trainees were asked to make a selection from the same list but this time they had to identify the means they thought their future students would need to gain access to other cultures. The aim was to understand what they found significant and valuable for intercultural experience. Data was analyzed to give a

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[11] Kramsch 1993:46; see also Byram 1997:40.
[12] The findings are given in numbers rather than percentages since the data were gathered from an open-ended list.
[13] Although 35% of the trainees stated earlier that they had been abroad, only 29% of them here considered 'travel' to be an opportunity for them to get in contact with other cultures. These findings challenge the general assumption that visiting another country is a guaranteed way of understanding the culture of that country. Duration of stay in a host country, nature of intercultural encounters and opportunities that present themselves to visitors are some of the factors that have an impact on cultural experience. For further discussion see Gebhard 2006:130-137.

comparison of their own experiences with the kind of experiences they want to inspire in their future students. (See Table 1).
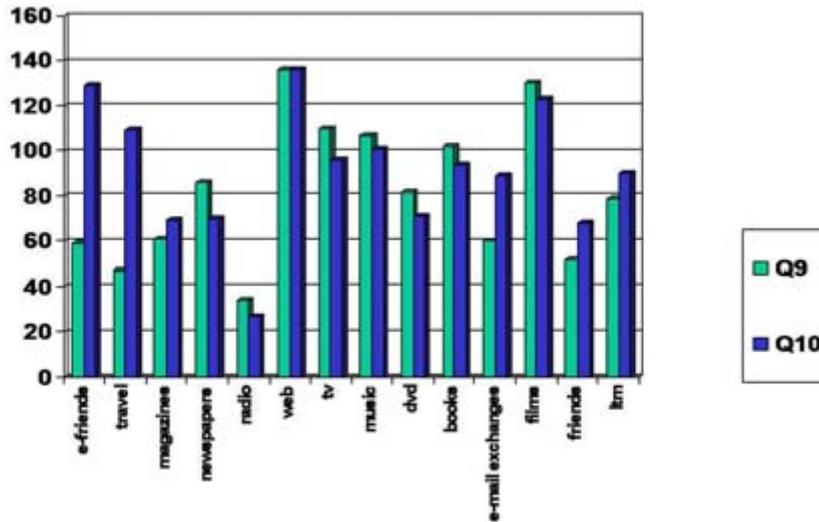

Table 1: Trainees' sources of culture content (Q9) vs. sources perceived by trainees as useful for future students (Q10)

The same number of trainees (136/160) sees the web as a potential source of cultural content for their future students. However, it is interesting to note the decreasing numbers of trainees who consider 'films' (123/160), 'TV' (96/160), 'books' (94/160), 'music' (101/160) and 'newspapers' (70/160) as significant cultural mediums. The only medium trainees expect their future students to use more often are 'magazines' (69/160), but this is still less than other sources. The sharp increase of trainees who see 'e-friends' (129/160), 'travel' (109/160), 'e-mail exchanges' (89/160) as a means to gain direct access to other cultures implies that 'personal contacts' are considered to be very important. There is relatively a slight rise in the expectations of the trainees with respect to the language teaching materials (90/160).

These findings only give a hint about the trainees' experience of other cultures and their expectations for future language learners. A thorough understanding of their ideas and the rationale behind their choices can only be gained through research with qualitative tools such as interviews and personal narratives.

So far the focus has been upon the means of gaining access to other cultures outside the school system. The research also aims to uncover the trainees' views on intercultural language education in Turkey.

5.2. Curricular concerns

A large majority of the trainees who participated in this research are aware of the importance of a cultural dimension in language teaching. 94% of the informants have indicated that building an awareness of other cultures will be part of their future responsibilities as language teachers. The trainees were then asked if they think culture is being promoted in foreign language teaching programmes in Turkey. The questionnaire distinguished between primary, secondary and higher education and gave three options: 'Yes', 'No' and 'Partly'.[14] There were 155 responses regarding primary education and 157 for secondary and higher education. Analysis of the data indicates that trainees do not see culture padagogy in primary schools; only 10% of the students replied with 'yes', while 67% thought that it was not promoted at all. As for the secondary level, there was a significant rise in the number of students who considered culture pedagogy to be 'partly' promoted (50%), while 36% of the trainees still believed that it was not promoted.[15] According to the respondents, culture learning is promoted in higher education (55%), but 39% still thought it was only 'partly' incorporated.

Theme-based language teaching can provide the teachers with a good context to explore cultural topics. In order to get an understanding of their approaches to such topics, the trainees were asked to identify the topics which they would like to see in English Language textbooks of primary and secondary levels. They initially identified their topics on a binary scale (yes/no) and then indicated the level they found appropriate for each topic. The following graph shows the research findings (Table 2):

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[14] Turkey has a three level education system: 8 years of compulsory primary education is followed by a 4-year secondary education leading to higher education. English is a compulsory subject at all levels and is first introduced in the 4th grade of primary school.

[15] The Turkish Ministry of National Education first initiated the English Language Teaching curriculum renewal project in 1997. From that moment onward there has been an ongoing process of curriculum renewal which aims at making the foreign language teaching policy comply with the norms of the European Union. The Common European Framework which promotes intercultural competence has been taken as reference for the selection and the organization of the objectives in the design of the English Language Curriculum. However, as the research findings indicate culture content can become visible only by the creation of suitable materials and an ongoing in-service teacher training for successful implementation.
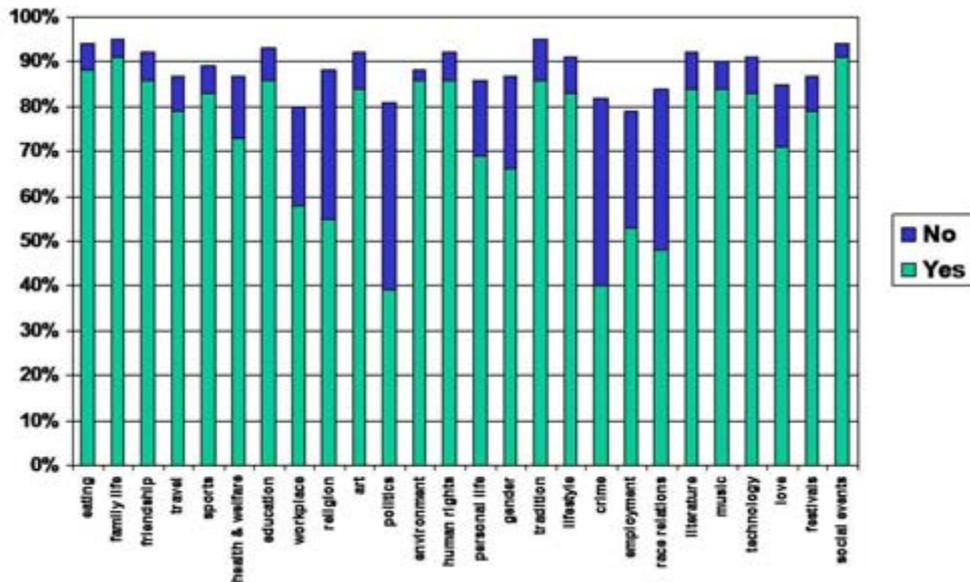
Table 2: Teacher Trainees' selection of topics to be covered in ELT textbooks for supporting cultural education

Topics such as 'family life' (91%) and 'social events' (91%) were highly favoured. According to the respondents 'eating' (88%), 'friendship' (86%), 'sports' (83%), 'education' (86%), 'art' (84%), 'environment' (86%), 'human rights' (86%), 'tradition' (86%), 'life-style' (83%), 'literature' (84%), 'music' (84%) and 'technology' (83%) were some other topics which they thought could contribute to learning of cultural content. Nevertheless the research revealed some significant findings: only a very small percentage of the participants thought that topics such as 'environment' (2%) or 'social events' (3%) should not be part of cultural exploration, whereas the percentage of students who objected to including 'education' (7%), 'art' (8%), 'traditions' (9%), 'life-style' (8%), 'literature' (8%) and 'technology' (8%) is significantly higher. One other interesting finding is the number of unanswered questions: 'health and welfare' (13%), 'workplace' (20%), 'personal life' (14%), 'love' (15%) and 'employment' (22%). A significant number of students also did not want these topics to be included in the textbooks. They may have considered these topics unsuited for children and adolescents. But at this point it is important to note that secondary school students are usually in the 16-20 age group, and therefore are not too young to

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discuss these topics.[16] The respondents could also indicate at what level they wanted textbooks to treat topics.

One of the most significant findings of this research was related to 'human rights'. 86% of the trainees considered 'human rights' to be a significant topic for textbooks, but when it came to related themes such as 'religion', 'politics', 'gender', 'crime' and 'race relations' (relevant for a deeper intercultural understanding of tolerance and openness), there was a very significant rise in the number of students who either did not reply or rejected these topics. For instance, 36% of the students did not want the textbooks to cover 'race relations' and 16% did not reply at all. The least favoured topics were 'politics' and 'crime'; 42% of the students in each case objected to having these topics in the textbooks. Another topic rejected by the majority of the students was 'religion'; 33% of the students opposed the idea, 12% did not answer.

For a comparative perspective, topics preferred by the 4th grade ELT Teacher Trainees' were compared with the ones chosen by the Certificate Programme Trainees who already took various courses on literature, translation and cultural studies. The former judged 'literature' to be more relevant a topic in primary and secondary school textbooks (92%) than the latter (87%). However, when it came to other topics such as 'race relations', 'crime', 'gender' and 'human rights' the number of certificate trainees who opted for these topics exceeded the number of 4th grade ELT trainees. For instance, 66% of the Certificate students included 'human rights' in their list, whereas the percentage was 58% for the ELT students. The difference is more distinct in their choice of topics such as 'politics' and 'religion'. 64% of the Certificate Programme Students wanted 'politics' to be covered as a topic in ELT textbooks, against 43% of the ELT teacher trainees.

The real motives behind the selection of these topics cannot be determined without an in-depth qualitative analysis. Besides, the presence or absence of a particular topic in the textbook is is not the single determining factor in promoting intercultural learning.

Cultural components can be incorporated into language teaching only if language teachers are aware of the cultural dimension in foreign language education and have the necessary resources for promoting intercultural learning. This necessitates the provision of pre-service teacher education programmes which pursue cultural goals along with other methodological skills and competences required for the teaching profession. In line with this, the trainees were asked to reflect on their

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[16] Byram et al. (1994:16-24) explore the issues of developmental psychology in intercultural education and their findings indicate that students who are older than 12 can benefit from intercultural learning.

own learning process and list the courses which they believe contribute to their own cultural awareness.

The Higher Educational Council in Turkey proposes a framed curriculum to be pursued in all English Language Teacher Education Programmes of the related departments at universities. Except for a limited number of elective courses, all student teachers study the same core subjects, the content of which is specifically determined by The Council. The respondents, who are at different levels of their academic study, identified their personal list of the courses that had contributed to their own cultural education. However, the discussion of the research findings has been confined to the student teachers' attitudes to the first and second grade core subjects which constitute a common shared academic background for the 2nd (26), 3rd (22) and 4th (57) grade ELT undergraduate students. Since all of these subjects have taken the same courses in their first and second year of academic study, their responses constitute a corpus which allows for statistical analysis and has direct implications on curriculum planning in Pre-service English Language Teacher Education in a local context. One significant finding is that trainees strongly associate culture with literature. 77 % of the informants included 'English Literature Survey Course' in their list, while 45% answered that 'Linguistics' contributed to their cultural knowledge. Methodological courses such as 'Specialization in Language Teaching Methods', 'Approaches to English Language Teaching' were almost totally missing from the lists as only six trainees saw these courses as having a cultural component.[17] There was a similar approach to the courses on skills such as reading, listening, speaking and writing. The most 'cultural' course was 'speaking' and even in that case only 11% of the trainees reported that this course has contributed to their learning of cultural content. These findings address two important curricular issues; either culture has not been a component of methodology and skills courses, or the trainees have the tendency to see culture with a capital C and associate it with literature, art, history and geography.[18] It is interesting to note that language skill courses, which are supposed to

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[17] The Common European Framework, the European Language Portfolio and its implementation in schools are some of the topics treated in the course syllabus of 'Specialization in Language Teaching Methods'; moreover intercultural competences are also dealt with during the course. Nevertheless, the trainees do not seem to have developed an awareness of the culture dimension in this course on methodology.
[18] Risager (2007:40) relates these two different concepts of culture, 'Culture with a big/Capital C' and 'culture with a little/small c', to the pragmatic culture-anthropological approach which dominated the USA scene in the 1970s and claims that American cultural pedagogy was largely interested in culture with a small c, dealing with behaviour, norms and values in everyday interaction.

focus on intercultural communication, are not considered to be contributing to the trainees' knowledge of other cultures.[19]

5.3. Reflections on language and learning of cultural content in EFL contexts

The trainees involved in the research project were asked to reflect on how to raise awareness of other cultures in foreign language education. The written reports of 150 trainees were analyzed in order to obtain a better idea of their understanding of culture. As stated earlier, 94% of the trainees indicated that they saw teaching of cultural content as part of their future responsibilities as foreign language teachers. Only one student rejected this and 9 students were not quite sure about it. One important topic which emerged from the qualitative analysis of the data was the strong tendency to see language and culture as inseparable concepts. 66% of the trainees stated that there is close interdependence between language and culture and therefore culture needs to be embedded in any kind of language teaching enterprise. While highlighting the importance of culture, the tendency was to see it as contributing essentially to language user's pragmatic competences. The trainee responses also revealed a strong tendency towards an Anglo-American orientation to cultural literacy.

Intercultural competence entails an understanding of one's own culture and that of the others and hence, enables agents to be open for and tolerant of differences. Only 20 trainees reflected on the need for a comparative perspective, and hence considered language teaching as an opportunity to better understand one's own culture. Only few students made explicit reference to certain key concepts such as 'tolerance', 'openness', 'empathy' and 'overcoming prejudices'. One may conclude that the great majority of the student teachers do not have a clear understanding of an intercultural approach to language education which acknowledges the need for negotiating and maintaining individual and social identities. Only one respondent distinguished 'personal identity' from 'national identity' and reflected on 'intercultural understanding' as an effective tool for 'empowerment':

> First of all, becoming aware of other cultures helps people look at life from a wider perspective in time. It also helps them get an inner view of themselves. Becoming aware of other cultures means having power, but this power has to be used in a good

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[19] Pre-service English Language Teacher Education Programmes were recently reviewed by the Higher Education Council and are now gradually being implemented in ELT Departments in Turkey. The new curriculum focuses extensively on the cultural component of language education, although the number of literature courses is reduced considerably. Nevertheless, it seems too early to discuss its impact on teacher trainees' attitudes and competences.

way. While learning English, the students should be aware of the relation between their own culture and other cultures. It especially helps them develop their analytical and synthetical skills. They not only learn where their own country stands, but also learn where they stand individually. Last but not the least, they become aware of themselves.

Some of the respondents discussed the tension between the various identities that language learners may experience and addressed the complexities of their future profession as foreign language teachers.[20] Rejecting enculturation, one trainee says:

I would like my students to learn many things about the other cultures, yet I do not want to act as a missionary. I do not want my students to be so affected that they forget about their own culture. However, I would like the textbook I'm going to use to include elements, traditions and interesting details about different cultures. I am against assimilation.

Another trainee faced the same dilemma and questioned the language teacher's role in intercultural language education:

While trying to create an awareness of other cultures we are somehow fascinated by these cultures and reveal this to our students. This makes us forget about our own culture. What I mean by responsibility is creating cultural awareness without sacrificing our own culture. This includes our beliefs. We are always underlining the negative aspects of the West and take them as models, but we do not do this in science and technology. This is a very serious issue.

Apart from the written reports, data was also collected from the metaphors produced by the informants. Metaphors usually give clues about the way people perceive and conceptualize phenomena. However, they do not just have a cognitive dimension as they are very subjective and personal constructs. One further goal was to gain access to the participants' feelings on learning languages and cultures. At the final stage of the research, 114 metaphors were collected and analysed to get a better understanding of the trainees' conceptual mapping of the experience involved in languages and cultures.[21]

The metaphors were classified into five groups:

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[20] According to Lustig and Koester (2006:21) the desire to maintain one's culture can promote 'fear' and 'distrust' which might have negative or even destructive consequences especially in intercultural communities.
[21] Kramsch' (2003:109-128) analysis and classification of the metaphors produced by a group of students learning French at an American University served as a model for this research.

- New ways of experiencing life (space, time, people, events) adventure, exploration;
- Transformation, going beyond the boundaries, freedom, gaining a new identity;
- Feeling of strangeness, identity split, sense of alienation, low tolerance for ambiguity or even rejection;
- Showing patience and tolerance, undergoing difficulties accompanied by a sense of achievement in the end;
- Openness to new identities, inner quest, self-improvement.

It is very common to compare language learning and learning of cultural content to a journey or an adventure in which the agent steps into new worlds. Some metaphors such as 'setting sail to unknown seas', 'cracking out of your shell and making discoveries' reveal this type of conceptual mapping. Nevertheless, adventures are always prone to dangers and what is to be found at the end is rather vague. As one trainee says: "[Learning other languages and their culture is like] walking through a dark tunnel where the light is only seen at the far end and you keep feeling the walls with your hands." This kind of exploration will always have the thrill of the unknown as expressed in the following metaphor: "creating new tastes with unknown ingredients in a brand new kitchen."

Learning a new language and culture has also been seen as a transformation, a change in identity, perhaps requiring the individuals to dissociate themselves from their former identities or urge them to display multiple identities. Metaphors such as "rebirth", "being on stage, acting different roles, being different people for different audiences" and "wearing a new cloth in a different style" are all reflections on identity formation and have implications for the way we adopt ourselves to new environments. The experience is perceived as a liberating force which helps people exceed their limitations and take a new start, as suggested in the following metaphor:

> [Learning other languages and their culture is like] creating a completely new encyclopaedia in your brain or opening your windows into another world with a totally different perspective.

In the third category of metaphors having access to a different language and culture is perceived as a traumatic experience which leaves the agent with a sense of alienation and causes a split in identity. It is like "having different souls in one body" or "being separated into two and thinking in different cultures, one part of you thinks about the other". There is the experience of strangeness and the failure to adapt as the following metaphors indicate: Learning different languages and cultures is like "trying to wear the clothes that do not fit your style" or "falling into a bottomless well". There is a strong sense of being left out, as "entering in a house where the door is shut" suggests, or "listening to

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the concert recording of someone you like from the radio." Language and learning of cultural content can sometimes be threatening, causing self-defence on the part of the learner: it is like "defending yourself at a court case, knowing that you are innocent." It is also possible that one resists exposure to a new culture if the personal identity is under threat. As one respondent puts it, it is like "turning round a medallion." It was very interesting to see how one trainee has used an element from the target culture to describe the strangeness of the experience. For the respondent, learning another language and culture is like "drinking tea with milk."[22]Metaphors of the fourth category describe the experience of learning language and culture as difficult, but rewarding. For instance, it is like "eating a pizza; first you start eating the crusty parts (rules of the language) then you continue eating towards the centre which is soft and delicious", or it is like "cracking a nut; difficult but very delicious when you manage to crack it." The language learner has to be tolerant and patient to succeed in the end: it is like "loving a girl; if you give up, she also gives up on you." One respondent compared the learning of one's own culture with the learning of other cultures: "If learning your own culture is like learning how to walk, learning other cultures is like learning how to do a somersault." Another respondent draws attention to the importance of culture in language learning: "learning a new language is like having a bike and learning their culture is like learning how to ride it."

The last group of metaphors conveys an understanding of intercultural learning which creates an opportunity for self-development, i.e. a capacity for tolerance and empathy. It is an ideal way of "unifying with the world", "rediscovering the human" and "pulling down the walls of your prejudices and understanding others." It enables the learner to develop his or her cultural repertoire for a better understanding of the world. One respondent refers to this kind of personal enrichment when he/she says it is like "adding raisins to my big cake." Another respondent builds a strong analogy with art and conceptualize his/her own understanding of intercultural learning by using a particular art form from his/her own culture: learning other languages and their culture is like "Ebru Art, each new word you learn becomes transparent and fluid and is separated like the colours in the picture. This makes the picture rich and unique."[23]

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[22] Tea is widely consumed in Turkey but almost never with milk. Tea is also widely associated with socialization and hospitality.
[23] It is originally an Islamic art also known as the Marbling Art. Hand-made paints are dripped onto the surface of a thick liquid and the artist practices patterns with the floating colours. Finally a paper is placed on the surface of the water to absorb the colours. All productions are unique and cannot be copied. Although the colours merge into each other it is still possible to trace the patterns and figures.

It would be wrong either to suggest a close link between these metaphors and the trainees' personal beliefs or claim these metaphors to be a direct representation of truth. The metaphors cited in this study can be interpreted in different ways. Nevertheless, they are all inspiring in understanding the variety and complexity involved in their mapping of language and learning of cultural content.

6. Concluding Remarks

According to Lustig and Koester "the challenge of the twenty-first century is to understand and to appreciate cultural differences and to translate that understanding into competent interpersonal communication."[24] In this context, language teaching with a focus on intercultural learning can help learners become autonomous individuals who have the capacity to act as world citizens. Learners need to take their experiences beyond the confines of the classroom and develop their own understanding of their role as mediator between cultures. This has serious implications for teacher training. Do the language teachers see themselves as mediators of culture? What resources are available for them to invest in their intercultural competence especially in foreign language teaching contexts? This study examined teacher trainees' perceptions and ideas on learning of cultural content at an urban state university in Turkey. The research findings cannot be representative of larger populations as they are confined to a local context but may inspire further discussions and be a motive for further investigation into student teachers' attitude to cultural components in foreign language education.

In the light of the findings, it is possible to draw some tentative conclusions:

- Intercultural competence should be stated as a cross-curricular goal at all levels of education and the cultural content needs to be made more visible for both language learners and teachers;
- Teacher preparation programmes should work toward a deeper implementation of the cultural element and there needs to be increased opportunities for projects and tasks which will foster first-hand intercultural experiences;
- Intercultural understanding must be clearly defined to help trainees see the complexity and plurality surrounding the notion of culture and identity in a global landscape;
- For intercultural understanding there is the need to go beyond the teaching of Four F's: Food, Festival, Fashion and Folklore and give space to social issues. Therefore,

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[24] Lustig and Koester 2006:19.

topics such as 'human rights', 'race', 'religion', 'politics' should be taken up in various courses of the teacher education programmes to help trainees develop an understanding and mediation of cultural differences in a comparative perspective and exploit these topics in their future classes.

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THE NEED FOR A STUDY TO MEASURE THE INTERCULTURAL IMPACT OF MOBILITY PROGRAMMES AMONG HEALTHCARE STUDENTS IN HUNGARY

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1. Introduction

Currently we live in the 'United States' of Europe, i.e. the ever increasing and growing European Union which has transformed not only the geographical picture of the Old Continent, but also the mentality and life quality of its people. Nowadays in Europe many people start their studies in one country, continue in another and work in a third. Since May 2004, when Hungary joined the EU, this mindset has been gradually integrated into the everyday life of students. This also applies to health care, where an increasing number of graduates is starting their careers abroad, mostly in the European Union.[1] Is there a so-called 'European culture'? Or are we talking about as many different cultures in Europe as there are countries? What kind of competences do students need in order to easily adapt to their new working environment abroad? Is higher education prepared to cater for these needs in its curricula? To find an answer to these and other questions the Faculty of Health Sciences of the University of Pécs (hereinafter the Faculty) decided to devote a study to these problems. European-level actions and programmes on culture are indispensable for promoting common values, a sense of European citizenship, and creating a European identity, which is one of the main goals of a unified Europe.[2] Moreover, there is the challenging question, especially in higher education, how to manage diversity and change in a intercultural Europe. UNESCO's 2009 World Conference on Higher Education held in Paris highlighted the importance of international partnerships and university networks which, as they claim, contribute to better multilateral cooperation at all ends.[3] However, *working together* is different from doing business together or running joint (research) projects. It requires a deeper understanding of why people from different backgrounds behave the way they do, what exactly they mean by what they say and how they say it. To comprehend the subtle meanings and messages behind the uttered words is an arduous job even for people of the same culture. In order to

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[1] Betlehem et al. 2003; Betlehem 2005.
[2] European Commission Education and Training.
[3] UNESCO 2009.

understand culture better it needs to be further investigated, namely: what is culture?

2. Defining culture

Although the term 'culture' has been defined in numerous ways by various professionals, including anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, philosophers, artists and more, there is no agreement on a single definition of it. In fact, over 160 different definitions of culture have been identified, as Kroeber and Kluckhohn argue.[4] One of the earliest definitions of culture widely cited comes from E.B. Tylor, who defined culture as a complex whole including knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits of man.[5] Herskovits spoke of culture as being "the man made part of the environment"[6]; Downs defined culture as a mental map which guides us[7], whilst Hofstede described culture as the collective programming of the mind.[8] There are several more classifications of the term culture, but the one that the authors of the present article identify themselves the most with is the definition that comes from the Swedish professor Sonia Bentling during a lecture she gave in Pécs: "Culture is nothing but what you are, what you have become."[9]

2.1. National Culture Differences

Since the late 1970's numerous surveys have tried to identify the particularities of certain cultures for the purpose of establishing the 'basic rules' of business operations of multinationals. In this section a brief review of these theories will be given. Based on several studies with IBM employees from over 50 countries, Hofstede[10] argues that altogether five dimensions of differences in national cultures exist, but he also claims that there are far more things that people have in common. He defined the dimensions of cultural differences as follows:

1. Power Distance (the extent to which the less powerful members of organisations and institutions accept and expect that power is distributed unequally);
2. Individualism vs. Collectivism (the degree to which all individuals are integrated into groups);
3. Masculinity vs. Femininity (the distribution of roles between the sexes);

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[4] Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1952.
[5] Tylor 1871, Ferraro 1994.
[6] Herskovits 1955:305.
[7] Downs 1971.
[8] Hofstede 1991.
[9] Bentling 2008.
[10] Hofstede 1991.

4. Uncertainty Avoidance (a society's tolerance for uncertainty and ambiguity);
5. Long Term vs. Short Term Orientation ("Confucian dynamism", which deals with Virtue regardless of Truth).

According to Hall[11] individuals in different cultures communicate and behave in different ways, consequently he divides cultures into two categories:

1. Low-context cultures (where words and a direct way of communication has a significant role);
2. High-context cultures (where non-verbal communication plays an important role).

Hall also considers that the concept of time is culture-specific and hence differentiates between:

1. Monochronic cultures (people concentrate on one thing at a time);
2. Polychronic cultures (people concentrate on several things at the same time).

In Hall's view the space people in various cultures keep in between them during communication is essentially different and calls it the "bubble of space". Gesteland[12] also considers communication to be a determining factor in defining national cultures. In his view cultures can be divided into six categories mirroring the connection between culture and communication, which are the following:

1. Deal-focused vs. Relationship-focused cultures;
2. Formal vs. Informal cultures;
3. Expressive vs. Reserved cultures.

Trompenaars[13] also identifies six different fundamental cultural dimensions from the perspective of the relationship between people and the relationship with nature:

1. Universalism vs. Particularism (rules vs. relationships);
2. Communitarianism vs. Individualism (the group vs. the individual);
3. Neutral vs. Affective cultures (the range of feelings expressed);
4. Diffuse vs. Specific cultures (the range of involvement);
5. How cultures relate to nature.

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[11] Hall 1990.
[12] Gesteland 1997.
[13] Trompenaars 1997.

There are lots of similarities between these theories as they have influenced one another. Trompenaars' idea of Communitarianism versus Individualism has a lot in common with Hofstede's perspective on Individualism versus Collectivism, whereas both Hall and Gesteland approached culture from the viewpoint of communication.

For the purpose and limited extent of this article the authors' inclination was simply to display the various methods by which a national culture can be better approached and understood and to build awareness of their content. Building cultural awareness is extremely significant in higher education as globalization and world-wide migration have completely changed the scope of higher education over the last few decades, thus making it a meeting place of diverse cultures. The implementation of international dimensions in the curricula is essential in the 21st century.[14] Nevertheless, several authors have pointed out that mere knowledge of the international context is not enough[15]; real 'encounters' with diverse cultures are needed to provide a learning environment for the development of intercultural competences. As not all students grab the opportunity of participating in mobility programmes, internationalisation at home (IaH) is also a necessity in higher education. The primary aim of IaH within health care is to teach undergraduates how to function and operate across borders so as to be able to provide culturally competent health care.[16] The experiences students gain during their stay abroad change their lives forever and have an impact on their environment, hence the significance of mobility programmes is obvious.

3. Mobility Programmes

There have been three main mobility programmes at the Faculty of Health Sciences in the past decade: one with the Physiotherapy Department of the University of Ljubljana enabling physiotherapy student and teacher exchanges for two weeks, one through the Frankfurt Fund (a fund established between the Frankfurter Diakonie-Kliniken and the Faculty of Health Sciences) enabling student and teacher exchanges in the field of nursing and physiotherapy for one month (students) and one week (teachers) and, last but not least, the Erasmus programme which covers almost all the majors and contributes to at least a three-month study abroad experience for students and one week for teachers and administrative staff. Since this study intends to measure the intercultural impact of mobility programmes, it focuses on Erasmus students exclusively, as this is the only one that has the benefit

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[14] Knight 1993; Barakonyi 2002; Betlehem et al. 2003.
[15] McCabe 2006; Flaskerud 2007; Callen and Lee 2009.
[16] Nilsson 1999; Wächter 2000; BIHUNE 2003; Callen and Lee 2009.

of a longer period of intercultural exposure and experience that can be evaluated later on.

4. Background of the research

Ján Figel, European Commissioner for Education, Training, Culture and Youth, claims that education and training are vital for the future of the EU as improved knowledge and skills are factors not only for personal but also for societal growth, employability, social cohesion, cultural awareness and civic maturity. High standard and accessible education is essential for the whole society, for all who are able to contribute to the European knowledge civilization.[17] In Hungary so far no research was conducted on the intercultural impact of mobility programmes. Therefore, the Faculty of Health Sciences wanted to further investigate this issue. The hypothesis of the proposed survey is that besides academic and professional development, mobility programmes have a significant intercultural impact on students' skills, knowledge, awareness and personality development, which in the long run may even influence their job selection and play a role in the formation of a more European, cosmopolitan mindset.

5. Methodology

The study will include statistical analyses of available data, the use of standardized questionnaires for comparative analysis with previous surveys carried out by other universities world-wide, face-to-face interviews, case studies and language tests. The questionnaires developed will focus on the intercultural impact of student mobility programmes at the Faculty. The intercultural factors this research intends to focus on are knowledge, skills, awareness and personality development.

The following hypothesises will be taken into consideration in the research plan:

1. Language development – the hypothesis is that a significant increase in Second Language Proficiency (in most of the cases English and German) is expected, whilst even Third Language Acquisition may be present (usually the language of the target country);
2. Personality change – significant increase in self-confidence and self-reliance is expected;
3. Enhancement in tolerance level – high increase in accepting other cultures, ethnicities, people holding different values

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[17] Figel 2008.

parallel with outstanding growth in the level of tolerance towards others;

4. Impact on career development - considerable impact on job selection (local or other city/foreign country) after graduation is expected.

6. Discussion

The study is in its early stage, questionnaires and language tests are being developed and validated. In addition to outgoing students, the intercultural impact of mobility programmes on incoming students would also be worthwhile surveying in the future along with research focusing on professionals (medical and paramedical) with international experience. One of the prospects of the study is also to extend the sample population beyond Faculty level and gather data from other higher health care institutions and universities nation-wide.

7. Conclusion

The authors believe that study abroad programmes need to be further expanded not only by the Faculty, but also by other national higher health care institutions, as their intercultural impact is of considerable importance, especially for students of health sciences who tend to migrate and find their first jobs abroad, both within and outside the EU.[18] More emphasis needs to be put on marketing and PR activities to increase students' awareness. The significant financial contribution of the Faculty and the Students Union to mobility programmes have to be maintained and even extended to the governmental level in order to further encourage student mobility. The importance of foreign language courses has to be stressed, as lack of sufficient foreign language competences seem to be the major obstacle to students participating in mobility programmes. Intercultural orientation programmes need to be developed so as to prepare students for their studies abroad. However, internationalization at home is also of great significance as not all students have the possibility to study abroad due to some of the previously mentioned factors.

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