

Culture in/and Crisis

*Fifth Annual Conference
of the
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

KOMLÓSI , László I. – KERESNYEI , Krisztina: A Note from the Editors . . .	5
COUDENYS , Wim: Foreword.	7
BASTIAENS , Jozef: 'Human Capital' in Higher Education: the returns from more diversity in the field.	9
CAMPBELL , Peter: A CreativeCrisis? Linking the European Capital of Culture and Creative Industries	23
CRISAFULLI , Domenico: European culture and the two capitals: Vilnius and Istanbul	36
DE GRAEF , Gunilla: Culture through crisis: conflict management skills as an essential part of intercultural competence	43
DELBARGE , Marc: Culture in crisis: Babel or monolingualism?	54
DIMITROVA , Vesselina – GENKOVA , Stanislava: From local to European identity - case study of Varna, A candidate city for ECoC in 2019	66
FISCHER , Hatto: Crisis in Culture – Crisis in European Capitals of Culture	77
GOOSSENS , Dimitri: Ugliness and Savagery in Contemporary Art and Popular Image: A Culture in Crisis?	103
KERESNYEI , Krisztina: The cultural industry of the EU in the light of the economic crisis.	115
LÄHDESMÄKI , Tuuli: Celebration of Locality, Regionality, National Culture or Europeaness? Notions on area-based identities in Pécs2010.	122
LUKA , Ineta – NIEDRITIS , Janis Eriks: The enhancement of prospective managers' cultural awareness in business related studies.	138
MANTATZIS , Anestis D.: Thessaloniki '97 European Capital of Culture as an establishing mechanism of elite development coalitions: towards a regime approach?	153
OSTAFIŃSKI , Witold: Is there a link between 'culture' and 'cultured' behaviour? Can 'culture' save the world?	170

POGGI , Marie-Hélène – SEVIN , Jean-Christophe: Marseille: City and European Capital of Culture in/and crisis	184
POZSGAI , Gyöngyi – KAJOS , Attila – NÉMETH , Tímea: The challenges of a multicultural university environment in the era of crisis	191
SIMET , Georg F.: Possibilities of the ECoC Programme to strengthen European Identity – Istanbul’s ‘Civil Society Dialogue’ as Paradigm	200
TOMUS , Ion M.: A Case Study: Multi-culturalism in the Performing Arts during ‘Sibiu - European Capital of Culture, 2007’. Radu Stanca National Theatre Performances	215
TÓTH , Ákos: The modified role of the state in cultural financing as a reaction to the economic crisis	226
VALICKAS , Andrius – GRAZULIS , Vladimiras: The cultural dimension of career development (The case of Lithuania)	237
VELLA , Graziella: The development of a sustainable cultural infrastructure for mega-events: Towards Valetta 2018	251
ZALAY , Szabolcs: A holistic pedagogic view of the crisis	268
ZALFEN , Sarah: Operatic Crises? Cultural strategies to deal with a transformation of the state	276

A Note from the Editors

It is always a relief, as we are told, to launch a ship on her maiden-voyage, despite the sublime and tense anticipations. This solemn move is the real test for the coherence and efficient functioning of the constituting elements that make up the seemingly fragile body of a boat that is supposed to be strong to hold against the elements often governed by whim.

The Fifth Annual Conference of the University Network of the European Capitals of Culture (UNeECC) chose to help navigate on troubled waters, amidst conditions of crisis affecting both the state of present-day culture and the so-far highly successful movement of the European Capitals of Culture. It has become visible over the past years that culture, culture production, culture maintenance and culture management suffer from the lack of social and societal support, even if the need for the diversity of cultural phenomena and active cultural agents has not decreased in societies across geographical, historical, political and ideological distances.

The challenges borne out by the prolonged period of crisis were not to be ignored. The UNeECC community, having been an innovative and productive network for five years, had decided to face up to and confront the new circumstances and propose models or response-patterns that should be suitable for suggesting viable solutions. With this devotion in mind, analyses had to be encouraged to depict the state of culture in general, and the menaces and threats in particular in critical manners.

28 authors from a wide range of European countries have contributed to 22 papers selected by the editors for publication. Looking at the scope of these papers, one is content in the thought that the annual scientific conference reached its goal: the notion and phenomenon of crisis have been approached and scrutinized from numerous, but sufficiently complementary aspects. The question of the value of human capital in career development through holistic pedagogy and multiculturalism in the HE environment proved to be one of the focal points of the conference. Almost as conspicuous was the interest in developing the culture of conflict management while enhancing cultural awareness and combating monolingualism and provincialism. A third cluster

of interests focused on alternative ways of funding cultural activities and developing creative industries against crisis. Yet another pool of ideas gathered around the questions of multiple cultural identities often caused by area-based developments, such as local, regional, national and supranational ones. It goes without saying that the interest in assessing and evaluating former and would-be ECCs from the point of view of their cultural, economic and societal impacts proved to be unbroken. This is, however, also a terrain in which the most fierce conflicts arise due to preferential thinking in urban development together with event-culture as opposed to organizational, community and/or sub-cultural developments.

We are happy to announce the maiden-voyage of Volume 4 and wish our Readers new insights and excitement in rethinking the possible positive impacts caused by hard times on cultural resilience.

Krisztina Keresnyei

László Imre Komlósi

Foreword

On 27 and 28 October 2011 the University Network of the European Capitals of Culture (UNeECC) held its 5th annual conference in Antwerp, Flanders' cultural and economic capital. The port of Antwerp has been Belgium's portal to the world for centuries. The City, or the Metropolis, as people in Antwerp call it has been the European Capital of Culture back in 1993, but it has never hidden its European or even global cultural ambitions: in 2011 Antwerp was the European Youth Capital and in 2013 it will organize the World Outgames. In other words: Antwerp is a worthy place to host UNeECC's annual conference, dedicated to the burning issue of 'Culture in/and Crisis?'

Lessius Antwerp was particularly proud to host the conference, not only because its Vice-Chancellor, Professor Flora Carrijn, is President of UNeECC, but also because it shares and promotes the values UNeECC stands for: that higher education is not just there to train efficient managers and technicians, but also to nurture social engagement, cultural awareness and human sensitivity. As such Lessius Antwerp adheres to the idea that higher education should be 'universal' rather than utilitarian.

In her opening speech Professor Carrijn deplored that as a result of the current financial crisis precisely these universal values - social welfare, education and culture - are the first to suffer. As such this global economic crisis threatens to disrupt the world's social and cultural tissue for generations to come. UNeECC wants to offer an alternative, albeit a modest one: unite institutions of higher education around European culture, notably the European Capitals of Culture (ECoC). The ECoC-movement, obviously, has its own problems, as culture is increasingly seen as a commodity, as part of the leisure or tourist industry, as a tool for city branding or an opportunity for urban regeneration.

With the 'Culture in/and Crisis?' conference UNeECC wanted to address both issues: 1) the relationship between higher education, culture and global citizenship; 2) the impact of the crisis on ECoC and how to deal with it. A selection of the papers presented during the conference are collected in the present volume. As organizer of the Antwerp Conference and Editor of *UNeECC Forum* I am quite happy to see that this is not an isolated event. An increasing number of aca-

demics, people active in the cultural field, politicians and captains of industry raise their voices and plead the cause of humanities and social sciences, the so-called 'soft sciences', as a necessary complement to the 'hard' and 'applied' sciences.¹ Growing awareness may not be the solution to the crisis, but at least it is a start.

Wim Coudenys

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¹ See the recent Advice Paper by the League of European Research Universities (LERU) on *Social Sciences and Humanities: essential fields for European research and in Horizon 2020* http://www.leru.org/files/general/LERU%20AP%2011_SSH%20Essential%20fields.pdf

'HUMAN CAPITAL' IN HIGHER EDUCATION: THE RETURNS FROM MORE DIVERSITY IN THE FIELD

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From an economic perspective, human capital theory provides a solid empirical basis for investments in education worldwide. For many years, human capital has been the key framework for assessing returns of education to individual learners as well as to society at large. As it has been such a powerful theory to underpin policy decisions, both at government and institutional level, this paper explores the potential returns from more cultural diversity in Higher Education (HE). We will do so from both a theoretical and empirical perspective.

Specifically, we will take into consideration the goals and efforts that are currently undertaken to promote cultural diversity at Flemish institutions for Higher Education. The paper is based on evaluation research of current policies and institutional practices that seek to support cultural diversity and equal opportunities at universities and colleges in Flanders (Belgium). The study included an analysis of policies and projects at 22 different Higher Education institutions from 2008 to 2010. It brought to light a broad variety of institutional responses to the challenges and opportunities of an increasingly multicultural environment. Whereas evidence of the numerical growth of students from traditionally underrepresented groups remains sketchy, the evaluation identified a number of innovative projects, procedures, practical ways and methods for colleges and universities to further the return of their cultural diversity in view of expected returns for society, their institution, and for their staff and students.

Thematically, the presentation relates to some of the key topics of the Antwerp UNeECC Conference. First, we will discuss the topic of multiculturalism from a practical perspective by focusing on the institutional responses of colleges and universities. Moreover, we do so from a pragmatic point of view that underlines the potential returns from investing in more cultural diversity. Finally, the presentation opens up new lines of investigation where 'cultural diversity' and its relation to 'human capital' touches upon the debate of the commoditisation of HE.

1. The theoretical frame of 'human capital'

The origins of the human capital theory are well-known, and whilst this is not the place to dwell in great detail on its internal growth and debates, it may help to remind us of its original tenets in view of our discussion of the added value of increased cultural diversity.

To summarise briefly, 'human capital' theory originated in the late 1950s and early 1960s when economists started to recognise the qualitative value of the workforce in optimising the production process. Authors such as Mincer, Schultz & Becker, all economists from the internationally well-known 'Chicago School', laid the principal foundation of the human capital theory: human labour is regarded as a means of production (hence, 'human capital'), into which more investment (e.g. by training or education) yields better or additional output. In this, purely economic sense, human capital is regarded as the stock of acquired abilities and personality attributes (Marchall, 1998).

Education economists in particular were keen to explore the opportunities of the theory and its applications for education policy all over the world (Psacharopoulos, 1994), not only by further investigation but also, and mainly, by empirically analysing the rates of return of public and private investment in education. Whilst education economists throughout the 1970s, 1980s and well into the 1990s, continued to sophisticate their research methods and designs in increasing detail (e.g. returns according to national development, levels of education, subjects, public/private etc.), the argument that investment in education makes economic sense became firmly established.

Typical arguments derived from research by education economists include the following:

- a. the positive returns from public and/or private investment in education for the individual student (i.e. private returns), as measured by the impact on (future) earnings, quality of employment, etc...
- b. the positive returns from public and/or private investment in education for society at large, as measured by the impact on economic growth, fiscal income, technology development, employment rate and anticipation of labour market changes.

While the measurable merits of 'human capital theory' have been established on economic grounds, it goes without saying that this does not necessarily imply that the economic argument is the only, or even the most convincing, foundation for investment in education. Other social scientists and educators have complemented the relevance of furthering human capital in a number of significant ways. Psychologists and pedagogues pointed to the impact of education on personal growth, professional development and both individual and humanistic achievements. The relevance of the idea of human capital has been further widened recently by social scientists to embrace social goods such as democracy, health, world citizenship, 'human development' (Amartya Sen), whilst in modern societies definite links can be made to the concept of 'social capital' (Robert Putnam).

In this paper we suggest that both economic and social/educational perspectives of human capital can serve as a guidepost to better understand the challenge and opportunities of multiculturalism for today's Higher Education. In the next sections we will refer to the case of Belgium (Flanders) to illustrate the point.

2. Multiculturalism in Belgium

As a result of consecutive flows of immigration over recent decades, the increase of cultural diversity has become a key element in Belgium's changing population dynamics. Especially in the major towns and cities, the demographic share of the population from ethnically different backgrounds has risen remarkably (see table 1). Many observers note that the multicultural society has become a social fact of life (Hertogen, 2010; Loobuyck, 2011).

The debate on cultural identity, so typical of multicultural societies, entered the public domain and at times poisoned the cultural atmosphere for fruitful intercultural dialogue between people and politicians. The major challenges of this development in areas such as employment, urban development, social welfare, housing and education are widely discussed in newspapers and other media. Nonetheless, the opportunities for this increasing cultural diversity for both individual and societal development are rarely brought to the fore.

Today, an average 20% of Belgian's population is currently of ethnically different (non-Belgian) background. This figure differs from re-

gion to region (Brussels: 67.0%; Flanders: 13.3%; Walloon region: 22.5%) and from town to town (cf. Table 1). The proportion of the population with ethnically different backgrounds (EDB) is mostly concentrated in major cities such as Antwerp, Brussels, Liège, and Charleroi.

Table 1. - *Proportion of population with ethnically different background (EDB) in selected Belgian cities*

	Population	% EDB
Brussels Region	1,050,000	67.9%
Antwerp	472,000	39.7%
Gent	237,000	25.6%
Bruges	117,000	6.2%
Leuven	93,000	26.3%
Mechelen	79,500	27.3%
Charleroi	201,500	41.0%
Liège	190,000	47.0%
Namur	108,000	15.0%

Source: Centre for Sociological Research, KU Leuven (2010)

2.1. *Some observations from research in Flemish education*

In basic education, about 20% of the children have an ethnic minority background. Whilst this average varies from town to town, it is fair to point out that their position in terms of educational progress and unequal treatment to date remains problematic (Duquet et al., 2006). No less than 40% of the pupils with EDB are 'herded' into technical & vocational types of secondary education. OECD/Pisa data indicate that social stratification patterns, linguistic backgrounds, and cultural

stereotypes continue to burden the Flemish school system (Sierens et al., 2006). Other researchers have shown that ethnic disadvantage is perpetuated from one generation to the next mainly through mechanisms of class disadvantage (Phalet, 2007). In addition, there is evidence of cumulative ethnic and class disadvantage for Turkish and Moroccan minorities. As a result, over 50% of youngsters from an ethnic minority background leave compulsory school levels with no certificate or degree. The loss of 'human capital' for individuals and society has become an unfortunate part of our education system at this level.

In HE also, the consequences of this situation are very visible. It should come as no surprise that the share of students with EDB participating in HE to date has remained relatively low (on average 6 to 7%). Again, these average figures vary widely according to region and/or subject area, but the overall outcome is clear: students with ethnically different backgrounds are dramatically underrepresented in Flemish Higher Education. Most disturbing is the observation that these students are almost totally missing from teacher training study programmes, and that teachers with ethnically different backgrounds are currently hard to find throughout the Flemish education system regardless of the level.

The underrepresentation of students with an ethnically different background has become a central cause of concern at different levels of HE policy (Van Remoortere et al., 2009). Apart from concerns in terms of social equity, there are also many economic reasons for university leaders to keep a close watch on demographic developments. Not least, one might be tempted to question the moral weight of HE institutions vis-à-vis society if minority voices continue to be underrepresented in their own student body and teaching ranks. How might universities and colleges regain their critical role in furthering intercultural dialogue and cooperation among communities (Bergan et al., 2010)?

3. Responses from Higher Education

In response to the reality of the multicultural society, it appeared that, as from the mid-2000s, a sense of urgency had seeped into the world of Higher Education and its decision-makers. In the field of social policy, a strong call for a new wave of democratisation in HE was

heard. In 2005 all Flemish universities and colleges publicly subscribed to a visionary text in which recognising the added values of diversity was to be regarded as a starting point for countering the persistent inequalities in HE.

This approach would require a range of measures at different levels of intervention, typically involving the participation of different actors and their responsibilities:

- The external environment: links with other levels of education, with parents, and with civil society at large;
- The HE system: organisation and structures present within institutions, finance, recognition of degrees and experience and language policy;
- The institutional level: vision, size, student policy, traditions and content of curricula, teaching staff, the learning environment, communication, PR and logistics;
- Classroom management (backgrounds, goals, coaching, intercultural competences, teacher and student flexibility).

3.1. Expected impact of cultural diversity on teaching and learning

As educators, we are well aware of the crucial role that teachers (and teacher trainers) play in bringing about change in dealing with increasing diversity at classroom level. Teachers are indeed used to recognise situations and structure their lessons to reflect student differences. This encourages students to recognise themselves and others as individuals.

Recognising student differences (and similarities) also encourages the appreciation of a diverse school population, and brings a sense of connection between disparate cultural heritages within a single school's culture. Therefore, one might say that it is in the best interests of students and teachers to focus on the richness of our diversity and come to see the added value for teaching and learning purposes. Recognising and acknowledging differences and similarities thus becomes part of treating students fairly and equally.

One specific reason for seeking out and acknowledging cultural differences among students is related to Piaget's notions that learning in-

volves the transfer of information from prior knowledge and experience. In order to facilitate this transfer process, it is important to appreciate the students' cultural backgrounds, and to validate and incorporate their previous 'human capital' (prior knowledge) into the process of building up new information - in the process contributing to increased 'human capital'.

All students begin school with a framework of skills and information based on their home cultures. If the student cannot relate new information to his own experiences, or connect the new material to a familiar concept, he may perceive the new information as frustrating, difficult or dismiss it completely, believing it to be in conflict with his already tenuous understanding of the world.

Teachers, therefore, have the primary responsibility to seek out cultural building blocks which students already possess, in order to help build a framework for understanding. Some educational pedagogy refers to this process as "scaffolding." The recognition of a student's cultural differences provides a positive basis for effective learning, and a "safe" intercultural classroom setting (Lynch, 2011). The challenge, however, is not only to understand and come to appreciate different cultural frameworks but also to come to grips with the foundation (i.e., cultural norms and values) on which your own cultural framework is built.

In other words, basic educational pedagogy provides a solid ground for dealing with increased cultural diversity at the level of the classroom. However, practice at Flemish colleges and universities seem to indicate that, in spite of demographic changes, cultural diversity at classroom level remains limited (cf. the figures presented). It also appears that teachers in multicultural classrooms are, typically, challenged in their dealings with cultural diversity in particular, and express needs in terms of professional development in order to adjust teaching strategies to culturally new audiences of learners.

3.2. Institutional incentive fund for diversity and equal opportunities at universities & colleges (2008-)

Meanwhile, at the level of Flemish HE policy, the new Financing Decree (2008) included an instrument to encourage colleges and universities to invest in institution-based initiatives and measures to in-

crease diversity in their own ranks. More specifically, the programme was earmarked to 'encourage' institutions:

- To take measures to increase access and the educational success of underrepresented students,
- To plan, monitor and evaluate these measures on the basis of general outcome indicators,
- To contribute to the funding of these measures on the basis of a 'matching fund' with the Government and
- To conclude bilateral agreements with the Government.

Overall funding was delivered in the form of a matching fund, where structural investment by the institutions was supplemented by Government on a 50/50 basis. The total budget for the program represents about 0,5% of government's structural funds for HEI. The first phase of the program was implemented from 2008 to 2011. Funding was earmarked to the following list of institutional objectives:

- To increase access, improved education efficiency, and successful educational outcome of underrepresented groups at institution
- To develop a strategic policy plan on diversity and equal opportunity at institutional level
- To systemically collect data (institutional research data) regarding the state of diversity management at the institution
- To implement monitoring and evaluation procedures
- To increase and/or improve the participation of target groups
- To ensure the sustainability of initiatives by structurally embedding inclusive measures in institutional structures and policies
- To exchange expertise within the institution and with other actors in this field.

The challenges for institutions to realise these objectives are quite substantial as they suggest a number of strategic, structural and procedural changes in order to come to deal with a relatively new social

reality. The institutional projects and approaches were reviewed by an expert panel. The evaluation not only offered a preliminary view of how Flemish colleges and universities currently deal with the issue of diversity at their institution, but also helped to identify a number of innovative ways and instruments to ensure increased 'human capital' in an increasingly culturally diverse environment.

4. Selected findings from the evaluation study

Overall, the incentive programme provided insufficient funding in relation to its quite ambitious goals and timing perspective. Nonetheless, it definitely gave the topic of diversity a highly visible boost at the institutional level of many colleges and universities, in many cases leading to a process of developing ideas and formulating projects. The provision of funding in the form of matching funds ensured that diversity was viewed as a shared responsibility of institutions and government.

Further, the incentive fund provided room for experimentation and institutional initiatives, sometimes at decentralised levels within the institution. Project-based interventions typically outweighed structural measures, even though most projects were institutionally supported by a central working group and/or a staff member with coordinating tasks. Nonetheless, institutions differed widely, both in their choice of target groups and methods, and in their approach to stimulating the process of developing and managing projects. Also, the institutional process of defining strategic policy differed from one institution to the next. To all intents and purposes, and, given the nature and scope of the intended change, this was not considered to be a negative element. Instead, the idea was to integrate diversity management, including cultural diversity, at all levels within the institution, taking into consideration organisational traditions and (desired) institutional profiles (e.g. regional, international, academic, professional etc...).

The room for experimentation and the differentiation of approaches to some extent challenge the framework of the incentive fund, which, at least by ambition, is very much oriented towards (preferably measurable) outcomes. The mismatch between policy ambitions (i.e. increasing the level of participation of underrepresented groups) and decentralised project-based approaches became evident when the second phase of the programme was to be discussed and approved. As long

as there was no common agreement on the definition of target groups, and as long as operational outcome indicators failed to be determined by government, there was no way for institutions to measure and monitor progress in achieving objectives quantitatively. As a result, some institutions failed to deliver in terms of quantitative measures, whereas others built their results on shaky grounds in the absence of baseline or zero-measurements. Of course, some might question the extent to which progress in terms of the management of diversity is measurable in such a short term, and many will agree that qualitative indicators (e.g. steps taken, structures or procedures installed) or process-based measures can, in effect, also be valid parameters of success. However, as long as target groups are not defined clearly, indicators are not agreed on and baseline data are not available, measurable outcomes cannot be expected, monitoring will prove to be difficult, and there will continue to be more data on efforts than on outcomes.

To what extent can outcomes of this programme lead to increased levels of 'human capital'? What we do know is that human capital formation is the key to economic and social development, that its potential resource pool of students from ethnically different backgrounds is currently not being 'exploited' optimally, so to speak, leading to a waste of talent for society, a loss of human development and a financial burden on our budget. We are also aware that there is a political sense of urgency to 'do something about it'. From this perspective, the responses from colleges and universities are expected to be limited in the short run, but can be important in terms of the economic, educational, social and even the moral impact of Higher Education in society.

More specifically:

- The economic added value of continued structural investment in increasing numbers of students with ethnically different backgrounds will ensure increased levels of future earnings (individual), increased revenues from tuition (HE institutions) and tax income (for society). Further efforts in the development of transparent systems to measure and monitor are urgently required (including the definition of indicators and target groups).

- One of the more qualitative outcomes of the evaluation is that the educational value of added cultural diversity seems to be well understood, but that the complexity of multicultural classroom settings requires investment in professional development for teachers and teacher trainers. The exposure to, and the ability to collaborate in, multicultural contexts respond to both generic and professional competencies that are currently required on the globalised job market. At the same time, the intercultural competency of students, teachers, and staff has become a key life-skill in the multicultural society in which we live. In other words, both majority and minority students and staff benefit in terms of the development of human capital.
- Further, the investment in cultural diversity did, in effect, lead to expanded social and regional networks of some of the colleges and universities participating in collaborative projects with external partners, civil society and NGOs. Again, outcomes will be hard to measure quantitatively - at least for the time being. Nonetheless, these networks help institutions to build partnerships in view of collaborative research projects, expanding their basis for external service provision in consulting and training and in strengthening international contacts.
- Finally, many institutions pursue cultural diversity on ethical or moral grounds, reflecting their mission or institutional identity. This moral dimension of human capital includes the ability to participate in the debate on cultural values and norms, religion and spirituality, identity, dignity, community and solidarity, or, more broadly, in the discussion on what constitutes a humane and just society. HE institutions play an important role in fostering intercultural dialogue through their provision of education, research and service - programmes, but also as actors in the wider society and as sites where intercultural dialogue is put into practice.

5. Innovation furthering returns at institutional and individual level

It is hard, if not impossible, to provide a complete overview of individual projects that have been implemented in the past few years. I will, therefore, list only some types of project and approach on which Flemish colleges and universities have been working lately.

- Projects related to development of intercultural competence.
- Development of instruments and methods that help students and/or teachers and teacher trainers to deal with multicultural contexts and situations more effectively.
- Professionalising diversity management
Supporting the work of staff involved in diversity projects, introducing participative methods and approaches, intercultural conflict management, internal and external communication resources, development of systems for monitoring data and measuring.
- Investment in the learning climate and facilities
- Projects introducing or increasing levels of individualised coaching, mentoring, and/or tutoring systems
- Application of 'Design for all' principles in developing or revising curricula
- Increased to inclusive language and remediation facilities
- Communication and networking projects
- ...

Conclusion

Our ability to relate to and interact with those whose cultural backgrounds differ from our own will be among the determining factors for the future of our societies. In principle, the multicultural reality in many European countries should provide a solid framework for the development of much required 'human capital' in that area. In practice, however, this is often not the case. Instead, it appears that the current education system requires structural policy measures in order

to a) ensure the more optimal participation of ethnically diverse individuals and the development of their 'human capital', and b) strengthen the intercultural competencies of both students and teachers (regardless of ethnic origin) in view of their professional development and life-skills.

We have used the Belgian multicultural situation as the broad context for a study to illustrate how multiculturalism has been impacting on the education system as a potential resource for critical human capital development. More specifically, we discussed responses from Flemish colleges and universities and the various ways in which they responded to an incentive fund that was installed to further diversity at HE institutions. From a broad interpretation of human capital and the need to further fine-tune both quantitative and qualitative measures and indicators, our evaluation concludes that investment in efforts to increase cultural diversity is still required - even expanded. To the extent that HE institutions in particular continue to consider themselves to have a crucial role in fostering intercultural dialogue and understanding, colleges and universities are expected to contribute to human development in an economic, social, educational, and a moral sense.

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A CREATIVE CRISIS? LINKING THE EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE AND CREATIVE INDUSTRIES

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Introduction

This paper examines some aspects of the relationship between 'creative industries' and the European Capital of Culture (ECoC) programme, focusing on research carried out around the city of Liverpool's tenure as ECoC in 2008. It demonstrates how, in concert with broader trends, the Liverpool ECoC is in part presented as being intimately linked with creative industries growth, and how such growth is assumed to be of particular benefit in times of economic crisis. The paper goes on to suggest, however, that this model of a strong, beneficial link is a problematic one; not only may the ECoC not be strongly related to the operation of creative industries, but the benefits which creative industries are assumed to bring may also be in need of further scrutiny. Without such scrutiny, the prevalent discourse of a link between the ECoC and creative industries may bring about crises of its own.

1. Creative Industries and the ECoC

Whilst there are many difficulties presented in defining just what it is that is 'creative' about the creative industries², the one thread running through all attempted definitions³ is that pursuits which can comfortably be deemed 'cultural' comprise the majority of the activities which come under this title. As I have discussed in greater detail elsewhere⁴, it is perhaps, therefore, unsurprising that the rationale for hosting a cultural festival such as an ECoC is often framed in terms of the beneficial impact upon creative industries within a host city. In their retrospective study of ECoCs, for example, PalmerRae Associ-

¹ This paper is based on research carried out as part of an AHRC/ESRC Impact Fellowship in Cultural Policy and Regeneration. See: <http://www.ahrc.ac.uk/FundedResearch/Pages/ImpactFellowshipinCulturalPolicyandRegeneration.aspx>.

² E.g. Banks and O'Connor (2009), Campbell (2011a), Flew and Cunningham (2010)

³ E.g. KEA European Affairs (2006), UNESCO (2009), Work Foundation (2007)

⁴ Campbell (2011b)

ates find “an expansion of creative industries and jobs”⁵ to be one of the goals which cities hosting the ECoC express most often.

1.1. Why would creative industries growth be desired?

It is not merely the case, however, that activity within creative industries is seen as being a close relation to the cultural activity of the ECoC. The desire in ECoC host cities to expand the creative sector can be situated in the context of a more general trend from 1990 onwards towards focusing on the potential power of the ECoC to promote “urban regeneration”⁶ and to improve the socio-economic conditions of cities, via a more instrumental use of culture⁷. Creative industries are seen as being particularly valuable to this end, and particularly flexible – this understanding of the creative sector aligns with theories around the emergence of a ‘new’ economy towards the end of the 20th century, no longer reliant on the physical resources of place and by some accounts especially ‘creative’ in character⁸. Politically, the creative industries are, therefore, discussed as being particularly useful for economic development. In the UK, creative industries were initially posited in the 1990s by government ministers as constituting the site where “the wealth and the jobs of the future”⁹ would be found and, similarly, in the 21st century have been characterised as being “increasingly vital” and “well placed for continued growth”¹⁰. At the European level, such industries are characterised as having a particularly useful role to play in dealing with economic crisis¹¹. This general picture can be placed in the context of Van Heur’s assessment that all policy documents pertaining to this area are based on “the assumption that creativity will become increasingly important” as we move towards a “knowledge-based economy”¹¹.

1.2. Linking Liverpool ‘08 with creative industries

The UK cities which bid to be nominated ECoC followed this general pattern of placing a special value on economic regeneration and, re-

⁵ PalmerRae (2004):103

⁶ García (2005):843

⁷ *Ibid.*:846

⁸ Cf. Garnham (2005)

⁹ Smith (1998):31

¹⁰ DCMS *et al.* (2008):6

¹¹ Van Heur (2010):129, original emphasis

lated to this, creative industries¹². To consider the case of the city which won this nomination, as time has now passed since Liverpool's tenure as ECoC, it is possible to ascertain not only how the operation of creative industries was, in part, used to make the case for the benefits the ECoC would bring to Liverpool, but also that the successful operation of creative industries has subsequently been positioned prominently within the wider narrative around what benefits the ECoC indeed did bring to Liverpool.

1.2.1. Before 2008

In documents produced by Liverpool's bidding organisation, the Liverpool Culture Company, a number of references are made to the economic benefits the ECoC programme may have, particularly with regard to the operation of creative industries. For instance, the award is positioned as having the potential to make the city a "key destination" for "cultural, creative and tourism businesses"¹³, to create "an attractive environment for cultural businesses and creative people"¹⁴, and to engender "new products, innovations and businesses"¹⁵, and the "creative industries" themselves are directly referenced¹⁶. Similarly, consultancy documents commissioned by the local city council outline the potential benefits to employment levels in creative industries presented by the ECoC¹⁷. Clearly, positions such as these align strongly with theories regarding the special role creativity may play in urban regeneration, and the ECoC is positioned here as being particularly useful in leveraging these benefits¹⁸.

1.2.2. After 2008

After 2008, the general narrative around the value of creativity and its alignment to cultural policy has expanded to include Liverpool '08 as an example of an ECoC as a successful 'investment' in creative

¹² Griffiths (2006):427

¹³ Liverpool Culture Company (2002):1004

¹⁴ *Ibid.*:301

¹⁵ *Ibid.*:302

¹⁶ *Ibid.*:303

¹⁷ Jones and Wilks-Heeg (2004):350

¹⁸ For a more detailed discussion of the theories and discourses in play in making this linkage, see Campbell (2011b)

industries. At the European level, for example, we can identify statements such as this:

Cultural and creative industries also contribute to the competitiveness and social cohesion of our cities and regions. European Capitals of Culture such as Lille, Liverpool and others show that investing in this sector creates jobs and helps transform the image of cities.¹⁹

Similarly, within the UK, ministers from the major political parties have emphasized the link between Liverpool's ECoC and growth in the creative sector²⁰, with current Prime Minister David Cameron noting that "jobs in the creative industries increased by half" as a result of the ECoC award²¹. At the local level, Liverpool's 'Cultural Strategy' continues this narrative of a strong link between cultural activity and economic regeneration, with creative activity playing a special role²².

2. Some difficulties with this link

Despite the strength of the discourse around a strong, beneficial link between the ECoC and creative industries, however, evidence suggests both in the Liverpool case²³, and more broadly²⁴, that there is in fact little tangible investment within the creative industries by ECoC cities, and that creative industries within ECoC cities do not experience the strong link with the ECoC programme that this narrative suggests, placing the beneficial role of the ECoC under question.

We can see from the quote given above, however, that it is argued that it is not only in 'creating jobs', but also in 'transforming the image of cities' that the ECoC and creative industries do important work. It is arguably the case, then, that in creating a more cultural image around Liverpool that the 2008 ECoC may eventually result in economic benefit and thus 'regeneration'. Less recent cultural policy interventions, however, demonstrate further difficulty in assuming such image enhancement will result in economic value for the city generating this image.

¹⁹ europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/10/466&format=HTML

²⁰ Burnham (2009), Hodge (2010)

²¹ Cameron (2010)

²² Campbell (2011a)

²³ Campbell (2011b), Impacts 08 (2009)

²⁴ PalmerRae (2004):103

In Liverpool, for example, the issue of potentially linking cultural policy to economic regeneration was previously discussed by the local city council in the 1980s²⁵. To take one pertinent case, of the local popular music group Frankie Goes To Hollywood²⁶, who for the purposes of this aspect of discussion notably recorded an album entitled 'Liverpool', an early "Arts and Cultural Industries Strategy" for the city notes that, "...for example, none of the £250m earnings from Frankie Goes To Hollywood's first album benefited the local music industry in Liverpool"²⁷. There is scant evidence, however, that in the intervening twenty years this situation has been successfully tackled in any significant way, or that current cultural policy actually seeks to intervene with regards to establishing a more complete value chain to extract economic value from the creative activity it purports to promote. In programmes such as the ECoC, policy generally intervenes on the justification of boosting the cultural aura around a particular geographic location, and this is seemingly expected in and of itself to create a number of positive externalities, yet there is little indication given of how these may come about, other than an assumed coalescence of all things 'creative', which is highly questionable²⁸.

2.1. *Image vs. Economy*

In interviews carried out with entrepreneurs in the creative industries working in Liverpool during the city's ECoC programme, similar issues to those above were raised in some quarters. In terms of the operations of the popular music industry, for example, with which Liverpool has a notably strong symbolic relationship, consider this response:

Music/Performing Arts (1)²⁹: I think there's something about the emotional and psychological makeup of the artistic community here that is all about creation, and finds the nuts and bolts side boring. [...] I think we all found the company side of the record company too boring for words, the thing of being

²⁵ Parkinson and Bianchini (1993):162

²⁶ As a gauge of their popularity, Frankie Goes To Hollywood's 'Relax' ranks 6th in the chart of best-selling singles in the UK, and holds the record for the longest time spent by a single in the UK top 40. (www.everyhit.com)

²⁷ Liverpool City Council (1987):7

²⁸ Campbell (2011b)

²⁹ Quotes from interviews with local entrepreneurs are labeled here by their creative industries subsector, and an identifying number to distinguish different individuals within these subsectors

the person that deals with the invoices, and people, and as soon as an offer came in from a record company, [a major record label] set up the licence and repertoire division, and they signed up 40% of the independent record market, and that took the business side away, which meant we could concentrate on recording – but not generally in Liverpool. So, did that benefit Liverpool? Maybe not.

Again, the 'cultural' aspect of creative activity, and that which is most likely to be promoted by a festival such as the ECoC may well be embedded in the city of Liverpool, but the economic value drawn from this activity can easily be realised elsewhere. Also in the world of music, we can consider this response which is fully supportive of the image of Liverpool as a dynamic cultural city of the kind that would help to engender creative activity and industries:

Music/Performing Arts (2): I wasn't an academic, I wasn't going to be a lawyer or a doctor, I saw Berlin in Liverpool. And thought 'this place is amazing, it's got a soul, it breathes, it's got character, it's a well.'

This interviewee went on to conclude the discussion of these issues with, however, the following caveat:

Music/Performing Arts (2): Our offices are in [another city], as it happens. My business premises are in [another city] but I managed to understand that I can keep a profile through my personal brand name.

In these cases, the picture of how the local operation of creative industries is actually of benefit to a locality in terms of 'regeneration' becomes more opaque. If an ECoC is focused primarily on purely cultural activity, it may be useful to consider Henwood's take on the division of income within the creative industries: "the illusion-spinners are not the prime reward-getters – senior managers and stockholders are"³⁰. These senior managers and stockholders, however, may often reap these rewards in locations quite different to those which cause the original illusions to be spun. Clearly, this raises certain difficulties for policies which place emphasis on cultural creativity at the individual level and posit individual entrepreneurship as a particularly valuable activity³¹.

³⁰ Henwood (2005):165

³¹ e.g. DCMS *et al.* (2008):13

2.2. *The peripheral vs. the central*

Whilst it may, therefore, be the case that creative industries are notionally less reliant on place and can theoretically operate from any location, it seems that they continue to be dominated by activity in a small number of locations, in a small number of companies³², or that cultural value generated in one location may easily be translated into economic value in a different location. London's dominance of the creative industries within the UK, for example is well-known; a recent London Development Agency report states that, "when its surrounding regions are included London can be seen to provide nearly 60% of UK creative employment"³³. As this report also notes, however, "a critical mass effects [sic] matters: in such cities [as London] one may find an audience for almost anything". Relatedly, Scott finds that,

Participation in cultural-economic activities is based upon dense networks of producers combined with a dependence on complex local labour markets [...] these geographic underpinnings are decisive for understanding the processes of creativity and innovation in the cultural economy³⁴

Whilst the cities which host the ECoC may hope to use the award to bring about economic 'regeneration', therefore, and hope to leverage in the operation of creative industries to achieve this, in terms of successful business operation in the bulk of the creative industries, density matters, audience matters, and so size matters. What is possible in world cities such as London, with a population of 7 million, or New York with a population of 19 million, is unlikely to be feasible in a city such as Liverpool with a declining population of just over 400,000, or in a number of other ECoC host cities hoping to leverage in the power of culture to improve their economic circumstances. This is particularly problematic given the 'winner-takes-all' characteristic of some creative businesses³⁵.

³² Christopherson (2008):76

³³ London Development Agency (2008):30

³⁴ Scott (1999):807

³⁵ Caves (2000):364

2.3. Further data from local entrepreneurs

To turn once more to data gathered with creative entrepreneurs operating in Liverpool in 2008, it certainly seems that for some these issues are keenly felt. In terms of the capacity of the local environment, consider this opinion given in one interview regarding one of the most successful cultural outcomes of the ECoC year:

Film/Video/Photography (1): If you look in Liverpool, there is hardly any film industry. I mean you've got Sol at Hurricane, and he made *Of Time and the City*³⁶, and you'd think after you make that you'd be laughing, but you're just back to square one. The film industry here, you're not even as good as your last film. It counts for nothing.

Also, the size of a city will play a part in determining the wealth available to those involved in creative practices to make such activity viable commercially, a structural problem not easily dealt with, and one which is of concern to interviewees such as these:

Architecture (1): Obviously, though, what's missing in Liverpool is money - or the money is all in the wrong place [...] A lot of the private wealth in this city is not in the hands of people who are ideal patrons for the arts. In any sense. Really. Which is difficult.

Art/Antiques (1): The people that want to buy art don't tend to live in the city, they tend to live outside.

Art/Antiques (2): [One way to] tap straight into networks for sales is because either the owner or the sales director or somebody within it is connected to a lot of very wealthy people who've got money to spend. I don't come from that kind of background.

What is perhaps most problematic for a discourse of economic regeneration based upon creative industries within the interview data gathered, however, is a clear sense that those working in creative industries locally are aware of the dominant role of London, yet often narrate this dominance as something which they have little desire to participate in, and a factor which can be successfully avoided by working

³⁶ Produced with the assistance of the Liverpool Culture Company, directed by celebrated auteur Terence Davies, *'Of Time and the City'* is a cinematic meditation on the city of Liverpool which has received international acclaim, e.g. Scott (2009).

in a peripheral city, such as Liverpool. What drives the location of some entrepreneurs within the local context seems to be at least in part the opportunity to specifically locate themselves outside such a competitively dense and active centre as London; indicative examples are given below:

Art/Antiques (1): Everyone kept saying 'go to London' and I said 'there's no point me going to London because there's another 40 thousand people already there.'

Film/Video/Photography (2): I think, 'would it be easier in London? Would it be harder?' And it would probably be harder to make a name for yourself, there would probably be more work, but it would probably be more competitive [...] you'd meet less people, so getting a name for the work you do would be harder.

Liverpool's attraction for many, therefore, lies in some sense in this very lack of a competitive, thriving industrial environment. On this point, interviewees working within architecture particularly noted the limited role a city such as Liverpool can play:

Architecture (1): If you're going to move in architecture, you tend to go to the centre, the greatest concentration of architects in this country is in London. It sustains a culture, there is a scene, which there can't be here. There simply aren't enough people. There aren't enough people in the profession.

Architecture (2): The reasons I'm here aren't professional. Purely professionally, I'd find somewhere better than Liverpool quite easily.

Those working in creative industries may thus find sources of value in their location which do not square so easily with the dominant narrative around creative activity driving economic regeneration. For some, though, it must be noted that this lack of other established industry was also considered something of an opportunity:

Art/Antiques (3): Financially, the market hasn't developed yet [in Liverpool]. So, there's lots of culturally interesting people, but so far there isn't a proven market. Whereas in London, there's a proven market. [...] I believe keeping artists in the region is important for a healthy arts economy across the UK. That not everyone wants to go and live and work in London.

But they need the same ambition, and have that ambition supported outside London.

It should also be noted, however, that, since interviews were completed, this particular entrepreneur is no longer working within the city, and has moved operations to London. It is also clear that this viewpoint was a minority one. Many respondents expressed positive sentiments regarding the potential of being located in a city where they do not have to compete so vigorously for work, where there is not liable to be a large cohort of other people with the same skills present jostling for position and business, and where the market does not involve potentially coercive competition to such a great degree³⁷. Whilst this avoidance of excessive competition is certainly reasonable enough from an individual perspective, how this may translate into the successful operation of economically competitive creative industries in the city, or whether this pattern may contribute to achieving goals related to urban 'regeneration', is clearly another matter.

Conclusion

The scope for creative activity in ECoC cities, then is open to question. Perhaps most instructive on this point were the view of one interviewee who reflected on the comfort afforded by a relative lack of competition, but also upon the difficulty for practitioners within Liverpool to break free of the confines of the city:

Film/Video/Photography (2): I think because it's so small, it's easy to find other people to do projects [...] I liked it because it doesn't feel competitive here. Maybe it's insular; someone said it feels a bit like 'The Truman Show'³⁸. [...] It's got everything in a small space, but it's very inward-looking. Which is great for incubating projects, and incubating your own practice, because it's very supportive; you end up helping a lot of people out with their projects, people support you in yours, but it's hard to think 'how do I take it outside of Liverpool?'

The value placed by many on the ability to pursue projects, rather than on necessarily being able to find any wider markets to exploit them in, raises real questions around the value of any link between

³⁷ Keat (2000):45

³⁸ A 1998 feature film featuring a protagonist constantly under surveillance.

creative industries and programmes such as the ECoC in a local context. In terms of the issue at hand of 'crisis', therefore, the subject of the creative industries presents tensions to ECoC cities which are not easily resolved. Whilst certain industries deemed to be 'creative' may well have the ability to generate economic growth, that this growth would be especially related to the activity within an ECoC programme, or could be achieved in the kinds of cities using the ECoC award to stimulate 'regeneration' of some kind is open to question. Although they may not necessarily rely directly on physical resources, certain creative industries seems to stubbornly persist in their ties to specific geographies, and this in part enables them to consolidate their role as 'magnets', attracting certain types of creative talent away from more peripheral locations in a self-perpetuating manner. Related to this, the findings above seem to suggest that those remaining in such peripheral locations may find this very peripherality to be a source of value, and may not wish the various factors associated with established creative centres to be translated to their place of business. Also, it must be noted that even if we were to take it as read that an investment in the ECoC does constitute an investment in the creative industries (which is questionable) it does not automatically follow that these creative industries would necessarily be a source of value for urban areas. There is, for example, a great deal of research suggesting that work in such industries is very often characterised by difficult working conditions³⁹, long hours⁴⁰, and a need to take on multiple jobs⁴¹, and so is often associated with a poor quality of life⁴², with many workers understood by some to be involved in processes of 'self-exploitation'⁴³. If the ECoC did promote employment in creative occupations, it could therefore merely be exacerbating the problems associated with such work. Also, even if the ECoC does serve to enhance the cultural image of a given location, there is no guarantee that this will translate into employment growth in related industries. Rather than accepting the admittedly coherent narrative around creativity as the answer to crisis, then, it is imperative that we hold this creative agenda up for examination, and search for signs of the crises it may in turn bring about itself if adopted without due scrutiny.

³⁹ Belfiore (2002):95, Evans (2001):157, Leadbeater and Oakley (1999):15

⁴⁰ Gill and Pratt (2007):17

⁴¹ Feist (2001):195

⁴² Hesmondhalgh and Banks (2009):420

⁴³ McRobbie (2002):101

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EUROPEAN CULTURE AND THE TWO CAPITALS: VILNIUS AND ISTANBUL

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Introduction

All of us probably know the myth surrounding the foundation of the European cultural project "European Capital of Culture", I refer to the famous speech of Greece's Minister of Culture, Ms. Melina Mercouri, who in 1983 declared:

Culture is the soul of society. 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 economics.

Ms. Mercouri was probably also able to think, or at least to hope that in 25 years the idea that she launched would be so successful in promoting European Culture under the motto "Unity in Diversity".

What Ms. Mercouri probably did not imagine is that her idea would be so powerful as to influence the economic, commercial and political agenda of those cities and countries which host the event every year. Every year, the cities and the countries which receive the title of European Capital of Culture invest large sums of money and energy to implement a project which involves all the components of Society. This unexpected success forces us to reflect on the new status that the project European capital of culture gained, comparing it to what it was at the beginning. It is impossible to ignore the dynamics which are activated by the award of the title, or even before, by listing the eligible countries. This presentation focuses on two examples in an attempt to offer precise reflections on some political and economic features which accompanied the implementation of two different European Capitals of Culture Programmes. These cities are: Vilnius (ECOC 2009) and Istanbul (ECOC 2010).

1. Vilnius

The data on Vilnius were collected by the author during an ethnographic research project, whilst those on Istanbul are taken from the

book "Orienting Istanbul", a collection of essays by different authors. The political aspect which is underlined is the role which the event European Capital of Culture played in defining or re-defining the status of the city which hosted the event in relation to its own country.

Vilnius is the capital of Lithuania, a member of the European Union since 2004. The project "Vilnius – European Capital of Culture" started long before the year 2009 and is connected with another event, namely the celebration of the millennium of the first written record of the name of Lithuania. The latter event was closely linked to an important figure of the Lithuanian political system: Algirdas Brazauskas. The political/historical reason for this celebration was explained in the presidential decree. Briefly, there is a version of Lithuanian history which asserts that the name Lietuva (Lithuania) was mentioned for the first time in a European written source in 1009 and that this is proof of the existence at the time of the first Millennium AD of the country and its citizens. As implied by the decree, the actual Republic of Lithuania justifies its present existence by dating its roots back to 1009 through this record of its name in the particular European written source, the Quedlinburg Annals. The project is central to understanding the way that brought Lithuania to nominate itself and Vilnius as host of the event "Vilnius – European Capital of Culture 2009."

The first example of this connection between the national and supranational events is in the official proposal presented to the selection panel in charge of evaluating the European project:

To combine the celebration of Lithuanian Independence Day with the opening ceremony of the European Capital of Culture, thus forming an original and meaningful link between national pride and European consciousness, simultaneously arousing the interest of the broadest possible national and European audiences....⁽¹⁾

These are the opening words of Vilnius' proposal submitted to the European Union. The coincidence of the opening ceremony dedicated to mark the events of the European Capital of Culture Year and the Independence Day celebrations was expected to be useful also for another purpose: the wish to promote Vilnius as the Lithuanian city

¹ www.culturelive.lt

and capital of the Republic of Lithuania at the European level. In fact, historically, the city has been ruled by both Lithuania and Poland, and so it is obvious that Vilnius - European Capital of Culture 2009 - would help to re-create a national character. The connection with the celebration of the Millennium of the name of Lithuania, as referred to in the documents and, more importantly, in the speech the President made to all Lithuanians, does complicate the reading of the European project. It requires putting to one side, at least temporarily, the European perspective and considering the language of the national concept of what Lithuania is. However, before continuing, the author would wish to discuss the case of Istanbul.

2. Istanbul

Istanbul was the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire and, later, the capital of the Ottoman Empire until the 20th century. Nowadays the city is known as a truly international city and the most European town of Turkey. The choice of Istanbul as a European Capital of Culture reawakened the debate surrounding the possibility of giving access to Turkey to the European Union. The European nominations for 2010 have created an imaginary split between "European" Istanbul and the rest of Turkey, whose accession to the EU is still contested⁽²⁾. On the other hand it has also given the opening for other national examples - including the chain of events which occurred in Lithuania. This is a first point (which other studies have also underlined): until now, the EcoC has dealt more with national than with European issues. The bureaucratic organisation was similar; both events were managed by the national government and the local authority. Both countries combined in an ECoC programme which was a specially designed and Europe-oriented project and in other existing events. The vision sees the ECoC as a mega-event, but if we ignore the top-down perspective, we see that, in reality, the ECoC event is a collection of different sized events which take place during one year. It is not a minor concern to try to understand how countries interpret the significance of such cultural programme.

² Gokturk, Soysal, Tureli (2010): 5

3. Differences

One difference between Vilnius and Istanbul is in how they have been presented to the world as the ECoC year starts.

If we compare the speeches which the President of the Republic of Lithuania and the Prime Minister of Turkey made for the opening of their respective cultural capital programmes (see the box), we can see that officials used a contrasting strategy showing the different purposes which lay behind those speeches. The President of the Republic of Lithuania based his address on the celebration of the Millennium of the name of Lithuania, a nationalist issue, underlined by the European title of the European Capital of Culture being awarded to Vilnius. This connection also occurs in the marketing strategy which presents Vilnius - European Capital of Culture as "the gateway into Millennium Country". Istanbul has been described as Turkey's gateway to Europe. In this direction, the speech for the opening of Istanbul ECoC 2010 shows that the Turkish Prime Minister Tayyip Erdogan emphasised the flagship importance of the city for his government's goal of joining the European Union ⁽³⁾.

01/01/2009	15/01/2010
President of the Republic of Lithuania- Valdas Adamkus ⁽⁴⁾	Turkish Prime Minister- Tayyip Erdogan ⁽⁵⁾
<p>We suffer from many problems, but which state or nation has not faced these in its history? We face difficulties, but we have proved that we can create our future through our own life and that of our country.</p> <p>The aim, the purpose and the meaning of Lithuania's historical existence is to be in Europe and to be European - thanks to our</p>	<p>Istanbul is a European City. With its history, culture, people, its past and its future, Istanbul is a city which faces Europe. As much as Istanbul has absorbed European culture, it has also shaped European Culture. Istanbul will only carry the title of a European Capital of Culture for one year, but it will never cease to be a cultural centre of Europe. Istanbul</p>

³ Gokturk, Soysal, Tureli (2010): 6

⁴ www.delfi.lt

⁵ Hein (2010): 262

<p>world-view and to our culture.</p> <p>Lithuania, as our land enters the second millennium since its name was first recorded in a European document, presents to the world the city of Vilnius, which has been honoured by the title of a Capital of European Culture. So Lithuania once again proves and re-affirms the direction of its historical path.</p>	<p>bul alone is proof that Turkey is a European country, that it is a natural member of the European Union.</p> <p>(Orienting Istanbul, 2010:6)</p>
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The messages which the two speeches communicate are totally different. The first presents Vilnius as the gate through which Europe can enter and make contact with a thousand-year-old land, whilst the second describes Istanbul as the door through which Turkey can enter Europe.

Here we come to the second point: Both countries describe the ECoC as something which opens a gate through which it is possible to enter or leave. Naturally, the very different position of the two countries in relation to the European Union is an important factor which influences the perspective. Almost since the day when Lithuania regained its independence, the country started the process of Accession to the European Union. In Lithuania, the title of the European Capital of Culture was awarded when the country had already established itself and the people had shown themselves as European. The ECoC seems to be a way to support the 'Lithuanianisation' of Vilnius and of Lithuanian citizens. Istanbul, as I said earlier, is still struggling to obtain EU membership, and the ECoC project was more, as other authors also wrote, a process of Europeanisation.

Is it possible to answer the question which frequently arose earlier: Why are so many cities willing to host the ECoC event? Why is it so attractive?

The special feature of "The European Capital of Culture" is that it opens a window for experimentation in where and when new social forces could claim a place in a structure with the gift of influence. This is possible since the European Union asks the cities involved to move outside the limits of a national culture, with the purpose of spreading

an undefined European culture. This attracts new possibilities that give the opportunity but also expose the cultural project to criticism and attack. One of the possibilities has to do with economic matters, which can be a powerful tool to influence the decision-making process. The ECoC programme is mostly financed from national funds; the award given by the European Union constitutes a very small percentage of the total budget. Most of the budget is used to improve the infrastructure. At this point we should return to the two cases.

For Vilnius, the government decided to invest money from the privatisation fund, which means the money received from the sale of public industries after independence. This was an important decision which appealed to all political groups. The two main ideas were to create a Guggenheim-Hermitage museum and to fund the re-construction of the Gediminas Castle. Both, it can be said, were closely linked to the nationalist concepts in the official policy line. Istanbul activated a process of urban change to attract European and international investors, described as the 'gentrification' of some parts of Istanbul, and not without resistance from its inhabitants. This brings us back to the third point: Through the EcoC, national governments can invest money and implement deep infrastructural changes.

Conclusion

By way of a conclusion to this general presentation of the actual status of an ECoC project, it would be useful to remind ourselves of the whole procedure. At the outset, when there is the need to draw up a proposal for the EU, national politicians call together cultural professionals to elaborate a programme. They organise group meetings and open participation to everyone interested. The cultural issue dominates. After this comes approval from the selection panel, step by step, but when the year approaches, decision-making shifts from the ECoC institution (specially created) to the political level, and programme changes and political and economical issues start to dominate. As mentioned earlier, the original idea of the ECoC was to give space to culture, but now, after more than 25 years, it is clear how the space which culture reclaimed became a field for economic and political forces. The next challenge for the European Union is to deal with this and to reconsider its role in the ECoC process - not only up to the point of

nomination but also during implementation. This may also offer the opportunity to penetrate more deeply into the national identity.

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www.delfi.lt

www.culturelive.lt

**CULTURE THROUGH CRISIS:
CONFLICT MANAGEMENT SKILLS AS AN ESSENTIAL PART OF
INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCE**

GUNILLA DE GRAEF - LESSIUS MECHELEN (BELGIUM)

Outline

This article gives an insight into some of the findings of the research project 'Measuring Intercultural Competence: Building a Coherent Frame of Reference'.¹ This two-year research project aimed to contribute to the general research on intercultural competence, as well as to the further development of diagnostic tools for this concept in particular. In the current paper, we will focus on this part of the research which defines the capacity to manage conflicts constructively and to deal with crises as essential challenges in acquiring intercultural competence. Additionally, we develop the idea that crisis actually 'creates' culture, meaning that, in a 'healthy' multicultural society, the transformative potential of conflict is neither wasted nor neglected.

Since the research project was inspired by years of training- and consulting practice within different working areas (education, student-exchange programmes, international business, civil society and international cooperation), the contributors felt compelled not only to build a theoretical framework but also to actively explore and define practical insights and approaches, so, also on the level of conflict management, overcoming crisis. In our paper we will discuss some of the recent practical models which we use to stimulate intercultural communication, explaining how they were experienced by trainees. We will also give insight into a feedback-module which we are currently developing. The aim of this 'tool' is to offer participants practical tips and ideas on how to develop their capacity for constructive cultural conflict management.

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1. Context

In 2006, the Flemish author and dramaturg at Het Toneelhuis in Antwerp, Erwin Jans published his essay 'Intercultural Intoxication' (Epo, 2006).² In this text, Jans invites the cultural and artistic actors of Flanders to 'embrace' the concept of multiculturalism (to define it as a social given) and to experience this embrace as a way to open the debate to some critical and crucial questions for the future of the sector. According to the author, voluntarily 'intoxicating ourselves' with concepts such as globalisation, identity and hybridism will help us 'face the future' in a constructive, inspired and 'real' way. At CIMIC, the Centre for expertise on Intercultural Management and International Communication, we felt that the essay of Jans reflected many of the intuitions which we had developed about building an effective frame of reference for intercultural practice. These intuitions were inspired by essential works on diversity-management and intercultural communication, such as those by Prof. Maddy Janssens, Prof. Nancy Adler, Edwin Hofman and intercultural researcher Margalit Cohen-Emerique.³

Currently - that is, in 2010 - the ideas which inspired us in the writings of Erwin Jans are, to some extent, re-iterated by Jan Blommaert in his essays on the concept of 'superdiversity'.⁴ Blommaert confronts us with a series of paradigmatic and theoretical challenges which are the consequence not only of social and economic forces (combining into the issue of migration), but which are also linked to rapid changes in, for instance, communication technology and mobility. We now live in a society with specific characteristics. These characteristics also influence the ways in which we look at and deal with crisis and conflict - and so are worth mentioning:

- Increased mobility in real and virtual terms allows us to 'live our lives' in many different places - even simultaneously - and to connect with many different people around the globe. Sometimes we feel closer to those furthest away. Our 'networks' extend over great distances and are

² Publication in collaboration with the Flemisch Community, Vlaams Theater Instituut, CultuurNet Vlaanderen and Kunst en democratie

³ Adler, Nancy J. (2001). Cohen-Emerique, M. (1989); Janssens, M. en Steyaert, C., (2001); Hoffman, E. (2002).

⁴ Jan Blommaert, Superdiversiteit, published on Kif Kif webforum 26/06/2011.

not always known or comprehensible to those that surround us in our day-to-day lives.

- Societies have become 'dispersed' by nature. It becomes harder and harder to divide people into large groups or categories. Identities of individuals but also of cities and neighbourhoods have become detailed mosaics which are always moving, rather than fixed blocks of impermeable stone. This 'dynamic' also creates an issue of 'trust'.
- Our environment has become the object of constant change. Social stability becomes more and more a myth. We are challenged to re-tune our mindset and behaviour constantly, following the physical changes which surround us.
- Hybridity has become evident and real in (almost) every aspect of our lives. Simultaneously however, the rhetorical force of concepts such as 'purity' has strengthened. At the same time a new definition of 'authenticity' has taken shape: being authentic does not mean copying traditions and set norms, but rather means being able to create your own unique mix of 'strange' influences, so making what was once 'different' now 'normal'.

1.1. Dealing with differences: 'from clash to crash'

One of the central challenges put forward by Jans is that, in order to promote the construction of a true intercultural society, we should not shy away from the conflicts which this endeavour will entail. The need for managing conflict and crisis, provoked by the diversifying of our society as such, was not a new idea, but Jans inspired us by redefining it in exploring the difference between a cultural 'crash' on the one hand and a cultural 'clash' on the other. This distinction offered us a lever to discuss the idea of crisis in a more positive and constructive way. The coined phrase 'clash of cultures' is a sterile concept which can bring no evolution or gain. It means that different groups will simply keep 'banging together' their different world views, the disagreement being endless. A 'crash', on the other hand, is a forceful collision which provokes friction and encounter. By 'running in' to each other, we will need to communicate, effectively reconcile and

negotiate both similarities and differences.⁵ Integrating this metaphor into our training-practice, we were able to challenge people to redefine what often they find the most difficult part of multicultural society: debate on diverging opinions, ideas, values and manners.

Our working with the principle of intercultural conflict in specific professional contexts revealed that, to 'benefit' from intercultural conflict, two elements are essential: having a clear idea of what the added value of diversity is and, at the same time, having a clear idea of where your boundaries lie and what type of transgression is or is not acceptable. Furthermore, it is crucial to understand that, the two elements are inextricably linked. Boundaries which do not support the project of the on-going definition of the added value of diversity, but which are aimed at reinforcing the ideas and experiences of 'self', are not helpful: they obstruct growth. An important marker here is to check whether the defined boundaries translate functional needs or are ideologically rooted. An orientation on the functional needs of the intercultural encounter limits the risk of rigidity, since it forces you to adapt to context and time. It also makes the added value of diversity immediately visible and transforms it not only into a result of negotiation but also into a lever for it.

Clearly expressing boundaries and limits is also – maybe somewhat paradoxically – a direct way to show commitment and involvement. You manifest the fact that you are not indifferent and you 'show where it hurts'. This is an important instrument in the 'de-mining' of intercultural conflict. Cognitive and emotional factors are connected, and you show the 'cost' of your commitment.

1.2. Further desk-research and literature study

Authors other than Jans have also noted that (inter)cultural conflict is not only a source of pain and frustration; it is also a chance for growth, creativity, strength and improvement. Margalit Cohen-Emerique, for instance, provided us with a model for the analysis of so-called 'critical incidents', underlining that this kind of reflection is essential for acquiring two skills without which intercultural compe-

⁵ The concept of 'crash' refers back to the dialogue at the start of the film of the same name, directed by Paul Haggis in 2005. A car-crash marks the start of a series of encounters between people of very diverse background in the context of multicultural city San Francisco.

tence is not possible: decentration (shifting of perspective) and the exploration of sensitive zones, personal or societal taboos even self-knowledge).⁶ Igor Klyukanov, in his book 'Principles of intercultural communication' also revealed the positive side of (cultural) conflict.⁷ Conflict can increase awareness of one's own culture whilst, at the same time, offering insight into another culture. Perceptions of one's own identity and that of others become clear. Finally, conflict can also help to strengthen relationships, mainly through the related emotional charge. To resume, Klyukanov states that the real goal of intercultural dialogue is not to prevent conflict, but to manage it so as to benefit fully from the transformative potential which conflict offers.

In our desk research, we could further establish that notion of the transformative potential of conflict with the help of studies by Nagata and Yoshida-Fisher.⁸ According to Nagata, experiencing cultural conflict "can expand our consciousness, our worldview, and our ability to work a live in ways we had never previously imagined."⁹

The critical reflection induced by cultural conflict (the questioning of evidence and assumptions) allows us to transform our frame of reference. It means passing from reflecting on action to reflecting in action. When this happens, you become involved in a deeper kind of learning, a learning that offers not only a solution to the question at hand, but also allows us to develop new problem-solving strategies. These insights supported us in challenging our trainees to accept the creative and operational forces of (inter)cultural conflict and to actively involve them in the debate on 'culture through crisis'.

Especially within the context of coaching organisational processes, this model of deeper learning through crisis has proved to be quite stimulating. Quite often, however, organisations do not 'choose' to become culturally diverse, they experience the diversification of their clientele and workforce as something that 'has come upon them' and over which they have no power or say. By redefining this experience as a change-process, a constructive crisis, we can help institutions reclaim agency and 'control'.

⁶ Cohen-Emerique Margalit (1999): 12

⁷ Klyukanov Igor (2005)

⁸ Fisher-Yoshida, B. (2005). Re-framing Conflict: Intercultural Conflict as Potential Transformation. *Journal of Intercultural Communication*, 8, 1-16.

⁹ Nagata, A.L. (2006). Transformative Learning in Intercultural Education. *Rikkyo Intercultural Communication Review*, 4, 39-60.

2. *Visualisation of conflict management as an intercultural skill*

As mentioned, we focused on the question of conflict management in the context of intercultural encounter starting from a research project on intercultural competence. Within this project, we came to define an intercultural competent person as follows:

An inter-culturally competent person is focused on building lasting relationships. He/she is willing to embark in a complex process of constant change, recognising that there are no single or final solutions. He/she is culturally self-aware and knows how to orient his/specific context and time. He or she has the capacity to integrate multiple perspectives and views on a single issue. Through open dialogue, he or she is focused on constructing synergy. He or she does not shy away from confrontation or conflict, but sees those as inevitable stepping-stones in the process of intercultural encounter. He or she has a balanced curiosity about the impact of culture on communication and behaviour.

Intercultural competence is viewed and constructed as an integrated concept and consists of nine components:

- Cultural self-knowledge: knowing your own frame of reference and roots
- Cultural flexibility: willingness to adapt and explore alternatives
- Cultural resilience: able to overcome stress and negative feelings caused by difficult intercultural encounter
- Cultural receptiveness: openness to listen to other views and capacity to correctly position own views and ideas
- Cultural knowledge: interest in exploring factual knowledge on cultural differences and capacity to use this knowledge in an appropriate manner
- Cultural relational competence: willingness to invest time and energy in the building of trust and willingness to connect
- Cultural communicative competence: ability to explore the particularities of one's own communication style and ap-

proaches, to re-mediate if necessary and to explore the communication style and approach of counterparts

- Cultural conflict management: consciousness of potential positive forces of intercultural conflict and knowledge of ones own conflict management style
- Multi-perspectiveness: able to view a single issue from different perspectives and appreciating this various perspectives

In concrete terms, the 'cultural conflict management' component is further defined as:

- how you define and maintain your personal boundaries in the context of intercultural encounter
- how you deal with the presence of differing conflict management-styles
- how you react to comments or feedback expressed by your counterparts
- how you experience and evaluate intercultural conflict

A questionnaire was drafted which explores respondents' integration of each of the 9 components. With the questions related to the 'cultural conflict management' component, we invite respondents to maintain a realistic and optimistic view on intercultural encounters, even the more difficult ones. The aim is not to avoid conflict at any prize – which is factually impossible – but to face them in a constructive way and to explore them.

For a first group of people, this invitation will mean that, in the encounter with people from diverse cultural backgrounds, they will more clearly experience the need to communicate their boundaries and to do this in a different way than they are used to. They will come to see that the stakes and dynamics of conflict can differ substantially. The main challenge for them is to overcome the negative feelings which they have towards these conflicts (a destructive force) and to start viewing them as a chance to learn more about the other and themselves. On a practical level, they will need to find ways to listen more openly to feedback and comments from others and also to express their views on the behaviour of their counterparts in a more suitable and acceptable manner.

For a second group of people, those with already greater affinity towards the reality of intercultural encounter, exploring their capacity for cultural conflict management has a direct link with the positive values they attach to clear and transparent communication. They tend to view conflict not as the definite end to a relationship. If approached in the right way, conflict can create more room for talk and exchange and thus stimulate growth in an encounter. These people will not avoid or deny conflict. They do however accept the fact that conflict can have very different forms of expressing itself and are not resistant to a possible need to adapt their conflict-management style.

People at an advanced level of intercultural competence view open dialogue on the topic of boundaries as an essential part of the intercultural encounter. They can define and name transgression – both at a cognitive and an emotional level -, but they are also open to negotiation. In these negotiations they are inspired by the idea that any setting of boundaries does not have restriction as an end, but can only function as a positive support for living and working together. Acceptance and appreciation of difference is the final aim. People at this level generally have a good understanding of their own conflict management style. They are also empathic to the conflict-management style of their counterpart. They do not fear conflict, to the extent that they actually actively seek out feedback from others.

3. From theory to practice

Framing 'conflict' and 'crisis' as a positive force in intercultural communication on a conceptual level is one thing; actively involving people in its practice is another. Much support was found within the applied TOPOI model for intercultural communication exposed by Edwin Hoffman of the Fontys University College.¹⁰ Hoffman frames the TOPOI model for the analysis of - and intervention in - intercultural dialogue as one with an explicitly positive (but also realistic) view of communication. This means that he asks his respondents to allow for - and be prepared to deal with - frustration, misunderstanding and (temporary) fall-out. He also indicates that we should view communication more as a continuous process, where struggle at one moment in time can mean the possibility of encounter at the next. Very importantly also, Hoffman asks us to take a broader view of people's commitment

¹⁰ Hoffman, E. (2002).

and involvement in communication processes. He reminds us that, in fact, resistance is also a form of engagement, or at least a denial of complete indifference. He invites us, therefore, to become a stakeholder in these processes, even in those which we find disheartening due to their potentially conflicting character.¹¹ In our training, we experienced that people felt effectively supported by the TOPOI model. The fact that the model also explicitly talks about the need for clear and defined boundaries is crucial to that effect.

In training, the element of cultural conflict management is most often introduced through the use of video or personal case-analysis. The notion is then further explored by means of a discussion on the concept of the so-called 'non-negotiable frame'. This non-negotiable frame is a crucial element with the TOPOI model for intercultural communication of Edwin Hoffman. Hoffman offers us a tool to approach the inevitable question: "How far should I go in trying to take the other person's viewpoint, in adapting to it?" Through the exploration of the non-negotiable frame, we understand that this is not an 'endless' exercise. We will encounter behaviour and expressions, thoughts and ideas which we find 'unacceptable' or that we can not relate to. This is where we find the borders of our non-negotiable frame. This frame exists at the individual level, but also at the level of society and organisation.

The term 'non-negotiable frame' has its origins in the judiciary world. It was used specifically in judicial assistance to define which parts of the trajectory offered could be defined through free negotiation and with parts of it were already predefined through laws and set sanctions. The broadest definition of the non-negotiable frame seems to be the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man. However, in specific contexts many other governing frames make up the boundaries - for instance, in national laws, regional government, specific professional culture or agreement.

The defining of the non-negotiable frame is an exercise in intercultural communication in itself. What stands out in our experience is that individuals and organisations most often do not have a clear idea

¹¹ Many of the guidelines incorporated in the TOPOI model are also recognisable in the so-called 'coordination'-vision of the Flemish Steunpunt Diversiteit en Leren. The texts and material issued by this research body are of especial use to people wanting to actively introduce the concept of intercultural negotiation in the context of schools or other educational institutes. <http://www.steunpuntdiversiteiteleren.be>

of what is negotiable or non-negotiable to them. It is this vagueness which causes many tensions, since it heightens the risk of (accidental) transgression. It also provokes frustrations because people feel that their boundaries are not recognised, not seen. On the other hand, when people have a chance to talk openly about this issue, it allows for an intensive exchange of perspectives and experiences.

When supporting organisations, we invite them to spend time on the definition of their own (non)-negotiable frame. We try to do this not in an abstract way but starting from concrete cases. These cases can approach issues of transgression or can be linked to ongoing discussions within a team, with clients or stakeholders. In the analysis of the cases, we first and foremost focus on communication on boundaries, rules and sanctions. Is there sufficient, concrete and regular communication? Is this communication adapted to the intended audience in tone, style, language, form, media? In concrete terms, we focus on the following questions:

With regard to the existing frame of boundaries:

- How was the current frame developed? By whom, when, why?
- What are the absolutely non-transgressible boundaries within the frame (red), and what boundaries can possibly be put to discussion when context and time change (green boundaries)

With regard to a possible future frame of boundaries:

- How long do we want to fix these boundaries, this frame, and when will there be room for renewal?
- Who carries the mandate for this frame? Who decides on boundaries? Who follows them and sees to it that they are respected? Who will intervene in case of transgression?
- How will this frame be exposed, communicated, explained to stakeholders?

Additional to the exploration of the non-negotiable frame, we also open the floor to discussions of variations in conflict management styles - both on a personal and on a cultural level. Trainees first reflect on their own conflict approach. What stands out in the Flemish context is that there is evidence of much conflict avoidance and with-

drawal in case of friction.¹² In a second exercise, trainees reflect on the conflict-related behaviour which they saw in counterparts.

Conclusion

Dealing with intercultural conflict can be seen as a trial, one through which we train ourselves in many important skills. If we are able to transcend the idea of 'clash', of wanting one system to beat the other or prove the other wrong, we can actively combine the differences experienced, and then the frictions experienced in the crash become energy. Hence, through intercultural conflict, we are able to create a synergy which, in fact, constitutes a new culture for new, more diverse times.

Developing intercultural competence demands a principle of openness to change. It also requires conscious self-reflection, including the exploration of personal and professional boundaries. It means commitment to a complex transformation process, driven by the explicit will to optimise future inter-and intra-cultural interaction.

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¹² This was observed both in training using the Thomas Killman test for conflict-management styles as well as in the results of the trials with the tool for measuring intercultural competence.

CULTURE IN CRISIS: BABEL OR MONOLINGUALISM?

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1. Europe as a multilingual macrocosm in crisis?

On the 12th of November, Daniel Hannan of Britain's *Telegraph* saw the seeds of a wider European crisis in Belgium's troubles:

If Belgium can't survive, what hope for the European Union? Belgium is failing because there are no real Belgians, just as there are no real Europeans. Rather, there are different peoples, with their own languages, television stations and political parties. A democracy without a 'demos' – the unit with which we identify when we use the word "we" – is left only with 'kratos': the power of a system that compels by force of law what it cannot as in the name of patriotism. And 'kratos' alone cannot sustain a state.

This quote describes marvellously the actual problems of Belgium, and even of Europe, with the similar situation of a multilingual context. Pretending that Europe is as well a multicultural area is correct. Saying the same about the Belgian territory - that there are different cultures - is still a statement we have to prove or disprove. The comparison between Europe and Belgium as the home of the 27-member European Union founded 50 years ago, is a good viewpoint for this lecture about the relation between the language(s), the culture(s) and the policy of a country or a supranational organisation in crisis.

Culture is a communication system between members of a civil society, and in this way it is a type of non-verbal language. On the other hand, each language is the linguistic support of a culture and is able to translate the collective cultural treasures of a regional or national entity. Is regional and national identity being challenged, questioned or threatened by European culture? And what can be said about the European identity, its culture(s) and its language(s)? Is there a crisis, in addition to the financial or the political?

The linguistic situation within the European Union is very complex and complicated. We all know that, etymologically speaking, democracy (demos + kratos = power, that is, in the hands of the people) will

remain one of the basic European values. It is, therefore, clear that respect for linguistic diversity as an expression of the identity of each linguistic group is maybe the first consequence of this democratic principle. The price which the European states will have to pay is high - not so much financially, but more in terms of the need generated by the complexity of the problems to establish a network and an environment for efficient linguistic and cultural communication.

Our European identity is intimately related to our multicultural environment. However, cultural identity does not coincide with a country's borders. It also involves a number of both national and regional characteristics, including real or fictitious heroes, emblematic symbols, musical or literary masterpieces and statues, paintings, monuments and buildings which belong to the collective memory or patrimony of our European community.

Let us give some figures and data about the network and the environment. Currently we have 23 languages (Irish, Bulgarian and Romany included since the beginning of 2007) with a potential 506 language combinations. Here it should be mentioned that the case of Irish (Gaelic) as an official language (a Celtic language) is very particular since Ireland has belonged to the European Union since 1973. They accepted that the 90.000 pages of the *acquis communautaire* should not be translated and the Irish translators do not have to translate Commission decisions, but the other texts are being translated from this year.

Some Irish people (e.g. Niall Ginty, President of a social and political organisation which opposes Irish as an official language within the European institutions) call the fact that they made Irish an official European language hypocritical since it does not reflect the reality of the country. The language has long threatened (and still does threaten) to disappear, but for the last 80 years the Irish government has made many efforts to promote the use of the language. However, the fact is that fewer people now speak the language than earlier: only 20.000 people of the 4 millions inhabitants use Irish fluently as their language of communication. In the *Dail*, the Irish parliament, only 2% of official texts are translated into Irish. Certain Irish-minded newspaper even stopped publishing in Irish for financial reasons. This case may be reopened later in connection with Spain and the possibility for Catalan, Basque and Galician to be candidate official languages of the EU.

2. Multilingualism and the translation and interpretation services

The situation of official multi-lingualism, fixed under article 22 of the European Charter of Fundamental Rights (i.e the coexistence of several languages within a geographical limited territory) represents real richness, since it means not only a variety of linguistic systems (words, syntactic structures, intonation varieties, etc), but also an abundance of semiotic signs, symbols, non-verbal (body) language, gestures, eye and face communication, rituals, moments of silence etc. The language is like the key to understand the ideas of a person and also the culture of a whole society with it's history, geography, arts, literature, music, traditions, habits, humour, prejudices, publicity, sensibilities, etc.

Gabriel de Fragnière, a former Rector of the College of Europe (Bruges), in an article about the relationship between language and culture, insists on the different cultural functions of the language. In this way he distinguishes four functions: the language is used as an instrument to communicate verbally with others, to formulate and express the thoughts of each person, to have a normal social contact and finally to translate the identity of each person and of the whole society.

This form of multilingualism and multiculturalism involve a complex network of translations of official texts and many simultaneous interpretations of the general meetings and the smaller meetings of the Commission. The official documents of the Commission are written in English, French and German. After being approved, they are translated into the other official languages before they go to the Parliament and the Council of Ministers. Currently, we have some 1400 translators, but the Commission has also to look for the simultaneous interpretation of the meetings which they organise in one day, and this means that they need from 700 to 800 interpreters a day, according to the topic of the meeting. 47% of the interpreters are official members of the staff, whilst 53 % are free-lance interpreters.

Nevertheless, we are currently 60,000 pages behind schedule for translation. You have to think also of the infrastructure, the hardware such as interpreters' booths, sound-proof rooms, dictionaries, laptops

etc. (For instance, the new Press Centre will have 20 new booths for interpreters). The Commission in the renovated *Berlaymont building* has only one hall perfectly equipped for the weekly meeting. In the *Justus Lipsius Building*, where the Council of Ministers meets, we find three fully equipped halls. As we add the extra problems for the 10 general meetings which Parliament has to organize each month in Strasbourg, beside the many meetings of the different commissions in Brussels, you can, perhaps, imagine the complexity of the translation and interpretation work.

Let's talk now about the financial costs. We can estimate the cost, after the last enlargement, as between €900m and €1bn, which seems a lot. However, if we calculate what this costs represent for Europeans, it does not look so bad: this huge amount means only one up of coffee per year, for each inhabitant of the whole EU. If we allow for a cappuccino, this would, in fact, be €2.50. That is the real price which Europeans have to pay to fulfil their democratic principles of respect for the language and the culture of each linguistic group. The total costs of translation and interpreting amounts to not even 1% of the whole years budget, and only 15% of the budget of the Administration Department.

3. Babel, monolingualism or an efficient multilingual communication system?

Until now we have talked about the official situation, where we have 3 working languages in the Commission and use all the languages of the different groups in other circumstances in the European context. The reality in the work environment and in many informal situations is – as we all know – that English is the real and only *lingua franca* of the European Institutions. Indeed, even before the last two enlargements in 2004 and 2007, English was and is the language *par excellence* for every formal and informal communication within the European context.

Our European identity is also determined by its multilingual context. This diversity in language is a precious cultural treasure and is one of the most distinctive features in relation to predominantly monolingual situations in the USA or the UK. The multilingual situation within the European institutions is even a guarantee of democracy. But how effi-

cient is this diversity? And what should we think about the reality of English as a *lingua franca*?

Is our European culture in crisis because of this language complexity and an apparent failure in achieving transparency in communication? Is the essence of communication within the European institutions a (false) dilemma between efficiency and democracy, between the use of one *lingua franca* and the necessity to maintain respect for (and use of) each language as an expression of the cultural identity of each ethnic group? Is monolingualism a dream L?

In the past, we had Latin, the language of the Roman Empire, as a sort of *koinè* (as the Greek said), as a vehicle language over the centuries. Until the 17th century scientists, artists and philosophers used Latin as an instrument to communicate with each other beyond national borders and also as a way to keep their distance from the not-so-intellectual part of society. In the Vatican they still use Latin as an instrument of communication.

We all know the importance of the discovery of the American Continent for the numerical importance of Spanish and Portuguese. The first official School of Translators was, in fact, in Toledo and the job of interpreter was invented when the Spaniards tried to convert the Indians of the American Continent to Christianity.

French took over as the international language in the 18th century, when it exported the philosophical ideas of the Enlightenment of France and the later French Revolution, and a little later still, the political vision and judicial system of Napoleon. Neither must we forget that from 1066 until well into the 15th century the English Court spoke only French due to William the Conqueror, his nobility and troops.

Later, in the 18th and 19th centuries, we saw the conquest of much of the world by Britain, which had consequences for English as a language of communication within the Commonwealth (the Indian subcontinent, Australasia, many African and Asian countries).

Later still we had - when the European Community was born in 1957 - both languages, French and English, as the official working languages of the European Institutions, even if Great Britain was not a founding country, and still, until today, we have a sort of competition between these languages in certain European and international organisations.

Nevertheless, English took over the dominant position of French in international relations. There are different reasons, both linguistic and economic, to explain the situation of English as the only real *lingua franca* in the European Institutions and even in international relations worldwide.

Some believe English is the dominant language in the EU and in the world because it has a natural, let's say a linguistic (intrinsic) advantage: it's easy to learn, at least at the beginning of the learning process. Apart from an "s" at the end of the present tense third person singular, verbs remain unchanged no matter who are they talking about. Definite and indefinite articles are unaffected by gender: there is no need to remember whether a word is masculine or feminine. There are, however, plenty of difficulties in the English learning process. Try, for instance, explaining the phrasal verbs and the many idiomatic expressions. Anyway, the easiness to learn a language does not justify the general use in a certain period of his history. In this way, Latin grammar's complexity didn't hamper its spread.

We have more to look for, not for intrinsic reasons, but rather for extrinsic reasons, that English became a world language. The importance of a language is more, as David Crystal says in the *Financial Times* of the 9th November 2007 in relation to the power of the people who speak it. The British Empire carried English to all this countries on which the sun never set and the American economic and cultural power (the music and film business, the computer business, international trade and military activities etc.) ensured English dominance after the British Empire had faded. The reason why English is widely spoken today is that it is the language of international business and, therefore, the key to prosperity.

Then we can ask whether China's rise will push Mandarin into the number one spot as world language. Not at all, or, at least, not for the moment since the Chinese are rushing to learn English and once a *lingua franca* is established, it takes a long time to change the situation. Latin, spoken first in Rome and over what is now Italian territory, was later spoken in Europe and North Africa, but remained the language of sciences and philosophy for generations until the 16th century. It is still used by the Roman Catholic church in the Vatican. However, never in recorded history has a language been as widely spoken as English is today and this situation of dominance will remain for a while, not only because of the communication of Microsoft and

Google in English, the international congresses, the scientific reviews and the globalisation of the world, and neither because of the triumph of the native speakers in North America, the British Islands and Australia and Asia, but also because English is the language the Chinese use to talk to the Brazilians and the Germans to the Indonesians.

One of the consequences is that the older English-speaking countries cannot control any more the use and the quality of their own language: this language belongs now to the world. David Crystal in *The Financial Times* estimates that 1.5 billion people - around one-quarter of the world's population - can communicate reasonably well in English. David Graddol, the author of *English Next*, a report published by the British Council, forecasts that the number of English learners would probably peak at around 2 billion in 10-15 years.

This 'Globish' - the English of globalisation - has, of course, its own problems. Commentators in an article of the *Financial Times* of 9th of November 2007 on global English ask three principal questions:

[1] Is English really challenged by other fast-growing languages such as Mandarin, Spanish or Arabic?

About 50 years ago, English had more native speakers than any language, except Mandarin. Today both Spanish and Hindi-Urdu have as many native speakers as English does. By the middle of this century, English could fall into fifth place - behind Arabic - in terms of the numbers who speak it as a first language. Nevertheless, some believe that English will survive because it has intrinsic advantages and extrinsic advantages, as we explained.

[2] As English spreads and is influenced by local languages, could it fragment, as did Latin into Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese and Romanian, or might it survive as did German with Dutch, Swedish, Norwegian and Danish?

As for English fragmenting, Mr Graddol of the British Council argues that it has already happened: there are already many variants of English. It is unlikely, however, that this fragmentation will lead to the disappearance of English as a language understood around the world. In this way, there is a different English for the different communication situations as work, school or international contacts. Mr Crystal says modern communication through television, film and the

internet means the world is likely to hold on to an English that is widely understood.

[3] If English does retain a standard character that allows it to continue being understood everywhere, will the standard be that of the old English-speaking world or something new and different?

The reality is that the majority of the encounters in English today take place between non-native speakers. Even, sometimes, many business meetings held in English appear to run more smoothly when there are no native English-speakers present. Native speakers are often poor at ensuring that they are understood in international discussion because of their colloquial and metaphorical sentences and, of course, of their typical sense of humour. Barbara Seidhofer, Professor of English and Applied Linguistics at the University of Vienna, says that relief at the absence of native speakers is common. They even often ask native-speakers to be 'less English' so that the other can understand. Nevertheless, scientists and academics who want their work published in international journals have to adhere to the grammatical rules followed by the English-speaking elite, but for spoken English, the main aim, after all, is to be understood by one other. In this way spoken English is a natural language, and natural languages are difficult to control. Some native speakers, when they work in an international environment, felt their own English being pulled in the direction of these foreign-language patterns.

After this reflexion on 'Globish' - the English of the global world - let us have a look at 'Eurospeak' - English as spoken within EU Institutions and in an informal European context.

Let us start again with some figures and data. Currently only 19% of the EU's population speak French, whilst 41% can speak English, even if both languages are the official working languages for internal and external communication within the European institutions. With the 1995 Enlargement (Austria, Finland, Sweden - all firmly non-francophone countries) and the bigger one of 2004 with many former Communist countries, and that of 2007, French, already was under threat, now occupies fourth place after English, German and Russian. Most of the new member states' diplomats, commissioners, translators, interpreters and officials are choosing English as their second language. A 2002 Eurobarometer report found that 86% of people in the 13 countries applying to join the European Union favoured English

as one of the most useful languages, a further 58% chose German and only 17% chose French. In many new members, French is a kind of obligation, whilst English is a real *lingua franca*. Etienne De Poncin, spokesman for the French Delegation to the European Union says: *We don't think that French is under threat, but it is important that there are efforts to maintain its position. We have been organising intensive French lessons for the new member states so that there is at least comprehension of the language.*

The Commission has been talking up the need for increasing investment in translation and interpretation services and language training. On the other hand, the Council of Ministers is planning to limit some translation and interpretation services in order to accommodate the new official languages. Full interpretation is already limited to the 20 most important working groups, and some of the remaining groups (more than 200) will see further restrictions, though translation and interpretation for any official language will remain available to those that require it. The Parliament and the Court of Justice also plan to translate discussions and documents into the 23 languages. The issue, however, is not about official communication, but unofficial dialogue. There is indeed even a general increase in the use of English in recent years.

The French government works hard to preserve the use of French within Europe, receiving help and support from its close ally Germany. The French Culture Ministry has instituted quotas for French-language programming on French radio stations, has asked its officials to use French versions of internet-related nouns instead of English ones (e.g., *courriel* instead of email) and has emphasised the need for French diplomats and officials to do their part to maintain the use of the language of Molière, particularly in the European Institutions. Some observers argue that English is the obvious *lingua franca* for the European Union, but analysts such as Maxime Lefebvre, a research fellow responsible for European affairs at the *Institut Français des Relations Internationales* in Paris, argue that it is important to maintain multilingual diversity. That means in the age of globalisation preserving the different languages as instruments for the different cultures.

Some champions of English as the only *lingua franca* pretend even that it could help to intensify the political integration of the European Union. I would say, "Not at all!" It is even dangerous since, through

the language, Great Britain, could, in this way, try to use its own vision as they see the European Union only as a free market for the exchange of goods, services and capital - and not even of people, as they did not sign the Schengen Treaty.

We have to make a choice, not for Babel, of course: we don't want to have a chaotic situation of languages all mixed together and without a good communication environment with bad translation and interpretation services. But opting for an efficient multilingual and multicultural communication system must not mean that English should remain the only working language.

Let us give a few arguments to try to stop the uncontrolled progress of English as the only communication instrument.

[1] The generalisation of English gives to the native speaker teachers full control of the market for language education and didactic materials, such as summer courses, books, software, etc.

[2] English-speakers have no costs for translating documents, speeches, meetings, etc.

[3] It is not politically correct that English-speakers should not have to invest money in teaching foreign languages at school or university, and so use this money for other areas or departments.

[4] It is intellectually not good for students, politicians and businessmen not to have to make some effort to learn foreign languages, and also to try to understand, with empathy another culture, as language is the instrument which carries the culture of a whole linguistic group.

[5] The position of non-native speakers is always a position of linguistic inferiority in discussions, negotiations, speeches, business,...

[6] There is even the risk that we do not understand each other when speaking English: speaking the same language does not mean that the words have the same cultural content in the different countries. English became, in this way, a sort of Esperanto and does not reflect the culture of Great Britain or of the United States of America.

[7] The use of one compulsory language which you have to learn if you want to communicate is responsible for a sort of democratic deficit, since it becomes the language of a certain elite, the Eurocrats.

[8] And of course, there is the danger that a situation of monolingualism brings us in the long term to a monolithic way of thinking - as we

find sometimes in the USA and in Great Britain, with their 'splendid isolation' giving them this feeling of psychological superiority.

[9] We have to think of the professional future of teachers and professors of foreign languages in Great Britain and the United States as well as in the other countries of the European Union, without damaging the jobs of the teachers and professors of English

[10] And, finally, neither must we forget the professional future of our students who have to make so much effort to study foreign languages in order to work in an international context.

Conclusions

We cannot change the role of English in the world: Globish is already a fact that we cannot deny and cannot stop. But within the institutions of the European Union, the choice between Babel or a situation of monolingualism with English as the only communication instrument - Eurospeak - is not the point of discussion: we should - and we ought to, as a moral obligation - invest money and effort to improve the efficiency of the multilingual and multicultural communication - within the institutions of the European Union, but also in informal conversation, the emails we send, the contacts we have abroad, and, of course, the programmes of our schools' and universities' language curricula.

In our globalised world, we feel the need - maybe even more than before - of quality translations and interpretations. In spite of the predominance of English as a global *lingua franca*, there is the need for good translation, which becomes a key mediator in global communication. I would like to quote here, as a conclusion, Esperanza Bielsa in her article *Globalisation and Translation: a theoretical approach*: *Globalisation has caused an exponential increase of translation. The global dominance of English has been accompanied by a growing demand for translation, as people's own language continues to be the preferred language for access into informational goods.* (Bielsa 2005:142)

If we can come to a conclusion now, we can say that, as even for the linguistic and political situation of Belgium as for the linguistic and cultural situation of Europe, we feel the need and have the moral obligation to invest time, effort and money to keep alive both types of

multilingualism and multiculturalism on an national and also on a international level.

European culture and/or languages in crisis? Maybe, but we could try to profit from this crisis, if we see it as a challenge to improve the efficiency of intercultural communication, to optimise the quality of translation and interpretation services and to adapt the university language programmes to the needs of the European and international labour market.

FROM LOCAL TO EUROPEAN IDENTITY - CASE STUDY OF VARNA, A CANDIDATE CITY FOR ECoC IN 2019

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Introduction

The city of Varna is in competition for the Programme event "European Capital of Culture" (ECoC) in 2019 in a period of economic crisis and transformation. The emergence of such an event as the ECoC can lead to the revitalisation of a city and regional development. It also can help people feel a real part of European society and at the same time can strengthen their sense of national identity. Problems arising from this financial crisis are forcing us to test our real evaluation of our European identity as a fundamental criterion in the competition for the ECoC title. It is true that the determining factor of European identity is the possibility of establishing an intercultural dialogue between diverse cultures of Europe, but their creativity needs to be found not only in the arts, but also in innovative projects and ideas for sustainable local/regional development. This direction - the change from local to European identity - is now being taken by Varna.

The period 2010-2011 is considered as hugely important for the social and regional development of the city and is significant for both the inhabitants and the local authority of Varna. In 2011 the first budget forecast was issued by the Municipality regarding the ECoC event, and a sociological study of the attitudes of the locals towards the candidacy of the city was based on these finance-related issues. Varna's budget for the event was drawn up a year in advance and includes work, events and initiatives for promoting and developing its candidature. For this purpose a special ECoC Secretariat was set up to coordinate the activities of different working groups which are busy with the candidacy matters and to offer solutions and plan activities which can be targeted in the next financial year. The Secretariat's main aim is to promote the exchange of professionals between Varna and the EU countries - and - and especially with Italy, which is the second partner in the European Capital of Culture 2019 event).

Apart from this, to stimulate the formation of available "territory" for communication or "imagive geography"¹ of localised cultural identity between local and European cultures, for the last two years Varna Municipality is planning to use funds for the ECoC from Culture 2007-2013, Interreg IVC and other national operative programmes for regional development.

Hence, the purpose of this paper is to show that not only the availability of financial funds is crucial concerning whether or not the ECoC Programme is in crisis today. First of all should come a precise evaluation (from the residents) and local politicians as to what extent these funds could be useful for reinforcing the European profile and to understand better the transformation of the local identity of the city as candidate for the title of European Capital of Culture. Also, the EU enlargement developed by European identity gains increasing importance in the arts, in creativity and innovative projects.² The achievement of this goal requires the improvement of knowledge for the ECoC event and the continuous understanding of the meaning of European identity as a criterion for sustainable local development.

1. European identity in the context of the ECoC event

The European Union was set up with the aim of ending the destructive wars between neighbouring countries on the European continent. It was formed as an economic and political union with no particular policies in the field of culture. The issues of European identity and culture did not feature as an important point of cooperation and common policy.

In recent years the role of culture has been revived and it is gaining higher priority in the European and national policies of countries. People are turning to it looking, at the same time, both for their roots and their future, trying to find themselves, their origins and what connects them to the other countries. It seems that the common economic, social and defence policies are not enough to unite people from the different EU countries.

¹ Aiello, G.& Thurlow, C. Symbolic Capitals: Visual Discourse and Intercultural Exchange in the European Capital of Culture Scheme, *Language and Intercultural Communication*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 2006: 148-162

² Cúrleyen, I, *Cultural Aspects of European identity*, IEU, 2008: 1-18

The concept of European identity is still problematic. According to different researchers, many of the continent's inhabitants do feel themselves Europeans, but the majority feel that they belong more to their own countries rather than to Europe. The development of the Union requires a strong European identity, which is expressed in the sense of belonging to a large multinational community, contributing to its culture and in the same time understanding and accepting the differences. Europe has its own cultural system with its common values.

When, in 1985, Melina Mercouri introduced the idea of establishing a project called "European Capital of Culture". It appeared to be a major step forwards the common goal of developing a European identity, based on referring to the roots of Europe and European culture and at the same time on current day topics and issues and the differences between nations.

The ECoC project is one of the most visible and prestigious initiatives of the European Union. It combines art, history, identity, diversity and way of life. According to the European Commission, the title "European Capital of Culture" was designed to help bring the people of Europe together. Main purposes of the event are to highlight the richness and diversity of European cultures, bring people from different European countries into contact with each other's culture, to promote mutual understanding and to foster a feeling of European citizenship. At the same time it supports individual identities of nations and regions and makes them recognisable. These purposes correspond strongly with the motto of the European Union "United in diversity".

The Council of Europe reacted by emphasising the role of cultural cooperation in its Strategy for Cultural Cohesion and Cultural Pluralism: by promoting a positive attitude toward cultural diversity within societies, thereby recognising the role of culture as an antidote to intolerance; by strengthening the sense of a common European identity (in addition to national or regional identities), and the feeling of belonging to a common culture; by clearly reaffirming the ethical and human dimension of a democratic society and a changing Europe.³ Sharing democracy, respect for human rights and economic freedom,

³ Objective 1997: the intergovernmental programme of activities of the Council of Europe, Council of Europe, 1997,; 1-74

Europeans celebrate their diversity – language, culture, ethnicity – while increasingly reaching beyond the borders of their own country to the broader Europe.⁴

The “European Capital of Culture” event is a valuable means of quickening integration and “promoting a greater mutual acquaintance between European citizens”. This requires the emergence of such an event as “European Capital of Culture”, which can lead to the revitalisation of cities and regions and to regional development. It can also help people to feel a real part of European society and at the same time can strengthen their sense of national identity.

During a period of crisis a decline in confidence of European citizens in their European identity and civic commitment has been observed. This period is considered to be unfavourable to the promotion and development of culture from a financial point of view. Very often crisis leads to a 'closure' of the nation, physically and mentally. People limit their travel outside the country and focus on current national problems - unemployment, inflation, etc. It seems that politics and economics are not able to communicate with culture in an effective manner during a period of crisis. The EcoC event strengthens both national and European identity and fosters European integration, urban regeneration and regional development during a period of crisis.

Through the programme people have the opportunity to compare with others' culture and to separate themselves from other European countries, realising their unique national characteristics. Identity is something which distinguishes us from the others. On the other hand, identity is also based on a more spiritual, irrational principle of a desire to belong to a community; a will to live together that comes from sharing the same values and objectives. This means that by being a citizen of European Capital of Culture one can touch the European culture and thereby reinvent themselves as a part of Europe – “I am European”.

Surveys show that EU citizens continue to identify firstly with their own countries. According to a 'Eurobarometer' survey published in May 2008, 91% of the interviewees felt attachment to their nations and only 49% to the European Union. According to data from 'Euro-

⁴ EU focus, The emerging European Identity: unity and diversity, peace and prosperity, EU delegation of the EC in the USA, 2007: 1-8

barometer' 71/ July 2009/ "Public opinion in the EU", 65% of Bulgarians said "No", when asked "Do you feel yourself Europeans?"

The event can change these results. It can contribute to both national and European identity, especially in the new EU member states. This amazing cultural event is the perfect occasion for turning to our culture in this hard period of economic instability. With the enlargement of the European Union, the problem of European identity and cultural diversity is becoming stronger. Particularly important is the organisation of this event in the new EU member states and also in the candidate countries where people can identify themselves with the EU and develop a European identity.

Throughout Europe EU values reflect national values. In Central and Eastern Europe where many nations are relative newcomers to democratic governance and free market economics, EU membership and understanding of European integration and identity is an even more complicated issue.

The ECoC event is a valuable means of quickening integration and "promoting a greater mutual acquaintance between European citizens". It also formulates a number of objectives in response to the cultural challenges which Europe faces today. It aims to develop a sense of a shared history and common future, to ensure cultural freedom and manage cultural diversity, to foster intercultural dialogue, to strengthen the cultural dimensions of the European knowledge society and to create new forms of co-operation with civil society, accessible to the greater number of people without distinction or barrier.⁵ The purpose is to make Europeans aware of what they have in common and what they have as differences between each other. European Capitals of Culture strengthen the European identity. It is a major Cultural activity of the EU and a way of bringing together people involved in culture from the EU and other European countries. The objective is to highlight the richness and diversity of European cultures and the features which they share, as well as to promote greater mutual acquaintance between European citizens. Cultural integration has been seen as means of furthering integration beyond what has been achieved in the spheres of economics and politics. The main motivation behind the promotion and creation of a common European cul-

⁵ EC, The new Renaissance, Report of the Comité des Sages- reflection group on Bringing Europe's cultural heritage online: 1-43

ture and identity appears to be the differences in culture. There is no need to reduce or remove them.

Citizens have the opportunity to find them as a part of the common European identity and at the same time to feel different in a special way and to see the contribution of their country and city's culture to the European Cultural development. It is not the case that individuals feel that their attachment to their national state and identity is in conflict with a more general European or EU identity. Through the "European Capital of Culture" event people can express a strong European identity and at the same time a strong sense of national identity.

2. A sociological study of the attitudes of the local Population towards the candidacy of the city

Proceeding from local to European context is becoming a reference point for the ECoC programme of Varna. The process of living, working and creating culture together explores the European opportunity to be well integrated, to create balanced strategies for competitiveness and cooperation. At the same time, this process actively promotes the local values of citizens to think creatively around the interaction between economic and social dimensions.⁶

The city of Varna is a candidate for European capital of culture 2019. Varna is the third biggest city in Bulgaria and is recognised as the summer cultural capital of the country. Located by the Black Sea, the city is famous for its rich cultural traditions. Being a crossroads of ancient civilizations, the city offers large collections of prehistoric artefacts and contemporary works of art, exhibited in its museums and galleries. With its well preserved cultural traditions, its developing modern art and creativity, Varna is open for collaboration with other cities at local and international level. It participates in many cross-border partnerships and has a wide net of twin cities from all continents. Varna is a host to many important cultural forums: the International Music Festival "Varna Summer", an International Ballet Competition, the International May Choir Competition, the International Theatre Festival "Varna Summer", the International Jazz Fest, the Cinema festival "Love is folly!" and "The Golden Rose", International

⁶ European Cultural Forum, Culture, a smart investment for European regions, 2011: 1-10

Puppet Festival "The Golden Dolphin", International Print Biennial, the International Folklore Festival, etc. All of this is a solid base for the successful candidacy of the city as a Cultural centre of Europe in 2019.

The Municipality of Varna with its capacity to support the project idea of ECoC 2019 has prepared a collaborative research project with participants from the University of Economics-Varna so that the event will be correctly interpreted by citizens, politicians, researchers and cultural workers alike and a useful form of cohesion to be created between all involved participants. This survey relates to the existing knowledge, attitudes and sensibilities of Varna citizens in respect of the ECoC event and was held in the period May-August 2011. The study was conducted by a national sociological agency. Three main studies were done within the sociological survey: a) a group discussion with a target group of experts in the field of the city's culture; b) 622 questionnaires completed by visitors at three festivals in Varna: opera, jazz and folklore, c) 610 interviews, carried out in 61 centres in Varna with special emphasis on the candidature of Varna for ECOC 2019.

This regional research took in people, 60% of whom were born in Varna; the largest sectors focused on two target age groups: 18-29 and 60+.

The methodology of the survey is based on several questions, whose principal groups are: attendance/quality of cultural events, personal budget/event recommendations, preference location/time for events, young people's interest in the cultural calendar of Varna, information channels about cultural events/candidacy of Varna for ECOC 2019, awareness/approval of the candidacy, uniqueness of Varna as candidate city/ the European vision of Varna, suggestions for leading topics/slogan for the candidacy, likely benefits from the event, preferences for cultural events if Varna is selected for ECOC 2019, willingness to participate in a cultural event / degree of readiness to volunteer.

Some important characteristics of the city of Varna as EcoC candidate should be underlined before presenting and analysing the results. Above all, Varna was the first city to announce its candidacy - in 2006, integrating all the cultural institutions of local government, especially experts from the Secretariat of Department of "Cultural and

Spiritual Development" in the Municipality of Varna. The Secretariat handles the city's candidacy and is responsible for proposing a strategy to develop a suitable programme.

2.1. Local awareness of the candidacy of Varna for ECoC 2019

General knowledge of the ECoC event is very low in Varna. A low level of willingness on the part of the population to support an ECoC cultural event, together with an equally low degree of readiness to volunteer, is also noticeable. Further, the basic concept of the programme is not yet been grasped by the locals - that is, to highlight the richness and diversity of European cultures and the features they share, as well as to promote greater mutual understanding between European citizens.

Two-thirds (67%) of those surveyed in the regional questionnaire simply did not know that Varna wants to compete for the title ECoC 2019, and 11% only heard about it from television. Seventy percent (70%) of those surveyed in the regional questionnaire did not know that in 2019 there will be one Bulgarian and one Italian city - selected in advance to be a European Capital of Culture. Eighty-three percent (83%) did not know which are the current Cultural Capitals of Europe and 93% have never attended any cultural event in a city.

At the same time, the importance of the European dimension is very strong for the population. The respondents accept the candidature of Varna as an opportunity to promote Bulgarian culture and art (93%) and as an opportunity to enrich the cultural life of Varna (91%). Only 8 % of those surveyed cannot guess how far the candidacy of the city would contribute to the European integration of the country, and 11% think that Varna is not a part of Europe's cultural life. In general, within the framework of the candidacy, the locals would wish the city to improve its infrastructure, to pay more attention to ecology and cleanliness and to promote more cultural heritage, museums, theatres and children's performances in Varna in the competition for EcoC 2019. Obviously, consciousness of your own local problems strengthens the already strong cultural axis to produce more tangible culture for the citizens and to support new development models for the cultural and social networks of Varna.

Therefore, 68% of those surveyed consider that Varna has a better chance than other Bulgarian cities who are candidates for ECOC 2019. Residents see the greatest benefits for Varna in the field of tourism development (88%), and for this reason the links in the chain from consumer of cultural events to cultural institutions to tour operator in the cultural field is becoming important for the local and European identity of Varna.

2.2. Local interpretation of the European identity in programming ECoC 2019

According to the residents' perception, the programme of Varna as candidate for ECoC 2019 should be based on the promotion of innovative and original intercultural dialogue by managing youth demands and stimulating the participation of young people in international projects.

The creation of a city profile by including the name "Varna" in the campaign motto should motivate the city to create and organise local and international cultural products of high quality. Looking for new ideas for Varna and its European concepts requires systematic project work in specific directions: 1) ethnic groups and the disadvantaged; 2) European projects (especially projects for young people) and 3) green innovation. These features correspond to the policy of the EU, which will allocate a budget of €1-6bn for the period until 2020 for the cultural sector and the development of "Creative Europe"⁷, and so it corresponds also to the overall framework of being Europeans together.

The results of the study allow us to assess cultural unity as a common idea for Varna citizens, and, at the same time it could permit us to summarise some recommendations for the European identity of a country such as Bulgaria, a relatively new member of the European Union. The results were presented and discussed at two roundtables under the name "European Capital of Culture". The first gathered together international experts in ECoC programmes and the second the NGOs of Varna working in the field of science and culture. In addition, proposals have been given to the cultural policy-makers of Varna on

⁷ Eurocities, EC's proposal for new Creative Europe programmes 2014-2020, 2011: 1-14

how to work together in a network, how to choose the right strategy (both financial and in terms of the EcoC project) for residents over the coming years - that is, until 2019. All these steps are part of a unified international strategy for developing a European identity for Varna and which can make the city a competitive candidate for the title "European Capital of Culture 2019".

Conclusion

The present case study shows that the reciprocal relations between local and European identity affect intensely the candidacy of one city to become ECoC. The cultural integrity of each candidate city is its own capacity to consider social, economic and political integration for cultural development.

The "European capital of culture" programme event of the EU is a unique opportunity for the city of Varna and the region to establish a joined cultural and economic platform, to change their image and to make them better known at European and international level. Through the preparation for this huge event, the city and region, using their potential in different fields, will be able to organise and realise, together with other European countries, large dimension cultural projects.

This event is an accelerator of the development and regeneration of the city's cultural infrastructure, modern cultural trends and an opportunity for Varna to popularise Bulgarian culture among the population of Europe and to find its place in the richness of European cultural life. As a result of successful partnerships and co-projects, Varna will turn into a European and world cultural stage. All this will motivate the citizens from all sectors of business, social and cultural life to begin working together toward the common goal - Varna - European Capital of Culture 2019.

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CRISIS IN CULTURE – CRISIS IN EUROPEAN CAPITALS OF CULTURE

HATTO FISCHER - POIEIN KAI PRATTEIN ('CREATE AND DO') (GREECE)

Introduction

When people devote themselves to culture, but are disappointed by what European Capitals of Culture turn out to be, a double crisis is in the making. Whilst a crisis in culture will reveal itself in no longer knowing what to expect of the future, doubts about European Capitals of Culture will start to prevail, despite their claims to be one of the most successful projects of the European Union.

Culture is based on expectations, but special ones, since it involves the imagination to see what lies ahead. Positive anticipation is crucial since it is so much like enjoying the coming of a child. To be cut off from such anticipation means provoking a crisis. That is the case today when many find themselves lacking any positive future. Is it only when people live and work with no expectations that they can be creative? Certainly they could be so once artists set down standards as to what creates art which touches on 'human pain' and is never satisfied too quickly. Expressions of this may not be a solution in themselves, but at least they give an answer as to how life can go on. However, this depends on expectations becoming a 'certainty in uncertainty' - if, that is, this happiness, beauty and empathy are to be found within human relationships. Here what matters most is that this search for a fulfilled life is best expressed by expectations in love, for, along with good work and freedom, love makes things possible. It does so by questioning power and fears since they impede creativity, preventing human responses to unexpected situations and conflicts. Human understanding matters. By expectations becoming realistic, disappointments can be avoided. Nothing is perfect, but, if uncompleted artistic work on what is incomplete takes on the consistency of true love, then the arts will inspire people to work through contradictions in their expectations. They can fulfil them once they gain cultural insight into how creativity and human self-consciousness are linked to an ethical vision.

The successful implementation of a programme in the case of a European Capital of Culture depends upon naming constraints i.e. what is impossible to make things possible. By becoming consistent, things take on value. It is a highly ethical approach and can be linked to Melina Mercouri's vision best understood as the art of bringing together people and artists to let Europe be integrated not merely by economic and political, but, principally by cultural means.

All European Capitals of Culture promise to open up the city to Europe by initiating a new creative process. Yet expectations are disappointed once that ethical vision is not upheld by the organisation set up to handle this challenge. It happens consistently. They devise a programme which automatically all others who do not belong to the local or 'own' culture. Unfortunately this discriminatory practice prevails in most ECoC cities, and with it goes a misunderstanding of the title. Most of the time it is perceived as an opportunity to do something solely for the city i.e. to cater for special interests whilst installing some powerful growth engine for the local economy. In seeking only the value which culture has for the economy, they literally turn their back on culture. This mistake they realise too late – i.e., after the one ECoC year. By then everyone knows that not enough was done to fulfil expectations in terms of culture with a European dimension.

Disavowing culture creates a double crisis in Europe, but why no one challenges the way in which culture is handled by European Capitals of Culture is even more of a puzzle. How the European Commission deals with this project is, therefore, a critical question, and, in fact, both the selection and implementation processes no longer escape the suspicion of corruption. If anything, a loss of honesty accounts for much of the crisis, and all of this is aggravated by the EU 2020 vision. By not mentioning culture at all, as if there were no need for expectations of a common future in Europe, it negates the vision itself.

1. The crisis in culture

The films of Angelopoulos show in a slow-moving poetic and melancholic way how crisis can erupt out of a divided society. Once people no longer talk to each other and silence rules, violence reigns between Left and Right. In Greece, this brought about a fatal civil war 1945-48 and was followed by more suppression until dictatorship

made it all visible. Today this split in society threatening social and economic cohesion prevails no longer so much between Left and Right, but rather between the elite and the general population. It leaves society without a common culture based on a sense of social justice. Instead global society has adopted money as the sole unifying force, even though the fiscal crisis is threatening to divide European societies. Moreover, the media - and also false lessons from the past - have created one single school of thought, namely 'anti-politics'. By denying reality and merely blaming politicians, we see no way out of the crisis. It lets the sword of austerity come down hard on certain parts of society, including children, youth, the unemployed, pensioners and the under-qualified. At this time the EU seems to be altogether losing ground in striving for a just and sustainable Europe, and then the neglect of culture simply deepens the crisis.

2. The loss of practical judgement

Crisis in culture impedes self-understanding. It allows people to become disorientated and youth to be prone to violence for lack of alternatives in a corrupt society. If anything, crisis is a failure of governance based on human and cultural values. Moreover, 'social justice' cannot be realised without practical wisdom. Interestingly enough, philosophers from Kant to Adorno maintain that 'practical wisdom' cannot be taught but exists in everyone. Others call it 'practical judgement' - which determines taste; to be without creates a cultural crisis (Hannah Arendt, 2004). Practical judgement is always needed prior to taking decisions, in order to avoid negative consequences. Apparently this is not heeded at all when austerity measures are applied to resolve a financial crisis. Negative consequences seem not to matter - as if confidence in money counts more than what happens to people.

Practical judgement is involved when knowing what goes, and what does not. It plays a crucial role at individual level when considering entering a relationship, but also at city level, since what to undertake seriously matters. It has to do with surviving in a world by retaining ones identity. The same applies to a city, by knowing the direction in which to develop. Unfortunately, the modern world has replaced practical judgement rooted in culture with (often reckless) judgements orientated towards success measured only in terms of profit and the

acquisition of power. At global level, this recklessness can be seen by repeatedly going to war, rather than searching for a path to peace. For progress to be made, non-violent forms of existence are needed. They depend on developments which strengthen civil society (e.g. Tahrir Square in Cairo 2011) where people are listened to and their opinions count.

It is crucial to gain through culture such self-understanding as to be able to mediate between different factors. Learning to live in a complex world means finding solutions through actions to build on for the future. Culture fails if people no longer know how to anticipate what lies ahead. In their lives they pursue great expectations of humanity, whilst, through 'lived through experiences' (*le vécu*) they follow human stories through which they recognize the other. However, once practical judgement is lost, people go astray and fall silent even before they have a chance to tell their stories.

3. *Culture is theory*

Generally speaking, life in Europe has become complex and difficult due to our having to succumb to mere directives imposed 'top-down'. Problems arise because they are insensitive to both cultural diversity and different landscapes. For example, the Water Directive of 2000 applies to Northern European landscapes, but not to Greek islands with their complex and diverse nature. Once life is regulated - but without people really knowing the 'theory' behind these directives - then regulatory principles are not adapted within the given culture, but merely imposed institutionally. This leads to a stupefying way of implementation, whilst, at the same time, the regulations are resisted or circumvented. The culture in Brussels is very different from what prevails in Sicily or in Northern Denmark. Hence much European development, at best, created confusion at administrative level and ends by catering only to the interests of member states and the major players. Whenever there are huge investments being made in public works and corruption is afoot, then something else happens - the law of proportionality is not kept, even if this is the greatest of all arts (Vincent Van Gogh). In the process what will be destroyed is what really defines a European city: the interplay between the big and the small. This leads to mega-projects which are simply out of scale. An altogether unsustainable development is created since self-

regulatory mechanisms and human limitations are no longer observed. The best example of this is the continual expansion of Europe, but, as Hegel remarked earlier, bourgeoisie society knows no other way to exist. Bank credit is only given if the company is expanding, as it then appears to be still growing and, therefore, healthy, financially speaking. With ever-greater projects grows also the illusion of becoming too big to fail. Many organisations, and even states, speculated on that and took enormous risks. The result is the current financial crisis haunting Europe - not only Greece, but also Portugal, Spain and Italy. Even others such as the UK and France find themselves on a downward spiral in an ongoing recession. This failure is due to having not only suspended governmental regulation, but also because the free market is no longer functioning. When a growing weapons industry and society rely heavily on new and expensive technology, then they require the state to cover the investment risk, something which the free market cannot do. However, as state contracts are needed to ensure demand for the product, this makes the state a consumer who ignores real needs. It leaves policy-makers without orientation since they fail to perceive that culture as 'theory' could help them in judging and realising things.

To say that culture is 'theory' may sound odd in an anti-intellectual world, yet there is the danger that the 'theory-practice' dilemma (Kant) is replaced by those seeking only actions (Jean Pierre Faye). However, man needs to know what he is doing - to reflect on his actions. In Ancient Greece it was done through the theatre to draw attention to dangers once those in power overstep the mark. Texts were crucial since whenever these plays were staged, it was a challenge to give them life (Peter Stein). By bringing 'theory' into the present, practical knowledge is made explicit as to what society should do (Aristotle). Since a complex process of understanding (the reception of the drama) often these cultural reflections are ignored as though insignificant. That creates the problem, for, if no theory mediates between concept and reality, violence prevails (as now in Syria). Specifically a crisis appears when organisational principles are no longer legitimised, but applied in a most inhumane way.

In the absence of a culture which could set constraints, a most dangerous fiction has been created by the world of consumption. This is based on technology promising unlimited progress, but it entails people being unable to communicate without this expensive technology.

This one-sided dependency explains precisely the crisis in culture. Whilst money is poured into communications technology (but also made from it) the ability to talk freely with others diminishes. In the sphere of public space e.g. the Internet is increasingly spoiled by manipulative images with the added risk of direct censorship. The development of Facebook indicates how people end up adopting all kinds of subversive language and code in order to communicate. It explains the increasing loss of 'rationality' in politics due to a general sentiment of anti-politics replacing active participation in public life. This also contributes to the crisis in culture.

This crisis is not a new phenomenon. British people who had admired German culture based on Goethe and Schiller were shocked to learn about the atrocities committed against humanity during Hitler's reign. George Steiner added in his book 'Silence and Language' the most crucial question of all mankind, namely: how is it possible for someone to play Schubert songs on the piano the evening before going the next day into the concentration camp to kill innocent people there? He called it a paradox. Yet the belief in the arts as being on the side of humanity is still being upheld by writers and artists in the hope cultural reflections may prevent someone from doing a criminal act.

George Steiner added one other question and this despite all contradictions, namely why is it that Fascism did not manage to bring about great works of art, while Communism did? He thought about a culture which did inspire with its ethical vision of man works of art as was the case with Picasso and others. The contradiction was Stalin and his special Gulag camps so well described by Solzhenitsyn. After the war that crisis continued, Adorno expressed it best when saying, after Auschwitz, that no more poetry would be possible. Since then the need not to forget calls for continuity of cultural work on redemption. It means to bestow the truth to the 'imaginary witness' while still able to trust one's mistrust. Thus no one needs to believe what is being sold as news that it represents reality. Here cultural perception has a real value and so does critical reflection.

4. Crisis as failure to learn from the past, to anticipate the future and to live in the present

Culture is all about qualification to live and to work in a refined way together with others. Beauty and excellence of workmanship go hand

in hand. Hence a cultural crisis is in the making due to the growing gap between global playing fields and those at local level as it means a constant risk to experience a reduction in the possibilities to qualify for this top level. Even the social media are unable to enhance communication in such a situation. Rather they reinforce a negative trend which can lead to new forms of isolation. As the individuation of cyber workers spreads, insofar as everyone can work at home, but is clearly isolated there, many are completely forgotten by their surroundings. Once alone, they have no real orientation towards others and hence no longer know what their future possibilities are. Human beings need social interactions to motivate them to participate. They cannot if they have no trust in themselves and in others. Instead they will subject themselves and others to increasingly grave misunderstandings until it comes even to violent reactions. The radical loser can be identified as part of the crisis in the making - i.e. when someone goes suddenly on a shooting spree (Enzensberger, 2006)

Crisis in culture also entails a loss of social capital (termed 'trust' by many) in the institutions needed to govern their cities and Europe. Since culture gives people the means to understand the situation they live in and to communicate, they are lost and resigned once deprived of it. Without expectations they cannot experience life - and only reproduce failure as part of an unhappy life. This is when the crisis of culture itself becomes apparent through failure

- to adapt to reality so that real needs cannot be fulfilled within set constraints;
- to anticipate what will determine the future negatively by not acting now – before it is too late;
- to learn from the past to shape the future so that they can live in the present.

Learning from experience is part of the cultural adaptation process. A practical agenda is needed so that people can address the issues of an increasingly global society. The crucial task is to sustain a continuity of identity whilst adapting to the changes - e.g. production being relocated to China whilst only high-qualification jobs stay at home. For the parents of future generations this is a huge cultural challenge: what reality should then be communicated to children?

5. *Crisis in European Capitals of Culture*

Alone, the fact that European Capitals of Culture fail to uphold culture as an institution capable of observing the law of proportionality says a lot. Increasingly so, they are becoming mega-projects, out of scale, no more than a series of events and festivals. Instead of coming to terms with the crisis in culture, they reinforce this trend and end up disappointing people.

All too often ECoCs forget that in the title is the term 'capital'. In a real sense this would mean being responsible during that one year for everything which happens to culture in Europe. If that alone were taken more seriously, it would lead to quite a different understanding of the European dimension so often missing in all ECoC cities. At the very least, each ECoC city should enter a dialogue with civil society and the free art scene, in order to draw the attention of the Council of Cultural Ministers and the Cultural Committee of the European Parliament as to what is happening to culture in Europe. It would be important to bring all EU institutions into dialogue with those who create and form European culture. People can only become actively engaged for Europe once they have the cultural means. That would mean a reversal of the subsidiary principle in favour of European actions and lessening the role of member states.

It is known that culture has, within the construct of the European Union, only a weak legal base, even though the expectations of culture are high. This discrepancy can be overcome by European Capitals of Culture. They can do so by assuming the role of mediators and by strengthening the role of culture not as extra value for the economy, but as promoting participation. For this to happen, culture needs to keep alive four key aspects of human domains: empathy, communication, integrity and memory. EU cultural policy should be shaped accordingly. Citizens will participate in the European debate, once they understand the situation, are informed and can shape the European agenda, in order to give their qualified opinion about EU directives. As said, the lives of Europeans are determined by them. To know how EU institutions work, cultural reflections are needed and so culture be taken seriously as the 'theory' for knowing the goals.

Given that Europe's strength lies in its cultural diversity, ECoC cities should provide insights into how governance by culture could work.

Usually values are not discussed, but set; any attempt to change the values of others can lead to conflict, if not to war (Cornelious Castoriadis). A lot can be learned from such cultural governance, enabling a discussion of values. This pertains especially to cultural disputes as in Belgium. Indeed, European Capitals of Culture should resist allowing claims of 'own' culture to take only the national route and should instead promote cultural diversity.

If the cultural crisis is linked to outdated methods of governance which tend to neglect culture, European Capitals of Culture would be well advised to make it possible to discuss public truths in public spaces. (Bart Verschaffel, 2005). The encouragement of public participation is crucial for both democratic development and rational politics - all the more so since we should be worried at ECoC cities tending to set up closed organisations, excluding civil society and citizens from them. Rather, their programmes should heed practical judgement by the people and reflect further upon all culturally embedded experiences so as to draw out this wisdom to govern by. Otherwise, ECoCs risk reproducing all policy shortcomings, and will end up with an even greater deficit, namely the 'poverty of experience' (Hatto Fischer, 2011). Since no artificial induction of experience can overcome that, a lack of communication and a breakdown in mutual understanding would mark their special year. Instead of solidarity with others in Europe in further integration and cohesion, xenophobic forces and extreme forms of nationalism could defeat the idea of Europe.

Naturally, ECoCs ought to view the setting up a programme for one year as a cultural challenge. This requires acknowledging the cultural crisis as a matter of perception and understanding. Crisis is linked to the denial of challenges to acclaimed truths - e.g., Herodotus challenged Ancient Greeks in their myth of having created their own Gods when they had, in fact, been adapted from Egyptian culture. Denials are made out of the fear of being involved in unpleasant truths - e.g., Germans claiming not to have seen Jews disappear. Above all, the fear not to appear successful leads to a suppression of unpleasant truths. Yet culture learns from failure by making human understanding possible. That is a basic fact. Avoidance would merely lead to a systematic failure to clarify points of contention.

In the case of ECoC cities, points of contention are connected with the criteria set out by the European Commission for the selection and

evaluation of an ECoC city. Often they are never really applied, and it seems that cities are selected which do everything to deceive the Jury and the European Commission, e.g., by claiming that the citizens support the bid when, in fact, things are brought about by fake participation and the top-down imposition of programmes. Even if genuine at the start, once the city has received the designation, conditions change. Both Pécs and Istanbul started out as NGOs, but were then replaced by a more powerful managerial group representing interests other than culture and the arts. It can also happen, as with Essen, that one city applies, but after designation, a region of 53 cities (or Ruhr 2010) takes over. With budgets reaching €80m for both the 4-year preparation and the single event-year, it is no wonder that other interests wish to take over and define the programme. Sadly, too often managerial thinking dominates, and not a 'culture in search of truth' (Michael D. Higgins, 2007).

6. Prevailing theories and priorities pushing ECoC programmes in the wrong direction

Wroclaw 2016 advocates a programme to ensure the authenticity of culture, but this is a most controversial criterion, and not only in architecture (Bart Verschaffel). Behind the Wroclaw bid stands a 'theory of attraction' as developed by the philosopher Adam Chmielewski. Based on his reading of Darwin's theory, he adds a sexual dimension in aesthetical terms to enhance and explain attraction (selection). Not only does he state what is most obvious, but in over-complicated terms. He also fails to include the ethical dimension and vision brought about by culture. People need that as they seek to embed their lives and the lives of their children in a stream of consciousness fed by culture. The failure of his thesis becomes clear in the programme. It is designed to give space to beauty, even though space as an abstract term is most difficult to handle - even by artists. Even more so, such a theoretical disposition is unable to contradict the theory of Richard Florida, despite the latter being an advocate of anything but an authentic approach to the arts and culture.

Of interest is that Florida's theory has been adopted by the mayor of Wroclaw, Rafael Dutkiewicz. By endorsing this concept of a 'creative city', the city aims to attract solely the 'creative class'. Behind

Florida's theory is pure speculation on real estate. Linked to that is the interest to keep money circulating as long as possible within the local economy. Here the mayor sees as improving life the fact that only so many jobs can be added. Further improvement can come from increases in salaries, although, as a cost factor, these need to be modest. Hence culture remains the most important factor in improving life; it alone can add to the quality of life. Needless to say, this approach completely ignores the reasons for culture having come in the first place into crisis, namely its overuse by commercial interests and improper (i.e. under-) funding of the arts.

Already in 1997 the European Commission was worried, when designing the ERDF Article 10 programme, that over-commercialisation would lead to a destruction of cultural identity. It seems as if this lesson has not been learnt. Subsequently, Europe risks sliding into an even greater cultural crisis. Many official programmes of ECoC cities reinforce this by concentrating, for example, only on restoring the historical centre, whilst neglecting the real urban squalor prevailing in the suburbs and where the only meeting place is the supermarket. How is it possible to show-case cultural heritage at the centre whilst ignoring the real human plight of the many on the outskirts of the city? What needs to be asked is why European Capitals of Culture end up being largely image-makers in trying to improve the attractiveness of the city for tourists, but without altering the living and working conditions of 95% of the population? Also, transforming the historical centre into a tourist attraction often means a loss for the local population as their needs are no longer met – for example by local bakeries moving out and tourist establishments moving in. Indeed, too many European Capitals of Culture are solely orientated towards image change, in order to become attractive for new tourist categories and Florida's 'creative class' – to the exclusion of all others.

This trend is linked to the ever-growing importance of the cultural industry or the creative sector. It is heavily prioritised by the European Commission since having commissioned a Brussels-based consultancy to determine what value culture has to the economy. Already in the case of Ruhr 2010, cultural industries became for the first time a major point on the programme. However, there is a high risk of failure. Silicon Valley cannot be easily, if at all imitated.

Once it is not a unique understanding of culture but business interests which shape the programme of a European Capital of Culture, the European dimension will be reduced to how events can best be managed. The outcome will be a series of festivals and mega-events which altogether can fulfil the claim of having been successful during this one decisive year. Proof of success may be underlined by winning enough media attention, a sufficiently large extra number of tourists coming to the city and revenues earned - all to justify the original expenditure. However, when programmes are designed merely to attract numbers of visitors, there will never be audiences which could sustain the experiences gained in participating in events organised by a European Capital of Culture.

For this reason Marseille 2013 stood out in its bid - as a kind of hope for reviving EU cultural policy in respect of two neglected areas: cultural diversity linked to viable neighbourhoods capable of integrating immigrants and migrants, and dialogue between especially European and Arabic cultures. The fact that the organisation of Marseille 2013 has itself undergone many changes leads to the reasonable doubt that the original concept will not be the same when it comes to implementation in 2013. By the same token, these expectations will, in reality, be disappointed.

Altogether a lack of consistency between the originally agreed interpretation of the title and what takes place in reality leaves culture without value. Both people and artists i.e. the cultural sector are, if not left completely behind, then at least side-lined, as they play no significant role when it comes to gaining from having staged one 'successful' year. Most programmes show European Capitals of Culture as not having learned to come to terms with the challenge of culture. Instead they are inclined to undertake structural changes insofar as spectacular buildings rise, but do not ensure the articulation of cultural identities. Instead, a process of valorisation is applied and everything is then subject to the same rules as defined by a business going global - for example, Dubai as a place of attraction for the super-rich.

7. The problem of mendacity and of publicness

Bob Palmer declared in his speech during the EcoC's 25th anniversary in Brussels in 2010 that there is a danger of the institution becoming

a cultural industry which employs PR agencies – and so spin doctors who produce reports of success. Nothing is more harmful to culture than fake reports.

In respect of research and other methods of securing evaluation reports, efforts have been made by officially sanctioned research entities to improve quality. For instance, impact studies of 'Liverpool '08' have tried to put numbers into context. The fact that Liverpool reports that 10 million people came to the city during 2008 is acclaimed as success by the European Commission (see: Report of the European Commission, "Interim evaluation report on the implementation of the Culture programme", 5160/11, Cult 3, 11.January 2011). These numbers, however, say nothing in terms of experiences, and there is no reference in the official reports to what was achieved during that official year by the Royal Court Theatre in Liverpool - not funded by the official programme and yet able to create a permanent audience. (John Bennett, 2008). Also, the artist David Haley said that Liverpool '08 did not see the 'writing on the wall'. When seeking to revamp the waterfront, climate change and the subsequent potential rise in the water level was not taken into account. Moreover, the waterfront became a business opportunity for countless consulting firms to be set up for the sole purpose of collecting huge sums of money for all kinds of business training programme.

Once reports are the products of 'spin doctor-like public relation exercises', European Capitals of Culture practise mendacity (Martin Jay) rather than strengthen culture and oppose the use of the lie. The lie is used to keep people in ignorance or force them to live with only half-truths. All of this means a real risk of coming ever closer to propaganda-like exercises. It is a matter of sweeping aside any negative trends and shortcomings so as to be able to paint simple images of a successful year. That trend is reinforced by people such as film director Wim Wenders or organisations specialising in city branding. They argue that, if Europe is to sell itself more convincingly to the world, images are needed which can be sold abroad - which leads directly to a new type of propaganda. This, however, is never convincing in the long term and can only work in the short run. Therefore, to keep the general public convinced, it must be subjected to a continuous barrage of propaganda. For this reason, millions are spend on PR exercises and so ECoCs end up spending up to 20% of their budget on PR and marketing strategies. They do so to convince everyone, including themselves,

that their one year has been most successful. In the end, they begin to believe in their own propaganda and cannot take any report or, even more so, criticism to the contrary.

There is also the problem of patriotism – for example, not being critical of one's own culture or one's own European Capital of Culture. A failure to question this hidden dimension of nationalism within patriotism harms equally both culture and the EcoC institution. With it goes the false claim of having found a unique voice when it is really based on a false claim of success by the exclusion of others. A similar danger can be noted when researchers conduct studies at the university of the city which had been an ECoC. A certain kind of local patriotism - but also a fear of being too critical in public will make them follow a kind of self-censorship. It is also the case that 'reality', when linked to culture, is most difficult to define. Here not only special knowledge, but also real experiences are needed before the impact of that one year upon the city can be critically evaluated. It entails what meaning the year has for Europe as a whole, but this dimension is usually missing from local reports.

Given that trend, Habermas would point out still another reason for the crisis in Europe: the lack of publicness leading to a growing democratic deficit between citizens and EU institutions. European Capitals of Culture could help overcome this gap, provided that they do not reproduce this 'pathology of communication' evidenced by the Murdoch and Berlusconi types of media control.

8. Defending the legacy rather than opening up to criticism

Ruhr 2010 came and went, as did Pecs and Istanbul, with but a meagre result in terms of human stories. Ruhr 2010 did produce one big story, but a most tragic one, insofar as the Love Parade turned into a disaster once people panicked and some were crushed to death as the site had only one entrance and exit, and this through a tunnel. Driven by the desire to gain extra revenue by having many more people at the event, critical details were either ignored or not heeded. Culture, however, cannot be reduced to being just a media spectacle. Success lies in taking care of details.

It is no wonder that many ECoCs are hardly ever heard of again once 'the year' is over. Of course, there are some who made a name for

themselves, but, alas, only negatively. Copenhagen, for example, ended with a huge deficit despite having had, perhaps, the largest budget available, and its fame rests only on having built a bridge to Sweden. Something similar has happened in the case of Pecs 2010. There the major feat seems to have been the new road linking the city to Budapest and its international airport. Both are a two-hour drive away. Whilst the two Greek cities, Thessalonica 1997 and Patras 2006, are often discussed in negative terms, the failure to pursue the reasons why mistakes were made and the unwillingness to challenge bad practices both contribute to the growing crisis in culture and in European Capitals of Culture.

Due to the huge sums of money involved, ECoCs have become toys in the hands of powerful forces which are successful in one thing, specifically in suppressing the one crucial source of creativity which the arts and artists badly need: criticism. Many in Linz '09 realised that criticism could not be sustained even during that one year (Tanja Brandmayr, 2010). In retrospect, it means that memories fade, there are no more stories to be told, and everything has been consumed.

By the same token, criticism of the ECoC stems mainly from people who have become sensitive to what potentialities this concept entails. Ever since Melina Mercouri initiated this idea in 1985 some have realised that it does offer fantastic possibilities. For instance, Eric Antonis of Antwerp '93 understood culture as being open to doubt and commissioned new operas.

Many ECoCs seem not to be interested in learning from a continuity of practice. This is only possible by referring to what was attempted before and where it is possible to continue cultural development in the various fields - i.e. in cinema, theatre, poetry. Moreover, there is a need to gather stories which people have to tell about their lives in Europe. If both things are not done, no lessons are to be drawn from experience and no European audiences are created able to pursue cultural development as the European project unfolds. The double crisis in both culture and ECoC cities stems from this neglect, whilst subjugating culture at the same time to a false valorisation process.

Every ECoC city has its own story to tell, and the absence of such a story indicates a crisis in the making. As the writer George Crane declares: "stories allow us to become human beings!" Without stories, people have no self-understanding as to how they can sustain life in the city.

9. *Can ECoCs contribute to sustainable culture?*

Sustainability is often misunderstood when it comes to evaluate a European Capital of Culture. Too often it is reduced to a question of whether or not a theatre survives in the aftermath of that one cultural year. The misunderstanding is intensified by transforming the criterion of sustainability into one of 'legacy'. The latter prompts only more public relations exercises.

Very different, and coming close to cultural sustainability, is something that Cork 2005 achieved, namely both people and city felt themselves to be more qualified after that one year, and therefore ready to take on new and still greater challenges. Even the Arts Council of Ireland recognized this and allocated afterwards more resources to the city, so that it could do more for the arts. This sustainability was brought about by a self-confidence gained during this one year. In addition, Cork created many more public spaces, promoted poetry in translation and introduced annual events such as. Today this confidence has become a part of the life in that city. After all it is the human spirit which counts.

To ask if a European Capital of Culture can and does contribute towards a culture of sustainability is, therefore, most crucial. It was already a topic at a conference organized by Poiein kai Prattein and Cultura 21 in Berlin, May 2011. It is important to understand the role culture can play in making possible a transition from a current consuming and waste-producing economy to sustainable development. Lessons can be learned from the arts in this respect. They can bring people in contact with nature and other life forms by giving them an understanding by which measures this transition from previous organisational patterns to a sustainable one can be realised. To remind ourselves, Homer's *Odyssey* can be interpreted as showing the time it takes to make this transition from a hunter/gatherer to an agricultural society. In the end, upon returning home to Ithaca, survival for *Odyssey* meant finding shelter under a wild and a tamed olive tree. Culture fosters such a marriage.

Sustainability has to do with self-transcendence - also called positive 'self forgetting' - that is, when absorbed by what is happening and thereby experiencing life. Stories of this enliven language and allow the imagination to explore the road ahead. Once it feeds into culture, it enriches dialogue between imagination and reality. It lets things be

discussed from different viewpoints. Participants gather strength from both the sand and the wind. Once moved by a poem, progress is made. For culture is about sharing while in search of a truth which can give shape to a new society, one which is just and in every sense of the word a humane one. If open to cultural reflections, then opinions can be discussed as much as criticised, indeed be challenged.

Something which has been abandoned in Europe is a poetic life - as shown in the films of Angelopoulos in respect of Greece. This other dimension needs to be promoted. Poetry in combination with film is not a romantic search, but a progressive way of finding out how personal identity relates to life. By contrast, modern societies are shaped by powerful global forces and have little or no understanding of what it takes for people to make this transition from the 20th to the 21st century. Only when people begin to participate actively - and it is significant that the key criterion for the selection of a city as a future European Capital of Culture is that the people stand behind the bid - can they argue and agree under what conditions a solution is acceptable. Yet, if people are perceived as an obstacle or solely counted as cost factors, as in all dominant economic theory since Milton Friedman, then sustainability cannot be attained. Development will be decided upon by those who are solely orientated towards the value of money - and this at the neglect of human life.

ECoCs need to adopt a practical agenda which deals with the crisis in culture. They should not follow blindly the recommendations expressed at the latest Cultural Forum held in Brussels in October 2011. Everything is meant to go digital - as if the economy were growing ever faster, whilst ignoring the crisis - and despite what is happening in Greece, even though not there alone.

10. The European Commission and the selection process by independent jury

10.1. The role of the European Commission

The role played by the European Commission is critical since it is responsible for the selection of the cities and the evaluation of outcomes. At the same time, the European Commission organizes public consultations as to determine guidelines needed to secure the conti-

nuity of the ECoC project. Whether these consultations help to shape the future of the ongoing project depends on what the European Commissions then mends to the Member States and to the European Parliament.

When dealing with the ECoC project, the Commission legitimises itself in terms of what the treaty between the member states states, leaving the selection of the city to the member state, subject to a jury of 13 (6 national and 7 European experts). The member states take turns and since 2007 two cities are selected each year.

Unfortunately serious doubts exist as to whether the European Commission takes any notice of what is happening to ECoCs. For example, there seems to be little control in respect of non-compliance, as if it were unwilling to challenge bad practice. It also seems as if the Commission does not really listen to expert advice. There was the case when Bob Palmer recommended that the title be taken from Patras 2006. After having visited the city in 2004 he could foresee it was heading for total failure, but the then Greek Minister of Culture, Venizelos (in 2012 the Minister of Finance) argued against such interference by the Commission and overrode those concerns. As it turned out, Palmer was correct in forecasting failure, but clearly the Commission does not want to override the member state. Insofar as this leads in turn to a concerted effort to save face - despite obvious failure - mendacity becomes the practice to ensure that the ECoC project continues to appear successful.

In the end, the Commission and member states, along with their selected cities, cling to a certain model of success. ECoC cities and their programmes are ultimately subject to a basic valorisation process – specifically, what works in the system. It explains why criticism is ignored and why both culture and ECoCs end up in crisis, morally and qualitatively speaking.

10.2. ECoC as an institution

The European Capital of Culture is more than a project; it is an institution (Spyros Mercouris 2007). Consequently any critical evaluation must include whether or not the ECoC city succeeded in making a culturally significant contribution to this institution. To recapitulate, the institution was set up in the first place to unify

Europe not by economic but by cultural means (Melina Mercouri 1985).

However, the existence of the institution seems to go unrecognised as contributions are never realised and no-one speaks of these failures. A quick overview of the years post-1985 shows that cities have become increasingly self-centred: they seek the title for the sole purpose of improving their image, but no longer adhere to the founding principles. They no longer strive to be an integral part of the continuity of old, current and future ECoCs. However, especially in a period of crisis when demands on the institution will grow, it matters that ECoCs learn from past years as they become able to pass on ideas to future cities of the cultural tasks ahead. A failure to do so entails a breakdown in communication, and this IS at the increasing risk of letting Europe go astray due to the lack of a vision for culture.

A clear sign of a crisis in the making was the break-up of the ECCM network which sought, until it closed in 2010, to link former, current and future ECoC cities. There were, in part, internal reasons specific to that network (Hatto Fischer, 2007). However, newcomers, in particular Liverpool '08 followed by Ruhr 2010, did not wish to be restricted in their movements by the so-called 'old timers', and so they built an 'informal network' which allowed only current and future ECoCs, along with those of the previous two years, to participate. By excluding previous cities the 'continuity of learning' from experience was broken, and, even more seriously, the institution itself suffered.

A crisis always shows that short sighted interests will not do. Things can only be done by linking short- with long-term visions and projects. Also, specific time frames are needed for careful adjustments or, more precisely, for the much needed 'cultural adaptations', if this transition from the 20th to the 21st century is to be made. Not just operational, but long-term thinking should be given a chance to respond to cultural needs in time. This is where the ECoC as an institution comes in. It can safeguard a dialogue between cultures over time. The outcome would be an ongoing reflection of Europe as a whole and this as an institution which is independent of the European Union.

Unfortunately the European Commission does not see this need to develop an independent European institution through culture. Rather, it merely succumbed to pressure from the new cities, a pressure

reinforced by the selection process starting in 2007, when not just one but two cities were selected annually - in order to give the East European countries a chance to catch up. Luxembourg and Sibiu enjoyed their simultaneous turn in 2007 and, thereafter, the other cities. There were even three cities in 2010: Ruhr 2010, Pécs and Istanbul. Naturally, new cities need to get things done, whilst former cities do not have that actual fever; most of the time they want only to preserve their legacy. Very different from that, however, is the need to maintain the continuity between former, current and future ECoC cities. Certainly, it is a most difficult task, but it needs to be done. Here the European Commission simply failed to give its support to ensure that something continued to exist such as the ECCM network, together with an active archive of ECoC cities. However, Athens in 2009 saw its end and so the institution has no means to organise the memories of ECoC cities. At best, records are kept of just one city e.g. Ruhr 2010.

One problem is that only rarely do experts who worked feverishly for a city to help to implement its programme would stay around once the year was over. The office of Ruhr 2010 was immediately closed in 2011. Hence former cities face a difficulty in delegating anyone to this institution in order to uphold the continuity of learning from experience. Yet if this institution is to fulfil its task every former, current and new ECoC city needs to give its support and this is best done by helping to update a common archive as the optimal proof of a living memory of the stories told.

10.3. Selection criteria

The selection of a city to hold the title 'European Capital of Culture' needs to be re-examined from several points of view:

- selecting one city instead of two – too many title-holders weakens the role each city can play;
- city and/or region – urban culture differs from culture for regional hegemony e.g. Ruhr 2010 was not really a success since, for the sake of consistency, it should be only a city and not a region;
- criteria: citizens behind the bid / European dimension – both criteria need strengthening as they are often ignored to the point of bogus participation and no connection at all to Europe;

- ongoing evaluation to ensure sustainability – cultural impact studies and action research are needed if an understanding over time can be developed as to what narrative the city seeks to achieve and has managed to do. A key test is which stories are finally told compared to the official narrative.
- communication – often misused as a PR exercise; a city should, in fact, dare to communicate through its programme by becoming visible both to citizens and visitors insofar as it brings people together and creates audiences for specific artistic and cultural categories e.g. dance, theatre, poetry.
- enhancement of European culture(s) – instead of a series of events, substantial investments in culture are needed to ensure that the city altogether enters a creative process by learning to discard its fears of unruly and uncontrollable processes, the outcomes for which are not clearly defined, but which can become works of art once 'certainty in uncertainty' has been found.

The selection criteria should ensure that culture is not left to secondary considerations but is the prime focus of all deliberations. What should be discussed is whether the criteria need to be more concrete or should be kept abstract in terms of what lets a city make a truly creative bid for the title.

During the bid and selection process the respective Ministries of Culture also have a role to play, but mostly they are uninterested and ill-informed - hence unprepared to handle a highly challenging competitive process. This is especially so if not two, but twenty, cities apply - as was the case with Germany, Poland and Spain.

10.4. Jury

The jury of 13 members is composed of six national and seven European experts who have their own interpretations of the principles which govern the idea of a city being ECoC for one year. The most marked shift was under the Presidency of Bob Scott who did not favour border cities but wanted instead the selected city to be a national representative. His presence influenced the final selection in Germany of Essen / Ruhr 2010 over Görlitz, the latter being a border city with Poland as neighbour. One could say that systemic prejudice

prevailed within the selection process once border cities were ruled out, but the problem is even greater when a European Capital of Culture is reduced to being just a national representative and not a capital responsible during that year for what is happening to all European cultures and to culture within the European Union.

At the public consultation in March 2011, many points were mentioned which are worth recalling (Hatto Fischer, 2011), one of them being that shortcomings in the bid and final programme in an artistic and cultural sense could be explained by not having appointed an artistic director at the outset. Here the Commission ought to strengthen that position, but the most crucial; equally critical point was named by the representative from Ruhr 2010, namely 'corruption'. He did not specify what he meant by this, but it was a serious indication of something being afoot and deeply disturbing. It might refer to bids not really having the backing of citizens or, worse, that many sorts of financial scam were allowed but not perceived due to massive deception. Moreover, it would be most critical if the independence of the jury itself was put in doubt by some members asking for 'success fees' for the city which has been selected. Also there should be some ethical rule that a former jury member could not work for a selected city within a minimum time span e.g. seven years as each member serves on the jury for three years.

10.5. ECoC Selection of Wroclaw for 2016

After Wroclaw had been selected, articles published in the Polish Press started to cast doubt on that decision. This doubt was confirmed when Adam Chmielewski, philosopher and director of Wroclaw 2016, said during a panel discussion on the ECoC (hosted by The Soul of Europe at the European Cultural Congress held at the end of September 2011 in Wroclaw): "the whole application has been written by me and my unemployed students (future PhDs)". It was said as if, not citizens, but he as a lone philosopher, had achieved a successful application. Given the criterion that citizens ought to stand behind the bid, one wonders why the Jury did not perceive that as a problem. If, in future, the selection of a city for the EcoC title is to avoid such, then something has to be done to avoid mere management and PR exercises – or some similar bag of tricks. It cannot be the purpose of the Commission to turn a blind

eye to practices which are promoted as if they were doing something for culture when that is not the case.

11. Way out of the crisis

The best way out of a crisis is to strive for good solutions whilst adopting a sound ethical vision which can inspire everyone. Preparing the initial bid and then, if selected, using the four years available to formulate the programme, gives the city a clear time horizon. People caught up in day-to-day fighting for survival will be surprised to hear about plans for things to be realised in 2017 – but only if, that is, the city is designated at the end of 2012. It is crucial to use this moment of surprise in order to go ahead in creating new possibilities. The impact of such a cultural horizon can be noticed immediately since it frees 'creative' energies. People with a horizon become creative, but few cities seem to know how to make use of such energies or to network with others in Europe.

At the same time, opposition against planning has to be overcome. When it comes to bringing about cultural actions and performances according to certain themes, top priority has to be given to a special kind of cultural planning. It starts with working out a cultural calendar and then continues like a practical scanning of the locality. The aim should be to see what venues, resources and needs people have, in order to know what can be a viable concept for the creation of special audiences. Investment in culture goes hand in hand with cultural valorisation at the European level. For this, however, quite another level of sophistication is needed and, above all, good communication. It starts with giving feed-back to people for their ideas and means new texts have to be created so that the city no longer reverts to previous learning phases. Going on to the next level of competence requires increased trust and confidence as shown by Cork 2005.

To prepare for the actual year well ahead in time means entering an altogether new phase of activity. Artists should be sent abroad to attend cultural events, seminars, exhibitions etc. and so they can become cultural ambassadors for the city. At the same time, working together across various disciplines and departments will reflect the city's ability to bring people and artists together to make things happen. Indeed, a lively neighbourhood is as important as are viable concepts needed at organizational level for communication, infrastructure

projects and budgeting. At all levels, opportunities for synergies need to be created and further evaluative analysis made to ensure the programme under preparation will become feasible. Since each individual programme will need to have its own significant audience, it must be understood that this is no easy task.

Training workshops could help to prepare citizens and artists to act together to help improve channels of communication. Awareness is also needed in all institutions at local, regional, national and European level in order to give value to culture. What is needed is cultural co-operation between these different levels. Further, culture means reaching out – for example, e.g. Marseilles 2013 promises to enrich cultural diversity and dialogue especially with the Arabic world.

The art of handling this opportunity has to follow an innovative path which differs very much from 'business as usual'. It includes as a prerequisite altering the valorisation process by making sure that cultural investments do not subject the arts and culture to the commercial greed for more money to be made off more tourists coming to the city. That would leave any interaction between the visitor and the culture of the city basically meaningless, or no more than an outcome of an 'economy of experience' as foreseen by the EU 2020 vision. Since interconnectivity has to do with short- and long-term planning, the city achieves that only by contributing to European cultural development when bringing about lively neighbourhoods and a cultural adaptation to changes at regional, European and global level.

Practical recommendations:

- to return to only one city per year as European Capital of Culture;
- to include artists in the jury;
- to have cities commit themselves to an artistic director from the very beginning;
- to strengthen the institution of European Capitals of Culture;
- to evaluate cities in terms of what they contribute to the ECoC as an institution;
- to ensure active work on an archive to preserve and promote memories of ECoC cities
- to take seriously the term 'capital' in the title

Conclusion

The double crisis in culture and in European Capitals of Culture differs from what crisis meant in Ancient Greece. Then one entered, for a short phase, a crucial decision-making process so as to be able to divide in order to know what to share. Today's crisis stems from the fact that cultural insights are no longer derived from real experiences and are, therefore, unable to give an orientation, let alone link it to sharing. When there is nothing more to give, everything has been attempted and still no solution is in sight, then a real crisis sets in. It is only culture based on true art which can offer something to share: common stories. They can put everyone on a more realistic level, provided that there is a willingness to come to terms with the crisis in an honest way. A failure to do so would jeopardise the whole European project. It would be a grave mistake if ECoC cities place themselves outside such a critical consideration. They must undertake the necessary cultural investment to uphold this continuity of learning from past experiences whilst anticipating the future so as to let people live together in the present. If the voices of people are not heard and artists are unable to create beauty, Europeans would no longer know that their continent has many beautiful places but which are only to be experienced once people are open to dialogue and once cultural diversity prevails everywhere. By bringing people together through a culture interested in this kind of openness, ECoC cities could link the particular interests of the city to what Europe needs as a surprising whole.

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UGLINESS AND SAVAGERY IN CONTEMPORARY ART AND POPULAR IMAGE: A CULTURE IN CRISIS?

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1. The proliferation of ugliness and shock in contemporary art and popular image

In 1996 and 1997 the metal band Metallica released their albums 'Load' and 'Reload'. The artistic cover of the albums were called 'Semen and Blood' and 'Piss and Blood' and the name of the artist was Andres Serrano, who raised quite a stir by showing 'Piss Christ' to the world in the '80's. The use of these artworks by the famous metal band has put them at the crossroads of art and popular image, but Serrano is not the only one who has turned to shock in using body fluids and showing close-up pictures of corpses in the morgue. There was and still is a real surge in shocking art concerning sex, violence and death. In 1996 Zbigniew Libera made a concentration camp out of Lego. In 1997 Robert Gligorov sat down in a meat jacket and waited for the jacket to decompose. During this time he did not wash or shave. At the Venice Biennale in 2009 Teresa Margolles presented family members of Mexican drug war victims. They were 'cleaning' the floors of the palazzo with a mixture of water and blood.

A reason for this increase in shocking art can be found in the success of the 'Sensation' exhibition in the Saatchi gallery in London in 1997. This display focused on the often shocking work of the 'Young British Artists' (Damien Hirst, Tracey Emin, Jake and Dinos Chapman). This exhibition was held in various cities, had of media coverage and stirred emotions heavily.

Meanwhile the horror genre was making its come-back (although it had never dropped from sight). A serious horror revival was showing the same kind of brutal, shocking images concerning death and decay (Saw, Hostel as examples of torture horror and a revival of the slasher-genre). The genre seems more popular and alive than ever, creating even remakes of horror classics, and sites on the internet that present gruesome images of death are booming (www.rotten.com).

Is this a sign of our western culture in crisis? Are we losing ourselves in ugliness and savagery?

According to the conservative, British philosopher Roger Scruton, these trends are a symptom of a wider crisis of our western culture. He launches a full-scale attack on these cultural practices in his book 'Beauty'. It is the aim of this article to investigate the critique of Roger Scruton in his book 'Beauty' and to situate it in his more broad critique on western, postmodern culture. His arguments will be presented, analysed and compared to other views. This in order to answer the question if these kinds of practices (shocking, transgressive art and violent, transgressive imagery in popular culture) really form a threat to our western culture, if they really constitute a crisis of culture. And if so, if this should be considered as a bad thing.

2. Roger Scruton: the crisis of beauty as a symptom of western culture in crisis

Roger Scruton is well known for his books discussing a western culture which, according to him, is in crisis. Central to his works is the idea of postmodernism as a crisis of western man and culture. The problem is an uprooting and alienation of mankind, seen by this philosopher from Dover Beach as the two main forces at work. This condition of crisis is caused by two important historical processes: the secularisation and disenchantment of western culture. Both of these processes leave western man feeling lonely, homeless in a world from which he is fundamentally alienated. In 2009 Roger Scruton published his book 'Beauty'. He analyses the crisis of beauty in western art and popular culture today as a symptom of a culture in crisis. For in his eyes this crisis of beauty is founded in a crisis of meaning in western culture, a crisis of the metaphysical dimension, of the role and place of the sacred in culture. His heart and soul goes out to a restoration of beauty in culture against this 'cult of ugliness' and the wallowing in 'savage fantasies' he sees all around him in art and imagery.¹

How, exactly, he sees this connection between the crisis of beauty and the crisis of meaning and metaphysics in western culture needs some further explication and elaboration at this point of our discourse.

¹ Scruton (2009), 192-193.

Our present culture suffers from a crisis of 'the sacred'. Scruton considers 'the sacred' as a domain that is 'set apart' from the everyday life, invested with higher value. Transcending our everyday way of life, it has been and should again be a guiding beacon in art and 'high culture'. It points to a metaphysical domain of ends and transcendent ideals. Beauty is a 'call' to follow these ends and values. She is a visitor from this other 'sacred' realm of ideals.² Since secularisation and disenchantment have formed the state of our present western culture, the domain of the sacred is in crisis according to Scruton. Beauty and the sacred have been two strongly linked concepts throughout the history of western culture and its art since the Greeks, and so this crisis of the legitimation of something we call 'sacred' has brought with it the crisis of beauty.

Central to this crisis of beauty and a fortiori to the crisis of the 'sacred' in our postmodern culture, Scruton states, is the attempt to desecrate and defile this domain or values we call 'sacred' and that are very much tied up with the notion of taboo. Since our aesthetic judgments lay claims to transcendent ideals such as beauty, the destruction and defilement of these claims takes up a central place in what we could call 'transgressive art and imagery' today. Scruton accuses these kinds of postmodern cultural practice of addiction to 'shock', just 'savage fantasies'...nothing more is there to be found in it he claims.³

What does Roger Scruton propose as a solution? In his book 'Beauty' he calls for a restoration of beauty. Beauty should again elevate us to a sacred realm of transcendent ideals. Through beauty mankind can find redemption for its 'fallen' condition, for being incomplete, unfulfilled. Through this restoration Scruton hopes for a state of more complete 'humanitas' in mankind. Art should in this way fulfil the role of the romantic ideal of 'Bildung'. Another romantic ideal that surfaces in this argumentation of Scruton is his hope that beautiful art could somehow fill the empty shoes of religion in postmodern, western culture. Art should replace religion in the search for redemption of mankind, and thus make man feel more at home in this world and less lonely.⁴

² Scruton (2009), 52, 174, 178-179.

³ Scruton (2009): 178, 186-187, 192.

⁴ Scruton (2009): 174.

3. *Postmodern desecration: crisis of the sacred?*

3.1. *Conceptual approach of 'the sacred'*

Notions such as 'sanctus' and 'the sacred' are rooted in 'sak'. This old notion of 'sak' refers to a relationship between humans and the divine, at the border of human existence, pointing to a fundamental division between these domains. It ('sak') denotes a location that is at the same time dedicated to the divine and clearly separated from the ordinary world of experience.

The notion of 'sacer', of which 'sacred' is derived, approaches most closely this meaning of 'sak'. It means at the same time 'devoted or dedicated to the gods' as 'bearing witness of an ineradicable shame'. In both cases the relationship to the gods is central and at the same time positive and negative. 'Sanctus', reflected in the word 'saint', has shifted more in meaning from the original notion of 'sak'. This term refers hardly to the original connotations of 'division', 'limitation' and 'defilement'. It indicates primordially a sort of state of bliss, of being blessed, leaving behind the more original meaning of a sacred tension and the more negative connotation. The blessing is a sanction. He is a 'saint' who is in some way enforced by some sanction and is therefore freed of any corruption or defilement.

It is remarkable to see that these two concepts of 'sacred' and 'saint/saintly' have each gone their separate religious ways. The notion of 'sacred' has a less exclusive use than the word 'saint/saintly'. 'Saint/saintly' has an exclusive Christian use and connotation.⁵

3.2. *Georges Bataille versus Roger Scruton on 'the sacred'*

When Roger Scruton uses the word 'sacred' he only uses it in the sense of 'saint/saintly'. He totally ignores the sense of shame, defilement, corruption that lies at the root of this term through its origin. It is an enlightened, Christian concept of the sacred he uses. He eliminates, like Christianity before him, the negative aspect of the original 'sacred'. This way he can easily speak of transgressions in art and culture as a defilement of the 'sacred' through a defilement of beauty, so strongly connected to the 'sacred' in western culture. It is an easy way to make a villain out of postmodern culture. You take a certain

⁵ Laurens Ten Kate (1994): 414-416.

interpretation or meaning of a word, in this case the 'sacred', and you apply it to our era without questioning a certain shift in meaning and in use of this word. Wittgenstein taught us to look for the use of a word in the language because this constitutes its meaning. Roger Scruton ignores the shift in meaning a word like 'sacred' can undergo.

When discussing the concept of the sacred in relation to art one cannot fail but look to the writings of Georges Bataille. He reinstates the primordial and radical difference between 'sacred' and 'saint/saintly'. He focuses more on the sacred, on the notion that encompasses the meaning of defilement, then on the meaning of the incorruptible and blessed state. At the same time, however, he knows that both meanings are in fact inseparable. Making someone or something incorruptible and 'holy' is in fact the result of defilement. By reinstating this conceptual difference and affirming the inseparability of those two meanings Bataille broadens the notion of the sacred and frees it from its authoritarian Christian constraint.⁶ In his work 'L'érotisme' he states that Christianity has tried to undertake a purification of the notion of the sacred by eliminating the defiling and violent aspect and transferring this aspect to the domain of the profane.⁷ Bataille virulently tries to reinstate this aspect of defilement and transgression in the concept of the sacred, against the Christian tendencies of our western culture. He affirms the omnipresence of this defiling element and of transgression in the pre-Christian concepts of the sacred. The sacred is linked to the excess, to the ecstatic, to violence. The forces that comprise the continuum of life and death in our world are subjected to taboos and fenced off. This setting a part by the work of the taboo instates a sacred domain that at the same time fascinates and terrifies mankind. It makes this sacred domain the aim of religious and ritual defiling and transgression. These transgressions are considered as 'tears' or 'cuts' in the frame of ordinary, rationally organised, profane life, but they are not simply the negation of prohibitions. In the defilement of the prohibition transgression and prohibition both complete one another. The organised transgression forms a unity with the prohibition (based on taboos) which determines social life. It is defilement as well as a confirmation of the rule or prohibition. In an organised and controlled defilement (transgression), through a dialectical approach, lies also the confirmation of the importance of the social prohibition.⁸

⁶ Laurens Ten Kate (1994): 416-418.

⁷ Bataille (1957): 99-100.

⁸ Bataille (1957): 42, 72-73.

3.3. *Bataille and Kristeva: art as 'tear' or 'cut' to the sacred and the abject*

What happens when we take a second look, a new look, at shocking art and shocking popular images (horror) using the broader sense of 'the sacred' (Bataille)? Then a critique of Scruton's ideas on shocking art and images arises.

These shocking works of art and images form a 'tear' or 'cut' to a sacred domain fenced off by taboos. This sacred domain comprises all things that are linked to the continuity, the excessive forces of existence and nature (sexuality-to become, death-to perish). These things can threaten our discontinuous, rational and profane, civilised way of life by introducing again the excess in our rationally, controlled and harmonious way of life. This sacred domain, as stated above, forms a mystery that threatens and fascinates us at the same time. It instigates moments of controlled transgression (orgies, rituals, feasts,...) that allow a glimpse of the sacred excessive forces as well as the return to the normality of ordinary, profane life.

Shocking artworks and images that contain explicit representations or presentations of death can be seen as controlled transgressions into the domain of the sacred. They form a 'tear' or 'cut' (Bataille uses the French word 'déchirure' often) and allow us to transgress the boundaries of normal, rational life without the risk of succumbing to the excessive forces of existence. We catch a glimpse of this sacred death through the 'cut' in the fabric of normal, profane life. These shocking artworks and images cut. They cut through this fabric of everyday beliefs and rationality and they cut through the eye of the viewer. Like the knife of Buñuel cuts through the eye of the woman in 'un Chien Andalou', these works and images cut through our way of perception and interpretation and try to alter it.

It is an alteration not a complete abolition of traditional views and viewing. Bataille explicitly states that the transgression of the prohibition, of the standard leaves the standard intact. It even is dependent on this standard: no standard, no possibility to transgress. The transgression affirms the standard in transgressing it.⁹ This is in harmony with his interpretation of the sacred, staying close to the root 'sak'. The separation of the sacred from ordinary life and its defilement are both aspects of the sacred, and the terrain of the sacred does not just

⁹ Bataille (1957): 72-73.

encompass 'the good', 'the positive' transcendent ideals of Christianity. Violence and excess are also part of this terrain.

From this point of view Scruton's critique overlooks an important point. He fails to see the transgressive element in art and image as an important aspect of sacralisation. He focuses exclusively on the purified Christian interpretation of 'sacred' and fails to see this way that more ugly and savage aspects of existence are part of the sacred as well. By chaining the meaning of the word 'sacred' to its Christian sense, he fails to see that other ways of using this word have surfaced. Its meaning has changed or is changing in a secularised, western society. If we hold on to its traditional use and meaning, we risk missing the point of present art and images. This research wants to take this change seriously. It remains to be seen if present notions of 'sacredness' are recourse to a pre-Christian use of the concept or have to be seen differently.

That artworks are linked to this sacredness, to a sacred domain, also reveals itself through the way the artworks appear, through the way they operate and are treated. An artwork is set apart (for instance in a museum or exposition). It cannot in most cases be touched. The touching is in itself considered as a defilement, but it does not quietly stay in its fixed position set apart. It stands out, grasps, possibly even attacks the spectator metaphorically. In this sense it really is ex-static (ecstatic: Latin origin is ex-stare: literally to stand out). Demonstrating a transgressive aspect of its own, it can really leave its place and dominate the room, even society (debates about 'Piss Christ' in the American Congress). Questioning standards, taboos and rethinking values.

A comparison can be made with the analysis Heidegger supplied of the appearance and effect of the Greek temple in his 'Origins of the artwork'. The Greek temple encloses a terrain that henceforth functions as a point of orientation, standing out (ex-stare) in normal, profane space. This 'sacred' space lends meaning to its surroundings. But it does this not only by remaining an enclosed sacred space. This 'sacredness' stands out. It structures the whole of the Greek polis. It isn't just 'there', it transgresses the limits of this sacred 'there' to be 'out there', to stand out. A similar effect can be seen in shocking artworks and images. They form a confrontation with the 'sacred' as stipulated by Bataille (linked with violence, excess,...), but not by just being 'there'. They attack, they transgress the limitations of their

space and time to jump spectators and society in the face, thereby confronting us with our taboos and our limitations of this 'sacred terrain or subject'.

The thing it confronts us with is the 'abject'. Kristeva characterises the 'abject' as a 'fallen object', a state of 'skandalon' (being an offensive object). This abjectness comes from a setting a part of the potential harmful object. These are objects that confront us with the potential harm that violent and excessive aspects of existence can entail (blood, vomit, excrement,...). It is something radically excluded. It is in this process of exclusion that the function of the abject is linked to the sacred. It is something between the subject and the object and is considered as defiling. Its function is at work in monotheistic religions in exclusions and taboo. The history of religions shows us the diverse ways of purification of the abject. They amount to the purification of the abject through art, art taking the place or role of religion more or less. Kristeva states that art speaks and at the same time purifies the abject. From this point of view the artistic experience, rooted in the abject and speaking and purifying it, is an essential element of religiosity.¹⁰

Scruton, stating that transgressive art practices are merely simple desecrations, entirely misses this point which Kristeva makes. These shocking artworks often centre their attention on the abject (corpses, decay, blood, intestines, urine,...). Art fills a gap which religion left behind in the purification of the abject, allowing controlled transgressions into this sacred domain fenced off by taboos.

4. Contemporary transgressive art and image: aesthetic tradition and the search for 'humanitas'

4.1. Transgressive art

The first critique of Scruton and his idea of crisis in art and culture focused on his limited conception of the 'sacred' and the role of the abject. Is he, however, also wrong in stating that in these kind of shocking works there is nothing to be found?

Naturally not every work of contemporary transgressive art is worth mentioning. In this domain there are also 'lesser gods' to be found,

¹⁰ Kristeva (1980): 24-25.

but when one looks carefully....one sees some very traditional, classic aesthetic categories.

When Robert Gligorov took his place in a chair for his 'jacketwaiting' (1997), he placed himself in a very old tradition of 'vanitas'. The 'vanitas' was a genre that evoked the frailty of life through symbols of futility (candles, bubbles of soap, skulls, decaying fruit, brevity of music...). Gligorov too emphasises this frailty of the human existence by the decay of his meat jacket, by not washing or shaving.

Damien Hirst, an artist whom Scruton virulently attacks time and time again, places a big tiger shark in a tank of formaldehyde. He does this to place the idea and fear of death in the mind of the spectator. The title emphasizes the inconceivable character of death for the living ('physical impossibility of death in the mind of someone living', 1991). He puts the idea of death, as something we cannot conceive as living people, in our head by confronting us with a threatening animal. Threatening because it could eat us and it is the real thing (not just a drawing). At the same time there is a safe distance: the animal is dead and caught in a big tank. So we can savour a thing that embodies danger and possible destruction because we can keep a safe, aesthetic distance. This is exactly the aesthetic category of the sublime as Edmund Burke and romantic art understood it. The sublime experience depends on that safe distance as well as on the idea of excessive forces of nature, here incorporated in the body of a tiger shark.

However, the sublime is not the only aesthetic tradition one can find in the work of Damien Hirst. In 'A Thousand Years' (1990) we as spectators watch the life cycle of flies from birth till death. We see the doom that hangs above these flies' heads as they approach the cow head. Above the cow head is a device that electrocutes these animals if they get too close. The fly is unaware of this, but the spectator watches these animals going head first and with eyes open to their doom or demise. It's the 'tragedy' of life he evokes in a glass cage. The 'tragic', as an aesthetic category, is not only present in a Greek tragedy of some sort, but appears as well in contemporary art.

4.2. *Transgressive image: horror*

Are transgressive images, like the ones in horror movies, just 'savage fantasies' as Scruton claims?

In horror movies the threat of the monster is the threat of something that is inconceivable; it crosses all boundaries and categories of knowledge. It is the threat of annihilation by something we do not understand, cannot grasp. The monster appears as the embodiment of a sublime force: greater than man and his intelligence. So even in these kind of images the sublime is at play.¹¹

All horror movies centre attention on the frailty of the human body. They show human frailty through grotesque mutilation or dismemberment (Saw-series, Hostel...). Loss of identity is shown through decapitation. In this way important cultural and philosophical questions are raised about the body and identity through this negative, transgressive approach, and in transgressing the standards that surround the human body in western culture; it confirms the values connected to the body in western culture (for instance the horror which decapitation evokes is proof of the value the individual has in western culture, individuality being strongly attached to facial features).

It is clear that Scruton attacks these kind of artworks and images from a conservative moral stance, but what about morality and transgressive images? Horror movies are in fact vehicles of a conservative morality. In horror movies the 'good girls' survive and the promiscuous ones die early and horribly. The characters which have 'loose moral values' are hacked to death or eaten by the monster early in the story. Horror goes for a traditional package of values - exactly these values which Scruton cherishes. Cinema audiences' shared responses prove that these conservative moral values are still acknowledged during the watching of transgressive images - maybe even empowered, since the 'savage image' confirms conservative views or even prejudices.

Scruton holds the idea of 'humanitas' (learning about the meaning of being human) high. Art has in his view an important task to fulfil in this respect. He accuses these 'savage fantasies' in transgressive art and image of neglecting this task. Again, however, he overlooks the questions that are raised for example in horror movies. Horror inves-

¹¹ Goossens (2011): <http://www.estheticatijdschrift.nl/magazine/2010/artikelen/de-sacraliteit-van-gruwelijke-fantasie%C3%ABn-horror-het-sublieme-en-transgressie>

tigates the twilight zone between human/inhuman. What is exactly a human act and when does it become inhuman? Or is even the inhuman still an aspect of human nature and is this why we do not want to face this side of humanity (questions about sadism, switching between the role of victim and torturer, in torture horror such as *Saw* and *Hostel*)? Horror presents us with an aspect of being human that society finds difficult to face: the potential violence and excess that we fenced off by installing taboos. It confronts us with the idea that what we wanted to throw out, is inside each of us as an inhuman potential.¹²

Horror also plays a critical function in daily life. It questions our beliefs. We do not tend to get up expecting to be slaughtered today by some maniac, but horror makes it clear that this could happen. It makes it clear that we cope with life by hanging on to our 'beliefs'. Naturally we do not want to walk around every minute thinking about what terrible things could happen to us, but horror makes clear that we often take things too much for granted. In this sense it gives us a good shot of reality once in a while by saying to us that we are not so free from harm as we always believe ourselves to be.¹³ This confronts the discourse of Scruton with a critical function which he neglects in the transgressive, shocking image.

Conclusion:a dark mirror

Roger Scruton focuses too much on the crisis of beauty as a symptom of a wider-felt crisis in culture. Though the crisis of beauty might be evident since the artistic avant-garde of the twentieth century, this entails by no means that art is in crisis and a fortiori the whole of western culture.

In transgressive art and images the question what it means to be human is still central. These kinds of artist and director....try to make a 'tear' or 'cut' in our everyday beliefs and categories - yet, while confirming the value of these beliefs and ideals, paradoxically, by transgressing them. Such works and images are a constant reminder of moral frailty and of the reality of evil. They even establish what Kant would call a 'sensus communis': a sense of community. This sense of community is achieved by showing audiences what they

¹² Morris (2010): 42-56.

¹³ Nickel (2010): 14-32.

share in fear. Thus delivering 'shared fears'. By being shocked we get the idea of an aesthetic and moral stability involving standards and values we all share.

In Greek culture the head of the Medusa is a symbol of death, of absolute horror that cannot be experienced directly without perishing. If this head of the Medusa symbolises the inconceivable, sacred terrain of violence and excess, of absolute horror; then transgressive artworks and images form a dark mirror that allows us to gaze at the Gorgon without succumbing, without being petrified. These dark mirrors not only let us catch a glimpse of this sacred Gorgon, but we can see something shine through darkly about our being human. Is this a crisis of our culture? Maybe a crisis in our way of interpretation and perception, but this crisis may not have to be a bad thing. It could teach us something about our being human that we since long tried to forget in vain.

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THE CULTURAL INDUSTRY OF THE EU IN THE LIGHT OF THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

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The financial crisis affected every aspect of the world in the last few years and it is still a determining part of nowadays economy. In this article I would like to analyse the impacts of the financial crisis on the cultural industry in the European Union and Hungary and give a theoretical overview on the latest surveys and reports made about this subject.

1. The definition of the cultural industry

What is a cultural (or creative) industry by definition? What is the difference between the two? Is there any? According to the UNESCO, cultural industries "include publishing, music, cinema and audiovisual production and multimedia. Also included are crafts and design... The concept has been widened to that of 'creative' industries, by including architecture and different artistic categories: visual arts, performing arts, etc." (UNESCO, 2011.) The cultural industry is just a part of the creative industry then. At present, the creative industry is one of the most dynamic sectors of the economy and of world trade, and will grow more in the future, giving new trade perspectives to developing countries. On a global level, they currently represent more than 7% of gross world product. (UNESCO, 2011.)

2. Financing forms of the cultural industry and evidence of the economic crisis

2.1. Financing forms

There are different forms of financing the cultural industries. In the European Union we speak about 3 forms:

1. "Italy and France: which is a top-down and state driven system- bureaucrats and politicians decide how to distribute public funds. Disadvantages: no room for lobbying, arts may be influenced by state

2. British system: The Secretary of States allocate the fund to the Public bodies and that distributes them among various projects and applicants – the idea is: although funding is coming from the state, it is not the state’s body that distribute it – filter governments institution
3. Independent art councils give expert advice about artistic quality and the way funds should be distributed. It has advisory task – the financial decision is made by the Minister of Culture. The funds are allocated by it (down-to-up method)" (Klamer et al 2006.)

However Eastern European countries can be considered as a different cluster, because several patterns are followed, and they are a mixture of this three categories. These countries try to implement Europe's best practice. In Hungary for example, state support has the biggest part in financing cultural industries.

2.2. Evidence of the economic crisis

There is no exact definition for the economic crisis. We can speak about recession or crisis of the different sectors of the economy. An economic crisis effect more aspects of the economy and means a long-term recession as well. To analyse economic crisis, the most common indicator is the GDP (annual growth of the gross domestic product). The following table shows us, how GDP changed in few regions from 2007-2010. (Table 1.)

Table 1. - GDP changes from 2007-2010

	2007	2008	2009	2010
World	5.2	3.4	0.5	3.0
Euro area	2.6	1.0	-1.6	1.6
East and central Europe	5.4	3.2	-0.4	2.5
Russia	8.6	6.0	-0.4	2.2

In the Euro area, the GDP decreased only in 2009, but in other years it increased only moderately.

Other sign of the economic crisis was that the level of employment, and also the number of nights spent in hotel dropped in the EU 27 constantly. (Inkei, 2010.)

3. An overview of the EU cultural sector in 2009

The level of employment in the cultural sector in the EU 27 in 2009 was 3.6 million people, which means 1,7% of the total employment. These people were employed in 5 main cultural sectors. (Cultural Statistics 2011.) In the cultural sector, most employees have temporary contracts, part time job, and working at home or having more than one job is also more typical in this sector. In the EU 19-25% of the total employment has part time job, two times more people are working at home (26 %) as in other sectors and 6 % of the employees in the cultural sector have multiple jobs. (Cultural Statistics 2011.)

In 2009, CultureWatchEurope made a survey among EU member countries on the trends for funding culture. The conclusions of the survey were the following:

- "13 of 21 countries envisage an overall reduction of budgets for culture.
- one country partial envisage reductions.
- 52 % (11 countries) envisage cuts in budgets of major cultural institutions, and
- Nine mention reductions to subsidies of independent art and cultural organisations
- Twelve countries envisage cuts to cultural infrastructure projects.
- ... , eight countries could imagine additional finance for infrastructure projects to stimulate employment,
- whilst only 17% (5 countries) could see an increase in the investment in creative industries to help generate employment." (Wiesand 2011.)

Another study was published by SICA in October 2010 on cultural industries of Europe. The study says that the economic crisis is not over yet, and countries are not able to give a strict overview of how crisis affected cultural budgets. Although concepts were very positive,

countries believed that subsidised sector would be negatively affected just in a narrow aspect. There was not possible to find hard evidence of these expectations, but it is a fact, that cuts were made in almost every countries. There were direct or indirect reductions as well. "Almost everywhere, ministries are cutting their subsidy schemes for cultural institutions.... Budgets are threatened by cuts in the government funds used primarily by lower government authorities to finance their cultural policy. Local government authorities face difficult decisions." (SICA 2010.)

- "9 out of 21 countries with comparable results stated, of the years of 2009 and 2011, losses in their regular budget plans ranging from -4% (Austria) to -26% (Greece).
- 9 countries actually reported increases in their financial appropriations for the arts and heritage, ranging from +5% (Belgium, French Community) to +38% (Ukraine).
- In three countries, the regular budgets remained approximately at their previous level." (SICA, 2010.)

3.1. Effects of the Crisis on Culture

To know how this sector was affected by the crisis, it is critical to discuss how much money the sector loosed due to the crisis.

First of all it is important to say that there are two main barriers in the way of analysing:

1. Too short time has passed; impacts of the crisis cannot be measured yet.
2. The monitoring of the cultural industry in Europe is not too good, so it is not easy to even find information for evaluation as well.

"Several of the main factors clearly take longer to be fully manifested. The attitude of European citizens to culture and their cultural habits do not change overnight. Even now it is too early to tell how a new economic order has affected the scale and the pattern of people's expenditure of time and money on cultural occupations. The same applies to the behaviour of businesses and donors vis-à-vis giving to culture, whether this involves philanthropy or marketing sponsorship." (Council of Europe, 2011.)

3.2. Changes in the funding of culture

How did the public resources for culture changed? Cultural industry receives budget from EU Structural Funds, from central government budgets and from private funds, as well. Due to the crisis, several projects funded by the EU Structural found was cancelled or postponed in the last 3 years. In most of the EU 27 member states, the amount of the central budget was not cut significantly; the budget did not reflect the crisis immediately. Only in some Eastern European countries were cutbacks during 2008 and 2009.

The amount of private funds was decreasing as well. The expenditure of the citizens was deeply reduced, because households made less and less money in the last years. Of course this process had a direct impact on cultural habit and consumption.

It was logical to expect, that corporate sponsorship will decrease, as the profit of these companies fell as well. "A detailed survey of Hungarian enterprises with more than 50 employees, and which had a cultural sponsorship record before 2008, showed that about half of them suspended the decision to continue this practice in 2009. However, there is a clear (and positive) correlation to size:

The bigger the company is the bigger the chance is that it is going to spend on sponsorship." (CultureWatchEurope, 2009)

3.3. Changes at the administrative levels

In those countries, where the central government had a determining role in financing the cultural industries and regional level only had an administrative role, not decision making, cuts were made by the central government at the beginning of the crisis. Although not many regions had a significant role in financing and government, cities' importance increased in the last years. Cities got a bigger role in financing culture during the crisis, as on national and municipal level cuts were made by the government.

"In Hungary a large number of local governments lost considerably on their bonds and loans in foreign currencies, which obliged them to make severe cuts in culture as well." (CultureWatchEurope, 2009)

3.4. *Changes by sectors*

Every sector of the cultural industry was affected negatively due to the crisis.

- Performing arts: the shock was slighter, as this sector is less exposed to sponsorship or donations.
- Festivals: are key components of nowadays cultural industry, however, they are heavily relying on sponsors. Many festivals was cancelled or postponed because of the budget cuts.
- Museums: were not so deeply affected by the crisis in the first two years.
- Built heritage: shows a very diverse picture. In some country, the budgets remained on the same level, but in other countries budget were cut heavily.
- Books: it is not easy to receive information on this sector, as there are no day to day data in the sector. So there are only suspicions, not evidences, that this sector was also negatively affected by the crisis.
- Audio-visuals: production slowed down in this sector.
- Art trade: auction houses and galleries already suffered at the very beginning of the crisis. (CultureWatchEurope, 2009.)

4. *Conclusion*

The financial crisis had a great effect on almost every aspect of the economic and became a world economic crisis. It was inevitable to affect the cultural sector as well. In this paper my aim was to give a theoretical overview on the latest surveys and reports made on the cultural industry in the light of the economic crisis. Defining the cultural industries in the European Union is still hard, as every country has its own implementation of the field. The finance of culture has a different method as well in the European Union. In overall there are two conclusions we can make:

- "The on-going financial crisis cannot be taken as an excuse for above-average cuts in the arts and heritage.

- The future of cultural budgets clearly depends on the backing "culture" is able to get from larger parts of the population and, consequently, in political circles. Where cultural policy is not firmly rooted in the multiple demands of the public and where the important role of arts, media and heritage activities for the social, educational and economic development of a society is not fully recognized, a change for the worse cannot be excluded, even after the current financial storm calms down." (Wiesand, 2011.)

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CELEBRATION OF LOCALITY, REGIONALITY, NATIONAL CULTURE OR EUROPEANNESS? NOTIONS ON AREA-BASED IDENTITIES IN PÉCS2010

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Introduction

During recent decades the EU has made various attempts to make the European cultural identity more concrete.¹ In addition to promoting concrete common symbols such as flag, anthem or Europe Day, the EU has established various initiatives which aim to create a shared European culture, to produce cultural integration into a European community and to strengthen a common European identity. Among the initiatives are the EU's cultural programmes and actions, in which these aims are implemented in practice.

The European Capital of Culture is the longest running cultural initiative of the EU. Since 1985 the EU has designated cities as European Cities of Culture in order to stress the role of culture in cities and member-states of the EU and in EU policy itself. Since 1999 the designated cities have been called the European Capitals of Culture (ECOC). The designation, which was introduced to increase the meaning of culture and people's cultural awareness in Europe, has turned into a significant economic factor in local, national and EU policy.² It has been a clear success in its growing popularity among the cities applying with extended variety of planned cultural events, increased media attention and enlarged budgets.³ Various studies have emphasised the significant short-term economic impacts of the ECOC designation in the selected cities.⁴ Studies have also stressed the positive influence of the designation on the activities and practices of the cultural sector and cultural agents in the cities.⁵ Besides the cultural and economic meanings, the ECOC includes various political and social aims, which are explicitly or implicitly expressed in EU policy. These

¹ Bee (2008).

² Richards & Wilson (2004): 1936; Richards (2000): 160; Herrero et al. (2006).

³ Palmer (2004); Palmer & Richards (2007); Palmer & Richards (2008).

⁴ Palmer (2004): 146-151; Richards & Wilson (2004): 1943; Richards (2000): 173-175; Richards & Rotariu (2009); García (2004).

⁵ E.g. Bergsgard & Vassenden (2009).

policies have a direct effect on planning, organising, implementing and promoting the ECOC events in the designated cities.⁶

The objectives of the ECOC designation follow the ideological context of the EU's general cultural policy. Besides the economic impact, the EU's cultural policy stresses various social and political objectives, which are discussed in cultural terms – fostering social cohesion, increasing social interaction, and creating a feeling of belonging are converted to cultural questions. The latest decision on ECOC stresses “the European Dimension” as one of the two key criteria for the programme.⁷ This dimension is explained to include the fostering of cultural co-operation between cultural agents from different member-states, and highlighting both cultural diversity and the common aspects of European cultures. The stress on common cultural aspects indicates one of the underlining ideologies of the ECoC designation – creating a shared European cultural identity. The EU's strategy is to get the designated cities to present their local and regional culture as a part of the common European cultural identity.⁸ The policy rhetoric of the ECOC designation focuses on fostering local, regional, and European identities; national identity or national culture is not evoked in its rhetoric.

The designated ECOCs follow the ideology and the formative rhetoric of the EU policy in their promotional material, because it is a prerequisite for the designation. Thus the emphasis on local, regional, and European culture(s) recurs in the promotion and marketing of the ECOC events on the local level. Even though the Guide for cities applying for the title of European Capital of Culture gives some examples of how the local, regional, and European dimensions could be understood and implemented in the ECOC events, the concepts related to locality, regionality, and Europeanness stay profoundly abstract and undefined in the EU policy rhetoric. The designated cities aim to make these policies concrete in their cultural programme during the ECOC year. However, the audiences have various notions on how the cultural events in the designated cities should be selected to show local, regional, and European culture(s), and what kinds of identity politics the ECOC events should eventually focus on.

⁶ Lähdesmäki (2011a).

⁷ Decision 1622/2006/EC.

⁸ See e.g. Guide for cities applying for the title of European Capital of Culture (2009).

In this paper notions of identities from the point of view of cultural audiences are examined and how their needs, interests and notions align with those of the policy makers is assessed. Also explored is whether the audiences perceive in the ECOC events those objectives emphasised in EU documents and in the local promotional rhetoric of the ECOC events. The focus of the research is on Pécs, which was designated as an ECOC for 2010 alongside Essen and Istanbul. Pécs is the fifth largest city in Hungary with a population of 157 000. The city and the surrounding region, are known for their multi-ethnic population and multi-phased history, which has left its marks on the architecture and traditions of the area. Nowadays Pécs is an active academic centre and the cultural and artistic meeting point of South Transdanubia, as it was earlier in the Middle Ages.

1. Carrying out a questionnaire-based study in Pécs2010

Empirical research on the ECOC audiences and their notions of area-based identity in the ECOC events was undertaken in Pécs by mean of a questionnaire which focused on the concepts of locality, regionality, national culture, and Europeanness. These concepts cross each other repeatedly and in a complex way in the policy rhetoric, in the promotion of the designated cities and in the reception of the ECOC events, and the launching-pad of the study was to explore these concepts as discursively produced cultural identities.⁹ The questionnaire included closed and open questions on how the respondents perceived the locality, regionality, national culture, and Europeanness to have been represented in the ECOC events, and how they thought they should or should have been represented.

The design of the questionnaire was based on the rather diverse and multifaceted meanings of the key concepts. In the questionnaire, the locality was specified as “the locality of Pécs” and regionality as “the regionality of South Transdanubia”, since the pilot study revealed that locality and regionality were sometimes difficult to distinguish as concepts. The regional focus was chosen according to the regional emphasis used in the promotional material of the Pécs2010. South Transdanubia as a regional term recurs in the rhetoric of the promotional material even though in cultural terms it is more or less an abstract construction. To avoid confusing national cultural identity and

⁹ Hall (1990); Hall (1992).

nationality as citizenship, the concept of “Hungarian culture” was used in the questionnaire. The concepts were not explained or defined in the questions, which gave the respondents an opportunity to concretise the concepts in open answers based on their own understanding.

The data was collected in Pécs during 2010 with online and paper questionnaires, which were available in Hungarian and English. The paper questionnaire data was collected at 23 events during April, May and October of 2010. The programme of Pécs2010 included altogether 324 cultural events or festivals. These 23 events were deliberately selected as a sample in order to give a representative image of all the cultural events of Pécs2010. The selected events differed greatly in various ways:

- There were mass events, small-scale events;
- Locations were indoors, outdoors, the city centre and the suburbs;
- Entry was both free and paid;
- Target audiences differed by age, gender, minority, and language;

Genres were widely spread with classical, pop, rock, folk and jazz music, theatre, folk and modern dance, literature, film, traditional and contemporary visual arts, performance and community arts, photography, crafts, and architecture.

Some of the selected events were festivals or series of events including various types of performance.

The respondents to the questionnaire were over 15 and had taken part in some of the ECOC events in Pécs, or had followed the progress of the ECOC year in some other way - e.g. through the media, by their job, or due to living in the city centre during its renovation and restoration projects. They were selected during or after the chosen events and the selection was based on a focal sampling method.¹⁰ The data collectors had previously divided the event venue (e.g. open space, foyer etc) into 3-5 notional parts beforehand and focused on collecting from 1-5 responses from the people who happened to be in the middle of these notional areas or were passing by the data collectors in the areas. The data was collected by the self-completion of these

¹⁰ Mony (2008); Yocco et al. (2009).

questionnaires. From 3-12 responses were collected from each event according to its size, the aim of the method being to increase the randomness of the sampling.

The aim of the online questionnaire was to reach the respondents who were particularly interested in the ECOC events that is, active consumers of culture who were well aware of the ECOC programme in Pécs. The sampling of the online questionnaire was based on a combination of convenience and deliberation - plus a snowball sample.¹¹ Notice of the online questionnaire was sent to contacts in 10 ten different cultural organisations or networks in Pécs. These organisations represented various cultural fields (literature, the visual arts, the performing arts, heritage, music) and included the management centre of Pécs2010. Contacts were asked to inform their own staff and their stakeholders about the online questionnaire. Those informed were also able to forward the notice to their own contacts. As intended, the online questionnaire reached respondents who were profoundly interested in the ECOC year, aware of its contents, and active consumers of culture. 50.4% of the online respondents participated in cultural events at least 1–3 times a month. However, the paper respondents were nearly as active consumers of culture: 46.5% of them participated in cultural events at least 1–3 times a month. On the other hand, the paper data included more passive consumers of culture, in that 16.5% of the paper respondents acknowledged that they participated in such events no more than once a year, whereas only 4.2% of the online respondents were so passive.

The two data collection methods were chosen in order to provide a diverse overview of the response to the ECOC events, and so the data includes, for example, responses based both on in-situ and ex-situ experiences. However, the data collection method may have biased the data towards active consumers of culture. Various studies have indicated how the snowball-type research method may skew research results,¹² and so these data cannot be unconditionally accepted as representative of all culturally active people in Pécs or of their response to the ECOC events.¹³

¹¹ Patton (2002); Everett & Barrett (2009).

¹² See e.g. Salganik & Heckathorn (2004).

¹³ For more detailed discussion on the background factors of the respondents see Lähdesmäki (2011b).

In this paper the main findings from the analysis of the answers to the closed questions of the questionnaire in the paper (N = 200) and online (N = 532) data will be introduced. The answers to the closed and background questions were quantified and statistically analysed in order to determine the frequency of notions on area-based identity. In addition, the frequency of notions among different respondent groups (differentiated by age, gender, education, profession and identification) were examined.¹⁴

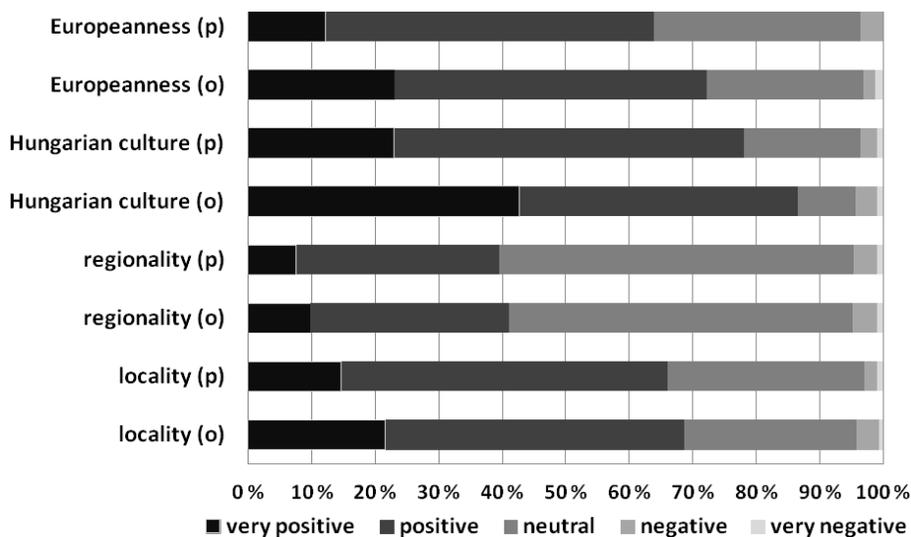
2. Notions on locality, regionality, national culture, and Europeanness

The ECOC designation creates an ideological framework for the cultural event which directs not only its implementation, but also the interpretation, experience and reception of the events. First of all, the interpretational framework of the ECOC is produced in the name of the designation itself. In addition, the framework is strengthened in local and national public discussions on the designation. In particular, the promotional and political rhetoric in the media, advertising, and public speeches renews it. The interpretational framework stresses and promotes the ideas of local, regional, and European culture and identity as the main focuses of the designation. Even though the ECOC designation enables and demands the cities to promote local, regional and European culture(s), it also paves the way for the cities to promote national culture and national identity.

In general, the concepts of the locality of Pécs, of the regionality of South Transdanubia, Hungarian culture, and Europeanness evoked positive impressions among the respondents in Pécs (Figure 1). The concept of Hungarian culture evoked the most positive among respondents (of respondents on paper, 78.1 % and of the online respondents 86.5% considered that it evoked positive or very positive impressions). The locality of Pécs evoked positive or very positive impressions in 66.0 % of the respondents in the paper data and in 68.8% in online data. Europeanness evoked positive or very positive impressions in 64.0% of the 'paper respondents' and in 72.2% of the online. The regionality of South Transdanubia evoked mostly neutral impressions.

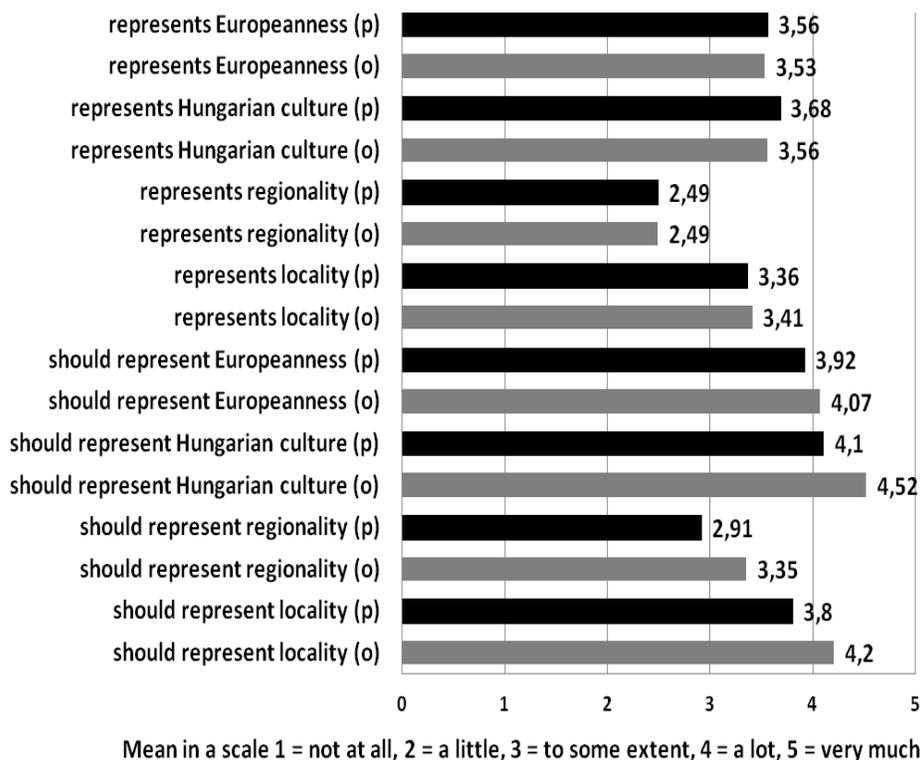
¹⁴ For the results of a qualitative thematic analysis of the open answers in the questionnaire study see Lähdesmäki (2011b).

Figure 1. -. Impressions of concepts of Europeanness, Hungarian culture, regionality (South Transdanubia) and locality (Pécs) in the paper (p) data (N = 196–197) and the online (o) data (N = 532).



The results were similar when respondents evaluated how the given concepts were represented in the ECOC events in Pécs (Figure 2). In both data sources the respondents considered that Hungarian culture was, of the four, the most often represented in the cultural events. Europeanness was considered as slightly less represented and locality as still less represented. Regionality was regarded as the least represented concept in the events.

Figure 2. - Opinions on how the ECOC events represent or should represent the concepts of Europeanness, Hungarian culture, regionality of South Transdanubia and locality of Pécs in the paper (p) data (N = 195–197) and in the online (o) data (N = 532).



NB: In addition to general editing (e.g. Superscript footnote numbers), please replace the (,) attached to the figures on the right-hand side. These should be (.) the decimal point in English language text. This also applies to Fig 3

The relatively low results related to regionality can be partly explained by the chosen regional concept - South Transdanubia. Even though this region includes various small towns and villages which have a strong local identity, the chosen regional concept may not have evoked feelings of shared characteristics. The Pécs2010 organisation promoted Pécs as the “city of regionalism” in various promotional materials and aimed to include the surrounding small towns and villages in South Transdanubia to the Pécs2010 programme.

However, the concrete borders of regional sentiments are difficult to draw. In cultural terms South Transdanubia is more or less an abstract construction, as, in fact, the regions quite often are, even though they are often stressed in everyday public discussion and in political rhetoric.

When asked which of the given concepts the ECOC events should represent, the respondents again stressed the importance of Hungarian culture. In the online data the respondents considered that the events should represent more locality than Europeanness, whilst in the paper data the respondents considered the representation of Europeanness as more important than locality. In general the respondents considered that all the given concepts should be more fully represented than they judged them to be.

The statistical comparison of the responses to the closed questions indicates some interesting tendencies. However, the relatively small sample in the paper data and the non-random sampling design in the online data may bias the results. Analysing the responses from the point of view of gender, the data indicates that women considered the impressions on the given concepts more positive than men. Only in the case of Hungarian culture in the online data did male respondents have slightly more positive impressions than female respondents. In general, women also considered the concepts to be represented in the ECOC events more often than men. Only in the case of Europeanness in the paper data, the male respondents found them to be slightly more represented. In the online data, women were more inclined to consider that the ECOC events should represent locality and Europeanness, and in the paper data locality, regionality, and Hungarian culture.

The education level of the respondents influenced the opinions on the area-based identity concepts. Non-academically educated respondents considered Europeanness more negatively than more highly educated respondents. Additionally in the educationally lowest group (comprehensive or elementary school only) in the paper data the respondents considered all the given concepts more negatively than did the more highly educated respondents. In the paper data the educational level also caused differences in opinions on how the concepts are or should be represented in the ECOC events. In this data group the respondents saw less frequently that the ECOC events represented the given concepts, or that they should represent them. In the

two lowest educational groups (comprehensive or elementary school, and vocational course or in-job training) in the paper data the respondents considered locality as the most important concept which the events should represent, whilst in all other educational groups the respondents stressed Hungarian culture most often. In the online data all educational groups stressed Hungarian culture as the most important concept which should be represented in ECOC events.

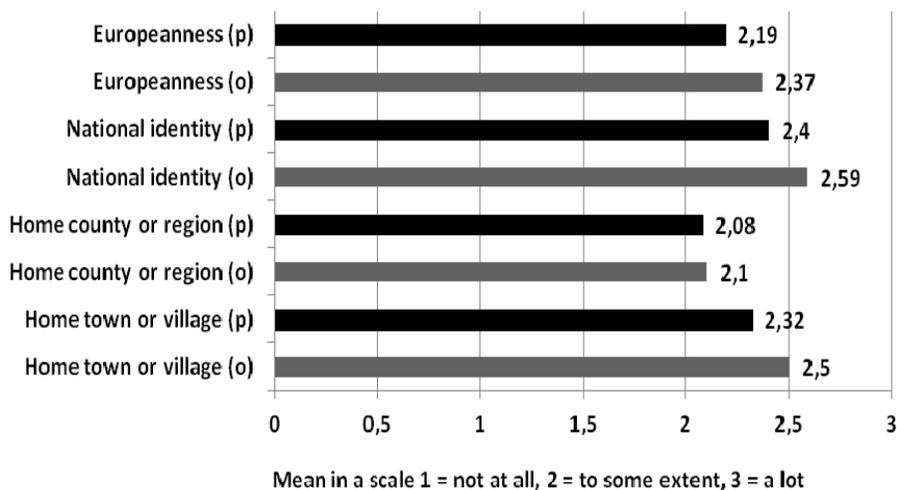
Profession seemed to have some impact to the impressions of the given concepts: in the paper and online data sectors, white-collar workers considered all the given concepts more positively than non-white-collar workers. In both data sectors non-white-collar workers considered more often than white-collar that the ECOC events represent and should represent locality and regionality, whilst white-collar workers considered more often than non-white-collar workers that the events represent and should represent Europeanness.

In the paper data, age seemed to increase positive impressions on all the given concepts, whilst in both data sectors locality and Hungarian culture were most frequently interpreted as being represented in the ECOC events by the respondents born either in the 1950s or earlier, or in the 1990s. In addition, in both sectors the respondents born in the 1950s or earlier saw more frequently than others that the events represented regionality. In general the respondents born in the 1970s were the most critical towards the representation of all the concepts in the ECOC events. Age did not have a major influence on opinions on how the ECOC events should represent the given concepts. The only major difference was in the paper data in the case of Hungarian culture: The respondents born in the 1990s considered more rarely than the respondents in the other age groups that the events should represent Hungarian culture.

The background questions in the questionnaire measured how important the main topics of the research (Europeanness, national identity, county or region, and hometown or village) were to the identity of the respondents. The most important element of identification of the above topics was national identity. Hometown or village was considered as the second and Europeanness as the third important element. In fact, relatively many respondents considered that Europeanness mattered a lot to their identity (44.2% of the respondents in the paper and 45.1% in the online data). The least important element for identification of the given options was a county or region. (Figure 3.)

As in the case of the notions concerning the area-based identity concepts, women considered all of the given topics more important to their identity than men in both data sectors. Education or profession had no major effect on the respondent's identification. However, age had an influence on how important some of the given topics were to the identity of the respondents. In the paper data, age gradually increased when considering national identity as an important element for identification. In addition, higher age seemed to increase the importance of all the given topics for the identity of the respondents: in the paper data respondents born in the 1950s considered all the given concepts as more important to their identity than respondents in other age groups. Similarly in the online data respondents born in the 1960s considered the given concepts (except town or village of birth) as more important for their identity than respondents in other age groups. Respectively, in the online data, town or village of birth was considered as more important by respondents born in the 1950s.

Figure 3. - Opinions on the extent to which the given elements were considered as important to the identity of the respondents in Pécs in the paper (p) data (N = 191-199) and in the online (o) data (N = 532).



In general, the opinions on the ECOC events seemed to follow the choices which the respondents had determined as important for their identification. In both data sectors the respondents who considered Europeanness as more important to their identification than national

identity considered that Europeanness evoked the most positive impression in them of all the given area-based concepts. Respectively, the respondents who considered national identity as more important to their identification than Europeanness assessed that Hungarian culture evoked in them the most positive impressions. Similarly in the both data the respondents who identified themselves more with Europeanness than national identity considered that the ECOC events represented and should most represent Europeanness. In the both data sectors respondents who identified themselves more with national identity than Europeanness considered that the ECOC events most represented Europeanness, although they should most represent Hungarian culture.

The results indicate that the reception of the ECOC events in Pécs reflects the EU policy aims for the ECOC programme in its stress on locality, regionality, and Europeanness. However, national culture, which is not enjoying similar attention in the EU policy rhetoric for ECOC programmes, was considered as the most important concept in the reception of ECOC events in Pécs. The low importance of regionality may be explained by the abstract character of the chosen concept. In general, only 68.6 % of online respondents and 41.6 % of paper data respondents perceived some difference between locality in Pécs and regionality in South Transdanubia.

Even though the respondents mostly agreed that locality, regionality, Hungarian culture, and Europeanness were to some extent, a good deal, or very much represented in the ECOC events, over half of the respondents could not describe in more detail in the open questions how the concepts were or should have been represented. On the other hand, the results may indicate that the concepts were perceived in the events on an abstract level, but that they were difficult to concretise as actual examples.

Conclusions

Even though the decisions on ECOC designation stress the promotion of local, regional, and European cultures, and highlighting local culture as part of a common European culture, the results of the questionnaire research indicate that the audiences in Pécs considered national culture more important and as an identity on which the ECOC events should particularly focus. In general, the national culture, lo-

cality, and Europeanness were perceived as profoundly positive entities and important ones to represent in ECOC events.

The national emphasis in the reception of ECOC events can be interpreted in a context of wider local and national political strivings which are intertwined in the ECOC designation. This designation generates political dynamics between cities in the host country which apply. In Hungary, as in many other EU member-states, the major cultural life is centred on the capital. The competition for the role as 'second important city' is often fought out between several cities much smaller in the terms of population, cultural infrastructure and cultural budgets. The ECOC designation is a concrete means to gain credibility in the competition. These dynamics may have an effect on the reception of ECOC events. Hence, stressing local culture and the city as a representative of the country and its culture can be interpreted in the contexts of stressing the importance of Pécs in the national hierarchy of cities. In addition the reception of the ECOC events in Pécs included some profoundly nationalistic tones, which contrasted with the fundamental aims of the EU policy rhetoric on the ECOC designation, but which can be interpreted in the context of the current political climate in Hungary, and even more in general in Europe. Debates on national issues and nationalism were very timely in Hungary during the data collection due to the General Election in the spring of 2010. The election was preceded by active political campaigns in which conservative and nationalistic rhetoric of certain political parties received strong media attention. The tension caused by the election and the victory of the right wing parties was also reflected in the reception of the ECOC events in Pécs: political points of view and nationalistic rhetoric were present in several open responses to the questionnaire.

Besides the national ethos, several respondents in the data emphasized the meaning of Europeanness as a counterweight to current nationalistic discourses. According to these views, the nomination as an ECOC and stressing Europeanness and international co-operation in the contents of the events were seen as concrete means of manifesting openness to Europe. As a relatively new EU member-state, and as a former socialist country, several respondents wanted to emphasise in the open responses the new role of Hungary and Hungarians in the EU and the changes in society which have decreased the former social, political, cultural, and mental differences between the

'East' and the 'West' in Europe since the collapse of the socialist regime.

In general, cultural festivals take on a variety of roles extending from means of generating local pride, identity, and income to mechanisms for assuring the acceptance of a particular cultural discourse.¹⁵ According to the research of Crespi-Vallbona and Richards on cultural festivals in Catalunya, one of the main aims for all the stakeholders of the cultural festivals was to foster identity and promote integration and social cohesion through cultural events. On one hand the festivals are excellent opportunities to demonstrate local culture and foster identity, but, on the other hand, they are also excellent examples of the selling of globalised culture.¹⁶ In fact, the 'cultural' content of festivals may be profoundly limited, and there is a fear that the more traditional culture of local communities will be replaced by a globalised popular culture.¹⁷

Similar trajectories have been noticed in the implementation of the ECOC initiative. Even though the designation aims to foster local, regional, and European cultures, various studies have indicated how the ECOCs have stressed various mega-events, global cultural products, and international popular culture phenomena during their ECOC year.¹⁸ The vague concept of Europeanness or European identity seems to be particularly problematic in the implementation of the ECOC programme. Various scholars have indicated that the 'European Dimension' or Europeanness cannot be perceived in the contents of the ECOC events.¹⁹ Similarly the evaluation report on ECOCs of 2007 and 2008, for example, suggests that this dimension was the least emphasized aim for the ECOC cities.²⁰ In the programme of Pécs the 'European dimension' was present both on the practical level (referring to the collaboration between artists and other cultural actors from different member-states), and on the content level in various European themes. However, the European themes were not always explicitly articulated as European – but they were often discursively produced as such. As the questionnaire research indicates, the audi-

¹⁵ Crespi-Vallbona & Richards (2007): 103.

¹⁶ Crespi-Vallbona & Richards (2007): 111-114.

¹⁷ Crespi-Vallbona & Richards (2007): 103.

¹⁸ García (2004): 114; Sassatelli (2002): 444.

¹⁹ See e.g. Sassatelli (2002): 444; García (2004): 114; Myerscough (1994); Palmer (2004): 85-86; Richards (2000): 162; Richards and Wilson (2004): 1945.

²⁰ Ex-Post Evaluation of 2007 and 2008 European Capitals of Culture (2009).

ences in Pécs perceived Europeanness in the contents of the ECOC events.

The questionnaire research indicates that, even though the ECOC designation is an EU policy instrument aiming to produce cultural cooperation and integration at European level and create common European cultural identity, the most important meaning of the designation among the audiences may be to strengthen the cultural and social communality, identity and self-esteem at national and local levels.

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THE ENHANCEMENT OF PROSPECTIVE MANAGERS' CULTURAL AWARENESS IN BUSINESS RELATED STUDIES

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Introduction

The twenty-first century is characterised by mobility, an ever-increasing flow of information and cooperation between countries in the fields of economics, culture and education - which also brings about changes in university culture. In universities today we can identify more cultural groups than ever before assumed – age and generational cultures, gender cultures, wealth cultures, the culture of rural and urban students, etc.¹ These influence mutual relationships and the university culture, which is also exposed in languages. As the scope of higher education has changed and universities have become a meeting-place of diverse cultures, the building of cultural awareness is an extremely significant issue in Higher Education today².

Historically, Europe has always been multilingual. In the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries Latin was the main language of instruction in Europe. Later with the foundation of independent countries, plurilingualism became visible³. Today plurilingualism has regained its popularity due to migrants, refugees, the mobility of employees and tourism.

Latvia has always been a multicultural, multilingual and multi-religious country also. In July 2011, 156 nationalities and ethnic groups lived in Latvia. The largest nationalities were: Latvians (1,323,713 people), Russians (606,972), Byelorussians (78,052), Ukrainians (54,398) and Poles (50,960)⁴. In 2003, 1098 congregations were registered in Latvia⁵. The most popular were: Lutheran, Roman Catholic, Orthodox, Baptist and Old Believer Orthodox. The 2000 Population Census data shows that of 2.38 million inhabitants,

¹ McKenzie (2006): 24-25; Singh & Rampersad (2010).

² Németh, Trócsányi & Süti (2008): 178.

³ Krumm (2004): 41.

⁴ http://www.pmlp.gov.lv/lv/statistika/dokuments/2011/2ISVN_Latvija_pec_TTB_VPD.pdf

⁵ http://atheism.about.com/library/irf/irf03/blirf_latvia.htm

Latvian is the mother tongue for 1.38 million people and Russian for 892,000 people. Excluding native speakers, nearly 496,000 people admitted having a good command of Latvian and 1.04 million a good command of Russian. Other popular languages: English (339,949 speakers), German (179,446), Byelorussian (17,215) and French (9,752)⁶.

Terms such as "plurilingualism, pluriculturality and globalisation are achieving new meanings, ranging from extreme, positive humane connotations, to extreme denial and seclusion within one's local boundaries".⁷ It is not enough any longer to master only one foreign language and be aware of the cultural peculiarities of the target nation. The multicultural context in which prospective managers will have to work strongly demands plurilingual and pluricultural competences - which mean cultural awareness in a broader sense.

Plurilingual and pluricultural communication cover an extremely wide area. It means thinking globally, understanding the significance of languages in education as well as diminishing obstacles to pluricultural communication⁸.

Plurilingualism and pluriculturality are significant in work of any sphere connected with people as we do not live in an isolated world and we cannot hide ourselves from globalisation. As Turība University educates future managers in different fields, including the tourism business, the University pays special attention to promoting the development of students' intercultural competence and cultural awareness for work in the modern business world.

This paper analyses the issues connected with the cultural awareness needed by prospective managers to work effectively in the modern business world.

1. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical Framework of the study is based on an understanding of pluriculturality and plurilingualism in the modern business world and their implementation in studies.

⁶ Results of the 2000 Population and Housing Census in Latvia (2002): 147.

⁷ Babamova, Grosman, Licari, Pervan (2004): 59.

⁸ Pécheur (2001): 143-144.

Three essential features form the core of the notion of culture: culture as a social reality, culture as a system of values and culture as peoples' activity⁹. Culture is the major determinant of peoples' thoughts and behaviour¹⁰, which "comprises anything and everything constructed and influenced by man and leavens through every layer and domain of society".¹¹ All elements of culture (verbal and written language, non-verbal language, symbols, meanings, habits, traditions, customs, norms, rules, ethics, etc.) taken together make up a prism through which employees communicate, interpret and experience the world.

Culture is a complicated manifold phenomenon which is not genetically inherited but acquired in the process of socialisation. It can be explained from the point of view of philosophy, sociology, politics, business and other fields.¹² Bodley¹³ distinguishes topical, historical, behavioural, normative, functional, mental, structural and symbolic approaches to culture. The applied approach to this study incorporates a topical and functional approach. In the topical approach, culture includes everything on a list of topics or categories (social organisation, economics, etc). The functional approach regards culture as a way of solving problems of adapting to the environment or living together.

Culture is a form of communication which people usually are not aware of and which is expressed both in speech and activity considering the hidden norms of behaviour.¹⁴ Communication as a double-sided process is oriented towards interaction. Thus any social activity is communication¹⁵ and has to be regarded as a communication and cultural phenomenon which points to the closeness of those two notions. In the course of socialisation people acquire society's cultural experience which influences people's action and contributes to raising people's cultural awareness. "Language awareness and cultural awareness very often interact with each other in the sense that activities focusing on one of these areas very often involve the other as well".¹⁶

⁹ Vedins (2008): 467-480.

¹⁰ Stier (2006): 8; Van Oord (2008): 131-133.

¹¹ Stier (2004): 6.

¹² Dubkēvičs (2009): 23.

¹³ Bodley (2011): 4-22.

¹⁴ Hall (1959): 1-7; Hall (1966): 94-101.

¹⁵ Habermas (1981): 35-40.

¹⁶ Penz (2001): 93.

Business culture is a set of core values, opinions, unofficial agreements and norms accepted by the society or organisation¹⁷. Corporate business culture is a set of mental values and the way of doing business deals¹⁸. National business culture comprises those values created in the national environment which influence business processes in the country. Business culture is determined not only by the compliance of the management quality level to international requirements but also by traditional mental values of the country. Globalisation creates a new business culture. However, it also causes threats, and so countries continue protecting their frontiers and national markets from the consequences of globalisation¹⁹. In Latvia, the Law on the Official Language²⁰ is in force, which declares Latvian as the official language of the country and protects language as a cultural value.

Business culture has two interrelated and, at the same time, relatively independent parts: a relatively constant part or traditional culture and a changeable part or the new international culture. International trade relations, their intensity, migration processes and other external and internal factors connected with globalisation influence the changeable part of the culture.

The success of business deals depends directly on business culture.²¹ Business culture is gradually changing and is determined by the market as values change. The primary stress is shifted from knowledge and its outcomes to the process of innovation. Orientation towards a consumer, loyalty, creativity, self-directedness, tolerance and decentralisation are just some of the notions which describe contemporary business culture²².

To summarise, contemporary business culture is characterised by an ability to adapt to cultural differences and tolerance. It marks a shift from cooperation with the consumer²³ to enhancing social responsibility considering the needs of society²⁴. It is, therefore, essential to

¹⁷ Daft (2011): 57.

¹⁸ Летуновский (2011).

¹⁹ Kotler, Kartajaya & Setiawan (2010): 32.

²⁰ Valsts valodas likums (1999).

²¹ Nakamoto (2008): 15.

²² Kotler, Kartajaya & Setiawan (2010): 39-42.

²³ Prahalad & Ramaswamy (2004): 1-18.

²⁴ Kotler, Kartajaya & Setiawan (2010): 39-42.

learn how to communicate with people from other cultures²⁵ - which mean that, in our studies, attention has to be paid to raising students' cultural awareness. Cultural awareness is "the foundation of communication and it involves the ability to stand back from ourselves and be aware of our cultural values, beliefs and perceptions".²⁶ Developing it means understanding oneself, knowing one's roots, knowing to which culture one belongs, as well as recognising the fact that there are "cultural differences in the world of international cooperation".²⁷ Awareness of other cultures enables us to look at phenomena from a wider perspective, to be aware of different national cultures and to raise one's self-awareness²⁸. Raising cultural awareness means being able to perceive positive and negative aspects of cultural differences. In order to form mutual understanding among and within different groups it is crucial to possess a high level of intercultural competence which might be developed applying an intercultural approach within the studies.

The intercultural approach is a student-centred approach as it addresses the issues of dealing with otherness and difference. It integrates the students' own socio-cultural context (structures, traditions, value systems, stereotypes) into learning²⁹. This coincides with pluriculturalism as pluricultural communication means willingness to accept otherness, being able to reflect on it and maintain a dialogue³⁰. Education contributes to raising cultural awareness by forming a broad and advanced base for knowledge, enabling students' personal and professional development, preparing for life in a democratic society³¹ and operating in the multicultural business environment.

2. Methods and Methodologies

2.1. Purpose of the Research

The purpose of the study is to analyse prospective managers' cultural awareness necessary for work in the modern business world and opportunities for its enhancement in business-related studies.

²⁵ Lee (2006): 4-6.

²⁶ Quappe & Cantatore (2007): 1.

²⁷ Merk (2003): 2.

²⁸ Etus (2008): 158-160.

²⁹ Neuner (2001): 88.

³⁰ Katnić-Bakarsić (2001): 41-42.

³¹ Battaini-Dragoni (2010): 93-95.

2.2. *Research questions*

- How do students and employers evaluate the role of cultural awareness for work in the modern business world?
- How can students' cultural awareness be promoted in tertiary level business studies?

2.3. *Stages in the research*

1. The context analysis (an analysis of theoretical literature and sources on culture, cultural awareness, business culture);
2. A survey of 192 tourism employers and 262 tourism students applying a Likert scale questionnaire ("1" - the lowest, "6" - the highest score) to study the knowledge, skills and abilities necessary to succeed in the tourism business in a multicultural environment;
3. The survey of 61 fourth-year tourism students applying an open questionnaire to study their experience and cultural awareness;
4. The survey of 144 graduates applying a Likert scale questionnaire ("1" - the lowest and "6" - the highest score).
5. Drawing conclusions and elaborating suggestions on how to raise students' cultural awareness for work in the multicultural world.

2.4. *Research Methods*

Mixed method design (quantitative and qualitative)³² was applied for the study. The following research methods were applied: an analysis of theoretical literature and sources, empirical methods – data collection (surveys containing structured and open questions), data processing and analysis methods (primary and secondary quantitative data analysis by applying SPSS 16.0 software³³ and discourse analysis³⁴ for the analysis of qualitative data).

³² Hunter & Brewer (2003): 577-578, 581-582; Kelle & Erzberger (2004): 172-176.

³³ Raščevska & Kristapsone (2000): 150-153.

³⁴ Lynch (2007): 501, 511-512.

2.5. Sample

The sample for our study was composed based on the approach of Raščevska and Kristapsone³⁵ and Geske and Grīnfelds³⁶.

A convenience sample of 262 students of the Faculty of International Tourism of Turība University was assembled, of whom 168 (64.1%) had worked in the hotel business and 69 (26.3%) in the catering industry.

A selected sample of 192 tourism employers from the enterprises in which the students had undertaken their internship was created, comprising 84 (43.8%) higher-level managers, 57 (29.7%) middle managers and 51 (26.6%) others.

A selected sample of 61 fourth year tourism students was composed, of whom 33 had practised only in Latvia and 8 had had no internship experience at all in Latvia.

A simple random sample of 144 respondents was formed for a graduate survey. The majority of respondents work in a tourism-related enterprise (76 respondents or 52.8%), 18 in the restaurant business and 15 in hotels.

3. The Findings of the Research

Students and employers were asked questions regarding knowledge, skills and abilities characterising the cultural awareness of. Findings indicate a similarity in students' and employers' opinions. Both surveys show relatively high means: from 4.4885 to 5.7519 (max=6) in the student survey and from 4.5990 to 5.7865 in the employer survey. In both surveys the highest scores are given to abilities to communicate with clients and colleagues, Latvian and English language skills and an ability to work in a multicultural team.

All students and 190 employers find the ability to communicate with clients and all students and 191 employers the ability to communicate with colleagues as extremely significant, very significant or significant for the tourism business. 260 students and 191 employers consider that the ability to work in a multi-cultural team demonstrate the employee's cultural awareness. Respondents emphasise the role of lan-

³⁵ Raščevska & Kristapsone (2000): 102-106.

³⁶ Geske & Grīnfelds (2006): 180-189.

guage skills for cultural awareness. 261 students and 190 employers admit the importance of English 258 students and 189 employers that of Latvian, 253 students and 189 employers the importance of Russian and 224 students and 171 employers that of a third foreign language (e.g., German or French).

Cronbach's Alpha test to measure internal consistency among questionnaire items and confirm validity³⁷ shows a high data reliability ($\alpha=0.776$) for the student survey and a high data reliability ($\alpha=0.832$) for the employer survey.

Oneway Anova test reveals no significant differences between the opinions of different groups regarding the cultural awareness necessary to work successfully in a multicultural environment. Significant differences were observed when analysing findings by the respondents (managerial positions, executive positions, lower positions). Differences were also seen in the following cases: knowledge of Latvia and world tourism geography ($F=2.156$, $p=0.009$), knowledge of travel organisation and management ($F=2.446$, $p=0.003$), knowledge of marketing ($F=2.128$, $p=0.010$), ability to communicate with colleagues ($F=2.254$, $p=0.006$), an ability to work in a multicultural team ($F=1.796$, $p=0.037$), an ability to put theoretical knowledge into practice ($F=2.077$, $p=0.012$), and creativity ($F=1.747$, $p=0.044$). This means that experience and the work environment influence the development of such knowledge, skills and abilities.

The findings of students' and graduates' self-evaluation of their cultural awareness and findings of employers' survey evaluating students' cultural awareness indicate their relatively high level. Students' and employers' surveys show quite high means: from 3.6221 to 5.6870 (max=6) in the student survey and from 3.5208 to 5.7760 in the employer survey. The highest scores are given to Latvian language skills, the ability to communicate with colleagues and an ability to work in a multicultural team. The graduate survey shows slight differences from the student and employer surveys. On the top positions graduates have the ability to communicate with clients and colleagues and work in a multicultural team. The means range from 3.1458 to 5.2361 which is slightly lower than in student and employer surveys. The similarity of all three surveys is found in the issue regarding the third foreign language (German/French) skills which has a

³⁷ Griffin (2009).

low evaluation from students (mean=3.6221), employers (mean=3.5208) and graduates (mean=3.1458). Considering the incoming tourism tendencies in Latvia these skills have to be enhanced. Employers highly evaluate the students' ability to work in a multi-cultural team. However, a comparatively low evaluation is given to students' creativity - which has to be enhanced. Creativity may be improved by project work, group work, participating in discussions, role-playing, simulations and case studies.

The in-depth survey conducted of fourth year tourism students contained open questions on students' experience gained during internships in Latvia and abroad thus measuring students' cultural awareness. Findings show a significant discrepancy with regard to the intercultural experience gained between those who had travelled abroad for internship and those who had undertaken it in Latvia alone. A significant problem in communication with colleagues mentioned was the lack of sufficient English language skills (16 respondents or 26.3%). The communication was further complicated by the lack of local state language skills which had been mentioned by several students who had undergone internship abroad. Communication problems with colleagues also arose due to differences in temperament, mentality and global outlook (12 respondents or 19.7%). The respondents noted the biggest discrepancy while working with Greek colleagues indicating that "Greeks perceive everything very emotionally" (Student 43), as well as "they are impulsive" (Student 35), which is in contrast with the Latvian temperament and traditions. The respondents indicated that Arabs, Romanians, Albanians and Bulgarians had an entirely different culture and understanding and way of thinking and even Scots, English and Swiss differed and were considered "more conservative in comparison to Latvians" (Student 57, Student 55).

With regard to work with clients, the results do not differ much. Respondents mentioned the low level of English language skills of clients or spoken accents (35 respondents or 57.4 %) as the main problem, as well as the unwillingness of clients to communicate in English. Peculiarities of behaviour of clients from certain countries were also mentioned. Most of difficulties were faced with clients from the Middle East and Asian countries with regards to understanding their mentality and desires - which indicates the necessity of paying more attention to them in the respective study courses as they are the potential and most rapidly growing tourism market. This could be done by se-

lecting appropriate texts, case studies and promoting discussions in the group. It is also necessary to promote students' empathy and tolerance.

Most of the situations regarding language problems referred to not understanding either the local language or the clients' native tongue. The solution was solved using gestures and phrases in another language, e.g. French (Student 10). The respondents emphasised that language skills, namely English, Russian and German are crucial for intercultural communication. The students remarked that they would have been able to work more successfully if they had possessed skills in: Greek, Italian, Estonian, Lithuanian, Polish, Dutch, Swedish, Finnish, Spanish, and Chinese. Greek was mentioned by the students who had been practising in Greece, whereas Swedish, Lithuanian, Estonian, Finnish and Polish were mentioned by the students undergoing internship training in Latvia. The Faculty has responded to the students' wish and has introduced Spanish and Russian as a third foreign language alongside German and French.

4. Discussion

The findings of the study indicate that, in general, students are aware of the meaning of culture and its importance in business nowadays. Also, students' and graduates' cultural awareness complies with the requirements of the modern business world. However, the study points to several problem areas i.e., further challenges for development. Cultural differences significantly influence interaction, communication, and negotiations. Stereotypes or naivety about the culture of some country or nation frequently cause serious problems. Some cultural differences are generally known but, as the survey shows, their nuances may reveal themselves quite inconveniently in terms of ways and times. Business requires constant interaction with different people. It develops in the work environment, including different types of negotiation on mutual cooperation and further commitment. In order to develop business, especially the tourism business, it is necessary to organise negotiations and future cooperation with people who have been educated in different cultural environments. Hence the role of intercultural communication increases.

In order to promote future managers' success in business and to make the process more targeted, Turiba University has worked out

guidelines for the improvement of the study process to enhance the development of students' attitude and behaviour. The study process has to develop:

- The culture of thinking by promoting critical creative thinking as well as self-critical attitude towards the results of one's own activities;
- Behaviour showing tolerance towards otherness;
- Necessity for self-actualisation by teaching for lifelong learning;
- Sense of duty realised in the readiness to be responsible for one's duties and commitments;
- Pro-activity and creativity by being oriented towards using all opportunities and not only solving the problem.

To develop intercultural communication skills it is necessary to effectively use internship periods and envisage research connected with the themes that strengthen the culture of thinking and behaviour. Such an approach would promote students' understanding of the necessity to be aware of the values and peculiarities of the other side - and respect them. It would make the students aware that, in business, it is worth concentrating on similarities and managers have to learn the art of compromise, i.e., in communication with representatives of other cultures to choose a style which would help to achieve agreement convenient for both sides.

Conclusion

Higher education as a sub-system of society implements one of the most important social functions – the cultural sphere which provides purposeful personality development in accordance with contemporary and future requirements. The authors consider that the dominant tasks in teaching business culture in a Higher Education institution have to be connected with the development of students' knowledge (and the ability to constantly and independently upgrade it), critical creativity (an ability to analyse the achieved and to seek new ideas) and tolerance (an ability to be tolerant in looking for associates and listening in others). To create and develop business culture, a university requires vision and a strategic development plan which should

derive, first, from the state development plan and, second, from the development trends of international business.

The development of the dominant of business culture requires an essential contribution by university teaching staff (a contribution which has to be common with correspondingly educated entrepreneurs who recognise culture as a value) and their motivation to work. It is necessary to create a target-oriented management system that envisages tools for attaining results.

The world is changing. Changes are the only constant thing in the world. In the change processes the role of intellectual capital increases. It develops with cooperation and the efficiency of this cooperation is higher in those organisations in which there is a high business culture and loyalty among the cooperating partners. This is a reason why it is important to enhance the cultural awareness of prospective managers whilst still at university so that they would be able to choose and apply appropriate action when entering the multicultural business world.

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THESSALONIKI '97 EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE AS AN ESTABLISHING MECHANISM OF ELITE DEVELOPMENT COALITIONS: TOWARDS A REGIME APPROACH?

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Abstract

Adopting the Greek academics' perspective that Thessaloniki had failed in recent decades to obtain an active role as an intra-Balkan and regional economic centre, this paper explores the case of Thessaloniki '97 European Capital of Culture via an urban politics theorization lens. We focus on the role of local economic and political power elites towards this effort and ask whether cultural mega-events such as ECoC are able to boost a growth coalition mechanism among local economic and political actors. There follows a discussion on the extent to which the existing situation in Thessaloniki can be explained using conceptual tools of the Urban Regime approach.

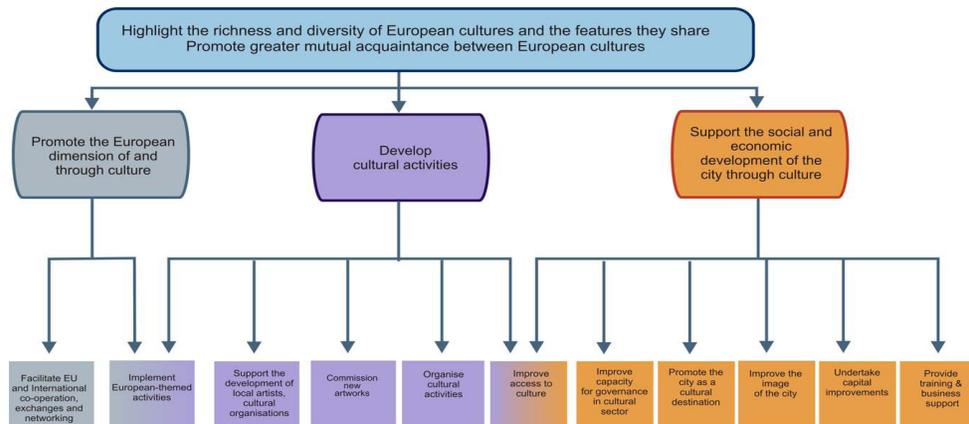
1. Promoting common cultural identity: The 3-pillar model

European Cultural Capital Initiative remained the flagship of cultural initiative in Europe since 1985 when it was first proposed by the former Greek minister of Culture Melina Mercouri. It aimed at interaction among Europeans towards a common shared identity that, until then, had had no cultural content but relied heavily on economic values and preserving peace via the common trade area (Palonen E. 2010). Although this common identity could be easily described via the contribution of each host city in the development of common European cultural mainstreams and the collaboration of artists among different cities, the notion is, in fact, perceived differently by each city and is open to many interpretations regarding key missions and objectives.¹ Similarly, the ECoC notion can be perceived differently among differ-

¹See Deffner A. & Labrianidis L. (2000) for a comparative analysis of the various strategies and interpretations adopted by different host cities regarding impacts on economy, culture and urban renewal.

ent tiers of governance. For the EU it provides a cheap marketing tool, creating a sense of shared space and polycentric capital, whereas, for each national government, it provides a tool for the renewal of urban centres and economic 'boosterism', implicitly via culture and investment. On the other hand, a unique chance is provided for regions to escape from national barriers enhancing collaboration with other regions - either spatially similar or not - whereas, for local authorities it provides initiatives for urban regeneration and rebuilding (Palonen E. 2010). Within the context of these different interpretations, the ECoC generic logic can be described as a three-pillar process. More notably, the Economic dimension highlights the economic development of the city through culture targeting the city as a touristic destination (cultural tourism initiatives), and as a platform for new capital investments improving the image of the city (city marketing initiatives). This logic can be summarised by the diagram below:

Diagram 1 - ECoC Intervention Logic



Source: ECOTEC (2009)

Clearly, ECoC intervention logic attempts to respond to the rather broad objective of promoting the "idea of Europe" through the promotion of cultural activities attempting simultaneously to achieve economic benefits for the host cities. In fact, the European dimension is typically incorporated through the inclusion of cultural activities whose content and key deliverables are European citizens in essence. However, the adoption of a third Economic dimension over the years

reflects the broader trends of cultural policy to put culture at the service of non-cultural objectives (ECOTEC 2009), which create a point of severe criticism around the ECoC initiative. As a result, both European and Cultural dimensions are often overshadowed by political and economic interests and agendas and their potential as tools to promote European integration and cooperation is not fully realised.

2. The ECoC initiative as a cultural mega-event

Roche (2000) defines mega-events as "*large scale cultural events (including commercial and sport events) which have a dramatic character, mass popular appeal and international significance*". The main characteristics of such events are the significant short- and long-term consequences for the host city, considerable media coverage and distinctiveness. Such examples are the FIFA World Cup, the Eurovision Song Contest and the Olympic Games etc. Also, as Burbank et al (2001) state, such events contribute to short-term tourism revenues and national/international recognition, putting the city on the world stage and increasing investment competition.

Indeed, such characteristics are also visible in the three-pillar ECoC intervention logic. Gains from tourist inflows and city image promotion to attract capital investment are the basic operational objectives of the economic dimension behind ECoCs which seems to be the main linkage that allows us to label the ECoC cultural event as a 'mega event'. Other common elements are the "one time" assignment for each host city, the important media coverage as well as the common "spirit" with which such events are usually conceptually characterised (e.g. the Olympic spirit, fair play, common European cultural heritage etc).

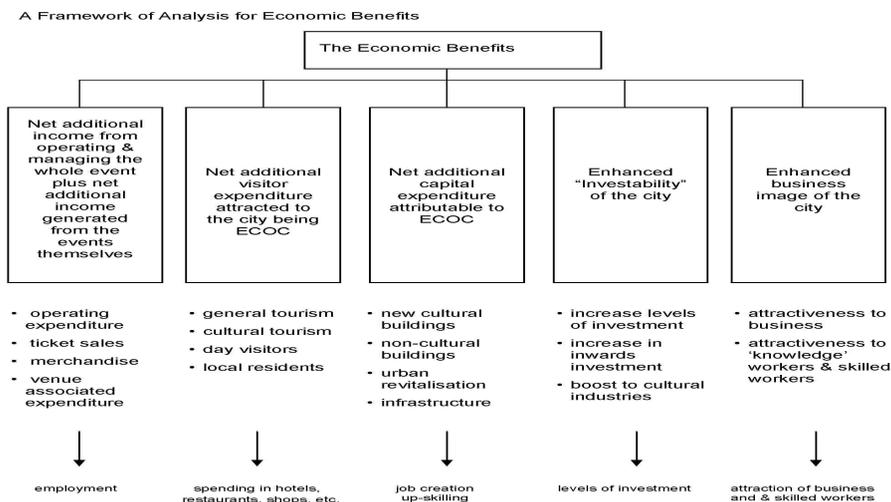
3. Mega-events as a platform for economic development

European cities are increasingly positioning themselves in a European rather than national context, both in terms of attracting capital investments and economic interdependence, and culture is considered to be one of the few and most valuable resources for policy-makers to create competitive advantage for their country, region or city (Richards 1996b). In this context of inter-urban/regional competition, Andranovich et al (2001) support the view that a well-established mega-

event strategy is able to stimulate local economic growth and such high-profile events can serve as a stimulus to local economic development. Although his argument is primarily based on Olympic Games case studies of Atlanta and Salt Lake City, it can be generalised in the wider context of cultural mega-events and the ECoC in particular as was shown in the previous section. According to their perspective, the main reason that cities embrace such a mega-event strategy is the potential opportunity to gain national, regional, or even international advantage from the bidding and the hosting exposure during the event as well as to boost tourism revenue and capital investment in-flow. Such a consumption-based development strategy uses hallmark mega-events as "image-builders" and is strongly linked to the wider strategy of place marketing and its main implication of "place commoditisation" (Hall 1989a).

In respect of ECoC, diagram 2 provides the main analytical framework for economic benefit transfers and also its main deliverables.

Diagram 2 - An analytical framework for ECoC economic benefits



Source: Palmer R. et al (2004)

On the other side, various arguments state that such mega-event preparation and investments exacerbate socio-spatial polarisation, significantly decrease affordable housing stocks, and often contribute

to the displacement of the poor and disruption of the social fabric. Similar arguments can also be found in the literature, in debates around gentrification, geographically targeted regeneration policies and community cohesion. Although it is possible or such negative spill-overs to be significant in the case of the Olympics or other cultural mega-events, with the EC0oC such implications might be less detrimental as wide spatial urban reforms are often not necessary.

4. Long-term vision and strategic planning for development

International urban festivals are recognised among academics as providing the necessary network capacity building in terms of persuading partners to work together on something clearly of mutual benefit. The need to integrate mega-events into broad development planning is highlighted by, among others, Roche (2000) who argue that strategic planning can provide a sense of ownership among stakeholders in the selected objectives. A shared vision of the local area is fundamental to give a long perspective on the returns from hosting a mega-event, although it is important to realise that full impacts can only be assessed considerable later.

However, in his earlier contribution (Roche 1994) distinguishes the "political approach" from the traditional "planning approach" in order to reveal the role of urban power-holders in tourism and event production. Decisions relevant to the hosting and the nature of hallmark events often grow out of political processes and different values of actors (e.g. individual entrepreneurs, interest groups, organisations) and through a constant power struggle. According to this view, the vast majority of such prestigious projects are heavily influenced by the will and power of urban political leadership as well as powerful elite groups and stakeholders (business or cultural elites).

5. Theorising urban power: the urban regime approach

The regime approach was initially developed as a response to pluralist theories of urban politics within the debate around the "elitist" and "pluralist" approaches of urban power. Unlike economic development coalitions which lie at the heart of "elitist" argument, the regime approach allows plurality of interests. Based on the motto by Jim Folsom "nothing just happens; everything is arranged", Stone (1989) defines

urban regimes as informal but stable groups with privileged access to institutional resources and significant impact on the formulation of urban policy agenda. According to this, regimes are not meant to be a coherent organisation but an informal group of influential actors who derive power from different sources and share policy objectives for a city's economic development. An important contribution by Davies (2003) summarises the criteria about the existence of regime structures, arguing that such a coalition includes local public & private sector "elites" and cooperation via informal networks based on trust, shared goals and resources.

This approach has dominated 'theorism' of urban power in the US context since the 80s. As Newman & Thornley (2005) suggest, the main appeal of such an approach lies on the grounds that it emphasises the process of setting the city's agenda, matching concerns about the importance of strategic planning and long term vision - as argued previously. Indeed, the relative advantage of this approach is that it focuses on alliances between actors for "high priority city problems" explaining "why some problems rather than others receive priority treatment". In fact, the regime approach provides a more synthetic approach than homogenous "pluralist/ elitist" power structures, focusing on the process of governance and the process of "who is it that governs" and not "who controls the resources" (Stone 2005) and why "building bridges" with other interests to achieve common objectives (Harding 1997) is desirable.

However, despite its appeal and the relative advantages compared to the traditional conceptions of urban power, it does not come without its criticism, especially concerning its applicability outside the US political context. Davies (2003) argues that such a theoretical transfer is not valid due to important economic constraints and differences between European and US political contexts concerning state involvement in business-led urban development, although, according to Kantor & Savitch (2005), contextual differences are manageable, incorporating aggregate institutional factors into general attributes (e.g. steering, trust) transforming them into comparable outputs. Related to this, Dowding et al (1999) point out that the regime approach could be better described as a concept or model rather than a theory, as it is unable to explain such variations across different countries. Following this argument we avoid in this paper labelling the regime approach as a theory using other descriptions.

6. *Research conceptual pathway*

Starting from the generic intervention logic behind the ECoC institution we highlighted how "3rd dimension" dominated upon the other European and Cultural dimensions and how economic development goals are often the key drivers behind hosting cultural mega-events such as ECoCs. Similarly, we realised the significance of the long-term vision and strategic planning for the city in order to successfully host such cultural mega-events, but, most important, in order to realise the long-term economic benefits that such a mega-event can provide. Given the premise that a long-term vision and strategic plan for economic development can potentially act as a mechanism to bring together local economic and political "elites" sharing this common vision, in line with this argument, our primary purpose in the present paper is to examine whether such a process took place within the context of Thessaloniki '97 European Capital of Culture answering the following question (1st research question):

Did Thessaloniki '97 European Capital of Culture mega-event formulate "elite" coalitions for economic development between powerful political and economical local players?

Further, considering the significance of urban politics and urban power interrelations, we adopted this regime approach in order to help us better understand the political processes around such events. We tried to examine whether urban regime structures were formed within the context of Thessaloniki '97 European Capital of Culture, whilst recognising that the "3rd dimension" can become the common shared goal within urban regime structures. In order to respond to this issue, we will use the criteria summarised by Davies (2003) trying to answer the following question (2nd research question):

Can these "elite" coalitions be explained within the urban regime conceptual framework?

Diagram 3- Research conceptual pathway

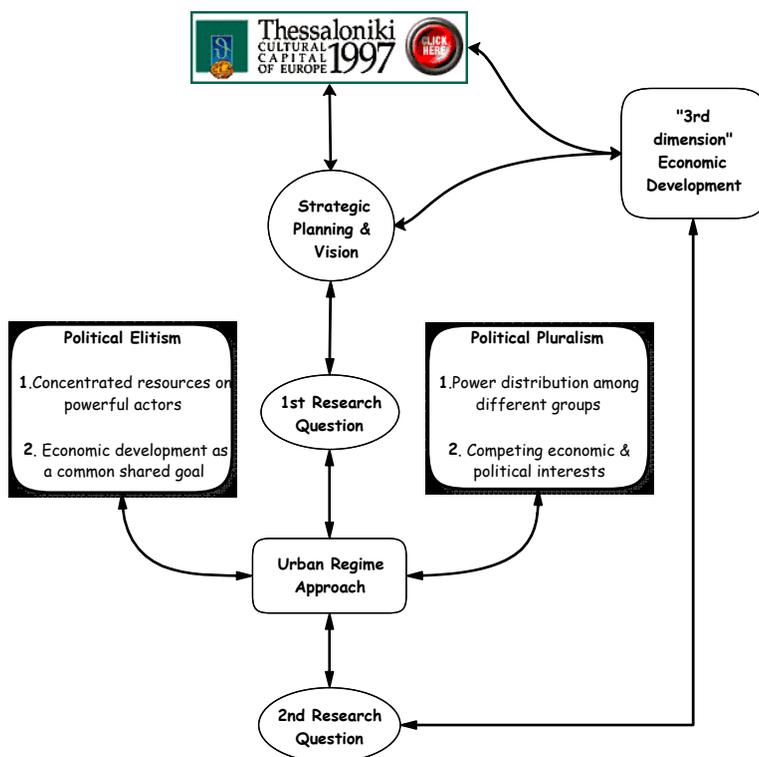


Table 1 - Tested regime criteria according to Davies (2003)

Tested Criteria	1st Research Question	2nd Research Question	Number of Questions	Questions
Local "elite" participation	✓	✓	4	1,2,3,4
Shared common goal/"vision" (Local Economic Development)	✓	✓	4	1,2,4,5
Mutual trust		✓	4	6,7,8,9
Resource Interdependence		✓	2	8,10
Autonomous decision making		✓	2	2,11
Long-term sustainable networks		✓	3	4,12,13

To respond on these questions, the analysed interview data were extracted from semi-structured, in-depth interviews based on set questions and questions formulated separately for each interviewee considering the status, the profile, and the extend of involvement during the organization of Thessaloniki '97 European Capital of culture. Different combinations of questions seek to provide an answer to each attribute tested as a response to our initial research questions (see

table 1). Finally, considering the problems of the urban regime approach in different contexts, we tried to use Davies (2003) criteria.

7. Thessaloniki '97 European Capital of Culture as a mechanism for establishing local "elite" coalitions

In order to respond to our first research question, it is necessary to examine whether, during the ECoC preparation, there really existed an active and catholic participation of the most important local actors and to what extent they shared a local economic development vision for the city. In fact, there was a rather "formalistic" consultation process followed during the preparation and the hosting year under the control of the artistic directors. As was clearly stated:

"For many years various sessions took place where public and private vehicles were invited to submit their proposals. Also, Thessaloniki is characterised by its communities (...). These "voices" were considered whilst formulating the cultural and technical programme. However it is rational that not all could actively participate, due to the number and size.(...) The National Tourism Organisation had the capacity to effectively represent the touristic perspective on behalf of the state, but also various other private sector lobbies had their own "voice" during the executive board sessions" [Interview material].

However, this consultation process was implemented in a way which resulted in many proposals from all the various participating institutions and lobbies, and there are doubts as to the extent to which they could be synthesised in a coherent plan with a clear orientation. In fact:

"Even during the formulation process of these proposals into specific policy areas, two action dimensions were eventually created: the "technical action plan" and the "cultural action plan". However, despite their own specific objectives, they were never synthesised into an overall coherent objective complex." [Interview material].

Possibly, this malfunction can be attributed to the fact that a coherent framework around the objectives and the orientation of the hosted event, as well as a concrete development plan for the city were absent. Indeed, there is a consensus in our interview material in line with Greek literature of a diffused, but also blurred, vision around the economic and international role of the city. Labrinanidis (2001, 2008) ar-

gues that, for decades, this "vision" of Thessaloniki as an Inter-Balkan economic centre remained pure rhetoric, whilst the city sought a new role as a Balkan southern gateway. Under this rhetoric the chance of hosting the 1997 European Capital of Culture was perceived as a unique opportunity to attract investment promoting city's new image, regenerate the urban area and resolve long-standing issues for the city, recognising the wider role that culture and cultural tourism could play towards that effort. Indeed:

"People considered that now they had the chance to resolve all the long-standing problems of the city accumulated for decades (...) . At the time a climate of common aspirations was created and, at the same time, of personal aspirations. It is rational for the local elite to attempt to bring its own perspectives to head the agenda especially in the case of such a large-scale cultural event. However it is important to recognise that this remains a cultural event and it was impossible for the technical and cultural programme to respond to all of these aspirations." [Interview material]

As was also stated in line with the previous argument:

"The main objective at the time was to create all the necessary infrastructure for the city to be able to respond successfully in its burden of being a Cultural Capital of Europe in 1997. Of course this had serious implications on the long-term sustainability of this attempt as a whole after 1997". [Interview material]

Having highlighted the importance of the long-term strategic planning in order to achieve developmental benefits, it is clear that this contained the main weakness of the wider attempt to host the ECoC event. This was not so much in terms of organising the festival itself but to exploit all the potential of such an event to achieve sustainable economic benefits after 1997. (Lambrianidis 2001 and Maslias 1998 often term it a "missed opportunity") Given these aspirations, such a concrete development strategy could become a fundamental link for all the various interests of the actors involved during the ECoC preparation and hosting, and it is reasonable to argue that there was a vision behind every effort of those involved with the ECoC hosting:

"There is no doubt that, among the local elite and city institutions (political, public, entrepreneurial) it was a priority to set the city at the heart of international interest and mark its presence. It seemed

unlikely that an "unknown" city would attract investment, but I can say that this was achieved at that time". [Interview material].

However, regardless of whether it was achieved or not, it is a fact that the lack of such a concrete development orientation for the city in general was a real obstacle to the effort. Undoubtedly, beyond the rhetoric, it affected the orientation of the ECoC hosting itself, at least in terms of the so-called "3rd dimension" deliverables. In particular:

"Culture, is an exported "product" for Greece, able to bring money and to create jobs. We should not see culture theoretically, but also as a mechanism to create wealth and, from this perspective, the ECoC institution should combine both cultural heritage and economic efficiency; this was not seriously considered with Thessaloniki (...). From the beginning of the preparation, serious strategic economic planning was absent (...) and there was a good chance that the "value for money" result would be poor". [Interview material].

8. *Towards an Urban Regime?*

The whole attempt to host the event resulted in the formation of elite coalitions and collaboration networks at the initial stages of the preparation, although the lack of concrete planning was a serious obstacle in this process. However, to what extent did these networks form an urban regime in the case of Thessaloniki? Assessing the criteria in table 1, there is a consensus in our extracted interview data (in line with the Palmer R. et al. 2004 report) which indicates a wide climate of mistrust among many actors involved, and, in particular:

"Indeed, numerous conflicts existed during the executive board sessions as well as between local municipal authorities and ministry representatives which often led to artistic directors and other board members withdrawing - which harmed the overall attempt in general. Everyone considered that he should secure resources for his own part of the play" [Interview material].

What is implied by these words is that the lack of a clear orientation and strategy plan, as we argued above, had its own crucial role in creating such mistrust. Most of our data agree that:

"Such mistrust can be attributed to the lack of a concrete development plan for the city in general and clear orientation and objectives during ECoC preparation in particular, which left space for pressures

and interests of some of those involved. (...) Trust must be built. If such a plan is missing, then there is nothing for trust to be built on. My belief is that the whole attempt by Thessaloniki was characterised by such mistrust that serious implications for the city followed." [Interview material].

Some information extracted from our interview material provides a rather interesting linkage between trust and private sponsorships.

"Such limited sponsorship can also be attributed to the lack of trust. Outside private sponsors did not expect that anything extraordinary would occur, but they perceived the whole effort as a state supported attempt only". [Interview material]

Regardless of whether or not such an opinion really dominated, it is a fact that the state support was the highest of all ECoCs to date and even later. As it is clearly stated:

"In contrast to many Capitals of Culture, Thessaloniki received sponsorship from just two companies. Both were for special, top-level performances (Baryshnikov & Rostropovich) and seemed to have no connection with Thessaloniki '97" [Palmer R. et al 2004].

Data clearly indicate that huge state support was mainly responsible for the very low private funding of Thessaloniki '97 ECoC. In fact:

"Since government managed to allocate such an amount of funds for the hosting of Thessaloniki ECoC, sponsorship never became a central and urgent objective (...). The impression was given that this money was not needed since Athens provided over €60m". [Interview material]

Table 2 -Total operational budget by source of funding (1994-1998)

OPERATING INCOME	
1. Public	
National government	60.072.058
EU (general support)	287.439
2. Private	
Sponsorship	28.744
3. Other	
Ticket sales	431.158
TOTAL OPERATING INCOME	60.819.399

Source: Palmer R. et al. (2004)

These data provided by the Palmer R. et al.(2004) Evaluation Report and the interview material show that private funding was insignifi-

cant and that the whole event entirely relied on state support. Although this seems to be in line with a basic premise of regime approach, in which the actors involved (including the state in this case) share most financial resources, this interdependence seems very one-sided towards formal government and not distributed among local and private actors - as is highlighted in 'regime literature'. Considering this one-sided funding reliance and the state presence on the executive board, it would be rational to argue that central government was able to influence all decisions concerning the event. However the overall picture is not very clear and depends on the interviewee's perspective of involvement. For example from an entrepreneurial perspective:

"What really dominated was the element of central programming far from the people and the local actors involved. (...) In terms of capital infrastructure, the minister's influence was catalytic, whereas in the artistic programme, power distribution was more balanced. My personal feeling now and then is that politicians did not share the same long-term commitment to economic development but served rather short-term political interests". [Interview material].

On the other hand, influence on technical infrastructure decisions and the presence on the executive board was not always criticised negatively:

"Athens was not overrepresented in the executive board. If the presence of ministers means central government influence, this is wrong. Central government tried to promote the whole attempt internationally and beyond the local range. Political responsibility from government authorities benefitted the whole programming and the ministers' presence and support brought money to this effort." [Interview material]

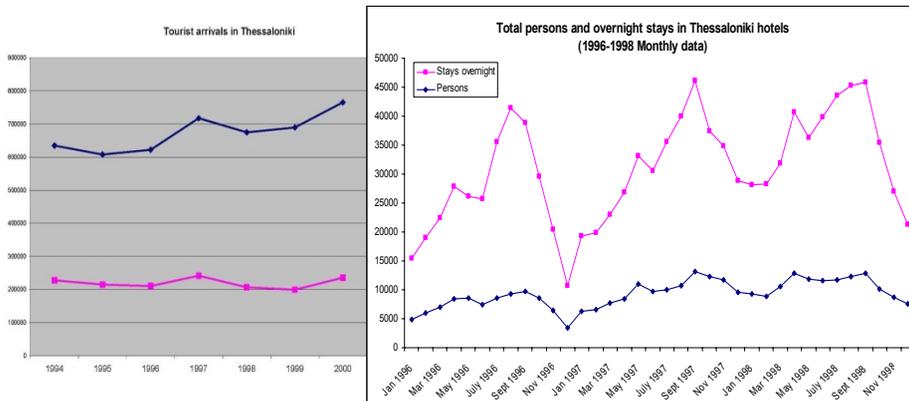
Finally, regarding the long-term sustainability of the elite coalitions and networks created during the attempt, there is a broad consensus that the main benefit for the city remains the huge cultural infrastructure and urban renewal projects during the city's preparation to become a Cultural Capital. As was mentioned:

"Undoubtedly I consider that regarding the cultural infrastructure Thessaloniki '97 ECOC was successful. (...) However, more could have been done. What is vital for me is that there was no follow-up. As you make an investment today for two years! (...) The whole at-

tempt should have a continuity and connection with other ECoC cities at European level (roundtables, conferences etc.). (...) For me, every ECoC should be prepared long before the hosting year including, beyond the cultural programme, a wider city development plan for ten years ahead." [Interview material].

Supporting this view, the figures below show that there was no long-term increase in tourist inflows, which are the main drivers of wider economic benefits. In fact, in the case of Thessaloniki, cultural tourism proved unable to break the seasonality of the tourist inflows in general and create a permanent increase.

Diagram 4-Tourist arrivals (1994-2000) & overnight stays (1996-1998)



Source: Palmer R. et al (2004) & National Tourism Organization data

As we indicated, a lack of a broad post-1997 strategy is the main reason preventing many of these coalitions and networks surviving long after 1997, especially those which were not exclusively cultural but which included entrepreneurial actors. However, in terms of cultural education, the city did benefit thereafter:

" (...) I strongly believe that the cultural level of the city's inhabitants was upgraded and for me this is a great heritage. People now have higher demands from city authorities in terms of culture. (...) The experience gained is visible from the hosted events so far and there are many events that have their roots back in the '97 ECoC." [Interview material]

Conclusion

The nomination of Thessaloniki as a Cultural Capital of Europe in 1997 was perceived as a great opportunity by the local political and economic elite and had the capacity to create elite coalitions which shared the vision of the city's economic development and its Inter-Balkan role. However, beyond that blurred vision, a concrete strategic development plan for the city in general was absent and this prevented the city from taking advantage of the potential wider economic benefits concerning "3rd dimension" deliverables in the long term. Although a vision can initially motivate local elites to participate and collaborate towards a common objective, such a long-term strategy is necessary to preserve these ties and elite networks in the long-term in order to realise economic deliverables. A serious implication of this argument is that the "Political approach" and the traditional "Planning approach" are in fact interrelated. Political factors are an important piece of the real world, whilst strategic planning is crucial for the successful organisation of an ECOC mega event and long-term economic returns.

Also, the evidence is not enough to support an urban regime type of networking around the Thessaloniki mega-event. Despite the participation of the local elite and the existing vision of the whole attempt at hosting the ECoC for Thessaloniki, there were serious problems of mistrust resulting from the lack of a concrete strategy during the preparation years and for the city in general. Also, the clearly one-sided financial resource dependence on central government does not indicate any resource interaction between other involved actors (e.g. the absence of private sponsorship on behalf of the entrepreneurial world), and so it is unclear as to what extent this allowed independence in decision-making by the local actors involved with ECoC preparation. Finally, beyond the long-standing discussion around the overall impact of ECoC hosting in the city, it seems that this lack of wider development planning for the city and during the ECoC preparation did affect the sustainability of business-related networks and collaboration post-1997.

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IS THERE A LINK BETWEEN 'CULTURE' AND 'CULTURED' BEHAVIOUR? CAN 'CULTURE' SAVE THE WORLD?

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Introduction

This paper is an examination of culture and the myriad ways in which it can affect the behaviour of people. Interest is also shown in whether or not this influence on behaviour can lead to an improved quality of life for people throughout the world. The paper begins with a brief explanation of culture and the different ways in which this term is used. There is then a discussion of how different disciplines have approached the study of relating culture to behaviour.

The first discipline explored is biological anthropology (McGrew, 1998). When discussing the way in which a culture is developed, biological anthropologists have pointed out that behaviours and cultures interact: each factor influences the other. The next discipline explored is cultural psychology. One of the underlying assumptions of this entire field is that culture and the mind cannot be separated. It is also assumed that the mind and its interpretation of the world are the basis on which behaviours develop. It can, therefore, be said that the entire discipline of cultural psychology is based on the assumption that culture leads to behaviour. There is also a discussion of why cultural psychology (Kitayama & Cohen, 2007) should not be confused with cross-cultural psychology. The two fields are often at odds with each other. Cross-cultural psychologists focus on the underlying principles which influence an individual's behaviour and are present in all cultures.

Another discipline which is discussed is cross-cultural psychiatry (Georgiopoulos & Rosenbaum, 2005). This is the study of how cultures affect the rates of mental disorders and the use of psychiatric services in particular societies. It is noted by this discipline that different cultures have varying rates of certain mental illnesses. The field also developed the idea of a culture bound syndrome (American Psychiatric Association, 2000). This is discussed in relation to the

unique syndrome of 'ghost sickness' and its accompanying behaviour in certain Native American tribes. The fields of socio-linguistics (Wardhaugh, 2010) and psychological anthropology (LeVine, 2010) are also explored. Both disciplines also support the notion that behaviours are significantly affected by culture.

The final section of the paper discusses cultural relativism (Cahoone, 2005) and its application to human rights. This is an important concept and the decision of this paper regarding the effect that culture can have on the worldwide quality of human life partially depends upon matters discussed in this section. If one assumes that culture does have a significant influence on behaviour, the issue becomes what type of culture is acceptable for the majority of individuals and how can this culture positively influence the quality of human life.

1. Culture

The term culture has various meanings (Sorrentino, 2009). It often refers to a taste for quality in the humanities and fine arts. When it is used in this context, it is frequently known as high culture. The term can also mean an integrated pattern of behaviours, beliefs, and knowledge, which depend on the capacity for social learning and symbolic thought (Jenks, 2005). Another common use of culture refers to shared practices, goals, values, and attitudes of people who are invited with an organization or institution. The term emerged in the late 18th and early 19th century Europe. At that time culture referred to the process of improving society. It was also meant to refer to the refinement or improvement of individuals. This usually referred to improvement through education or meeting shared ideals of the time. For example, a person who was well educated in a variety of disciplines and able to appreciate art in different forms was considered "cultured" (Sorrentino, 2009).

During the 20th century, the idea of culture became important to anthropology (Jenks, 2005). In this sense, the term refers to any human behaviours which are not the result exclusively of genetics. In the subdivision of American anthropology culture meant an evolved capacity for representing and classifying experiences by using symbols. Culture also meant the way in which different societies represented and classified their experiences. After World War II, culture

was used in a number of emerging disciplines such as management studies and organisational psychology (Sorrentino, 2009).

2. Biological Anthropology

During the 20th century, a new use of the term culture and its meaning became the subject of debate among scholars who identified themselves as biological anthropologists (Park, 2009). There were a number of questions which form the focus of these debates. There were arguments on whether culture is unique to human beings. This was believed to be an important question due to the theory of evolution, which asserted that people were descended from extinct non-human primates. Another important question centered on how culture evolved in modern human societies (McGrew, 1998).

Some of these scholars who identified themselves as biological anthropologists suggested that culture involved a process with six steps (McGrew, 1998). The first step is the development of a new behaviour. The inventor of this new behaviour then communicates it to others in society. The behaviour pattern will then become consistent among individuals. The fourth step is that the new behaviour pattern is retained by individuals in society who have learned from others. The fifth step involves the behaviour pattern spreading through the population. The final step is that the behaviour pattern is transmitted from one generation to the next. In this way, the new behaviour becomes part of a culture within society. Therefore, according to the biological anthropologists, culture is a major factor in the behaviour of individuals (Park, 2009).

3. Cultural Anthropology

Cultural anthropology focuses on how there are variations among human cultures (Haviland, Prins & Walrath, 2007). A variety of methods are used by the scientists such as surveys, interviews and participant observation. A significant number of these studies were considered as fieldwork since the investigators had to spend time at research locations. According to anthropologists, culture is natural to humans. People have a natural tendency to symbolically classify their experiences in the form of language or art forms (Ferraro, 2008). They use these symbols to transmit their interpretation of reality to

other people. Cultural anthropologists point out that people who live in different circumstances or areas of the world will have different societies due to varying forms of socialisation acculturation practices. It is through these various cultures that individuals learn to behave in different ways according to their life experience (Ferraro, 2008).

Cultural anthropologists claim that culture can be used as a method for people to change their behaviour in ways which oppose their genetics in order to adapt to the environment (Haviland, Prins & Walrath, 2007). For example, many of these anthropologists would point out that wearing shoes is not an inherently genetic trait among humans. However, it can be quite adaptive when an individual has to traverse rough terrain. Shoes can also be helpful when the weather is extraordinarily hot or cold. Even the types of shoes which societies have adopted suggest the significant environmental adaptations of culture. For instance, many cultures in hot climates wear some form of sandal. Cultures which dwell in colder climates may wear warm boots. This is an adaptation of the entire culture to the environment. In the hot climate, a visitor is likely to find a variety of samples for sale, but no boots. The opposite may be true in a cold environment (Haviland, Prins & Walrath, 2007).

It is important not to make the mistake of believing that cultural anthropology can only be applied to primitive cultures (Haviland, Prins & Walrath, 2007). One must only go to a modern shop at a warm beach, or a ski resort to find the example of shoes still applies. Cultural anthropology can be applied to Western society in cultures such as Wall Street investors, college professors, physicians, attorneys, or any other group, which has its own set of behavioural norms. These groups can be viewed as subcultures and have significant influences on the behaviour of individuals who identify with them (Ferraro, 2008).

4. Cultural Psychology

The basis underlying cultural psychology is the belief that mind and culture cannot be separated (Heine, 2008). Proponents of cultural psychology point out that a psychological theory which is developed in one culture may not be applicable to other cultures. Cultural psy-

chologists investigate ways in which social practices and cultural traditions regulate the behaviours and minds of those who are members of the society. This type of psychology investigates the way in which tradition and culture shape the psyche of individuals in society and the meaning which this may have for the unity of humanity as a whole (Heine, 2008).

It is important not to confuse cultural psychology with cross-cultural psychology (Kitayama & Cohen, 2007). Cross-cultural psychologists focus on finding the universal psychological principles which determine an individual's behaviour. The cultural psychologist is interested in how a particular culture affects the way in which its members interact, think, and form beliefs about the world. A cross-cultural psychologist might be interested in how the traditional psychoanalytic theories of id, ego, and superego apply to many different cultures (Heine, 2008). The cultural psychologist would be interested in the way in which certain cultural practices shape the unique formation of the id, ego, and superego within a given society. In other words, the cross-cultural psychologist is examining how psychological factors go beyond society. The cultural psychologist is interested in how the culture has shaped the psyche of its members. This is a profound difference with regard to the thesis of this paper. The cultural psychologist is basing their entire professional identity on the idea that culture can significantly influence the psyche of its members (Kitayama & Cohen, 2007).

The clashes between proponents of cultural psychology and those who support cross-cultural psychology have important ramifications for the interpretation of research findings (Nisbett, 2003). For example, it has been noted that, on the average, there is a difference between North Americans and East Asians with regard to cognition, perception, and attention (Nisbett, 2003). There also appear to be differences in the perception of self. Cross-cultural psychologists have asserted that these findings are due to methodological errors. Cultural psychologists insist that this may not be the case: it may be that a focus on the deeper level mental processes which occur in people from North American versus East Asian cultures will reveal that the differences in behaviours are due to underlying mental differences produced by the culture (Nisbett, 2003).

5. *Cross-Cultural Psychiatry*

Another discipline which relates culture to behaviour is cross-cultural psychiatry (Georgiopoulos & Rosenbaum, 2005). This field of study concentrates on how the cultural context can affect the display of mental disorders as well as the use of psychiatric services. The field developed with the realisation that the prevalence of many mental disorders differed from one culture to another. In fact, there are many who believe that psychiatry itself is a product of culture. Some of the original literature in this field grew out of observations made by anthropologists and psychiatrists who worked in asylums. Some of these observations were viewed from the ideological position of colonialism (Georgiopoulos & Rosenbaum, 2005).

It is interesting to contemplate that cross-cultural psychiatry evolved out of an interest to determine how cultural influences affected mental disorders. Despite this original intent, the field has provided information regarding general theories regarding the relationship between culture, mental processes and behaviour. In its attempt to develop psychiatric theories which could be applied to cultures throughout the world, cross-cultural psychiatry has begun dealing with globalisation (Georgiopoulos & Rosenbaum, 2005). This has stimulated new discoveries. For example, it has emerged that each city has its own culture. The way in which people adapt to the urban environment can have a significant effect on mental illnesses and behaviour. To illustrate this, one city might have a culture which increases the rate of anxiety, whilst another increases the likelihood that the residents will experience depression. This would ultimately result in the culture of the city producing different behaviours depending on whether the person was suffering from depression as opposed to anxiety.

One example of a finding which is peculiar to cross-cultural psychiatry is the idea of a culture-bound syndrome. This type of disorder is also known as a 'folk illness'. This is a combination of physical and psychological symptoms recognised by the culture as being an illness (American Psychiatric Association, 2000), although the illness is not generally familiar to people outside the culture.

One example of a culture-bound syndrome is the 'ghost sickness' which occurs in Native American tribes (American Psychiatric Association, 2000). This is a psychotic disorder which leaves the victims feeling as though they are suffocating. They will also display reduced ap-

petite and general weakness. The victim can additionally have feelings of terror and nightmares. According to Native American tradition, this is caused by an association with the dying or the dead. This cultural illness significantly affects individual behaviour as confusion, hallucinations, anxiety, sleep disturbances and frequent bouts of unconsciousness are exhibited. This is noteworthy since the illness and associated behaviours are not experienced in any other culture.

6. *Socio-linguistics*

Socio-linguistics is a field which studies how cultural expectations and norms affect the way in which language is used (Wardhaugh, 2010), but it should not be confused with the sociology of language. Socio-linguistics focus is on how society affects the way in which people use language. The sociology of language studies the effect that language has on society. In other words, they are studying the phenomena from opposite directions.

Socio-linguistics examined how language varieties can differ according to social variables (Wardhaugh, 2010). These variables can include education level, gender, age, status, the city and religion. There is interest in how these groups use language to categorise people into socio-economic or social groups, and it has been noted that the language of people can vary from area to area. It is particularly important to note that the language of individuals from different social classes will frequently vary according to the group to which they belong. The dialects which differ according to social group are often known as 'sociolects' (Coupland, 2008), and it should again be noted that language itself is a form of behaviour. Socio-linguistics assumes that the way in which people communicate, their verbal behaviour, is modified according to the culture to which they belong. It is also important to understand that the way in which people speak affects the social group that they are expected to emulate. In other words, an individual speaking in a certain manner is assumed to act in a certain way. In fact, This has, in fact, been found to be true. People who speak more formally tend to act in a more reserved fashion. In this way culture, speech, and behaviour interact with each other (Wardhaugh, 2010).

One important concept in socio-linguistics is the speech community (Coupland, 2008). This is a group of individuals who communicate

with each other in a commonly accepted way. They may have particular usages of language which are unique to their group. Anyone who has spent time with a closely-knit group of teenagers is likely to have experienced a speech community. There is a behavioural way of forming a cultural bond among the members of the group: the culture encourages the speech which in turn deepens the bond within the group (Wardhaugh, 2010).

Another important concept within socio-linguistics is prestige (Coupland, 2008). Certain types of speech are seen as reflecting in a positive or negative fashion on the speaker. This often occurs at a number of levels, including both the conscious and the unconscious. Most individuals speaking a given language will unconsciously choose a certain type of speech. For example, people who live in the Southern United States may use more contractions and speak less formally. This is generally an unconscious choice of behaviour even for those who are well educated and able to speak in different ways (Wardhaugh, 2010). However, there are circumstances in which individuals use specific forms of language which are more or less prestigious in order to blend with a cultural group. A physician from a rural community may have grown up with people speaking one particular dialect of English, but he is likely to have learned another dialect of English when conversing with other health professionals. The physician may choose to switch back to the original dialect when visiting relatives or friends in their hometown. This is a way of behaviour helping the physician blend in with a culture. It is also an example of how the culture can change an individual's behaviour. In order to be accepted in the medical community the physician found it necessary to alter their verbal behaviour (Wardhaugh, 2010).

7. Psychological Anthropology

Psychological anthropology is considered to be a sub-field of anthropology (LeVine, 2010). This discipline studies the interaction between mental processes and culture. It focuses on the way humans develop cognitively and emotionally through interactions with a specific cultural group. It is recognised that each cultural group has its own conceptual categories, practices, language, and history. All of these factors can affect the way in which an individual develops with regard to their mental health, motivation, perception, emotion and cognition.

All of these developmental factors affect the way in which an individual behaves (Dubois & D'andrade, 2010), and so it is a basic premise of psychological anthropology that a cultural group will shape the way in which an individual behaves. The way in which motivation, emotion, and cognition can shape social and cultural processes through the behaviour of individuals in society is also interesting.

There are a number of distinct approaches to psychological anthropology (Dubois & D'andrade, 2010). For example, psychoanalytical anthropology is based upon the original ideas of Freud (as well as other psychoanalysts). It attempts to apply basic psychoanalytical principles to cultural symbols and the way in which they shape an adult personality - and ultimately change behaviour (LeVine, 2010). The symbols can include the cultural rituals, dreams and myths which are part of society. Many of the psychological anthropologists will use projective tests, which are based on psychoanalytic theories. These can include the Rorschach ink-blot test as well as the Thematic Apperception Test. A number of studies in psychological anthropology which have a psychoanalytic focus use case studies with individual interviews in order to establish ethnographic information (Dubois & D'andrade, 2010).

Another type of psychological anthropology which is distinct is known as cognitive anthropology (Dubois & D'andrade, 2010). This subdivision focuses on the cognitions of individuals and how they are affected by the culture in which they live. These thoughts are usually determined by the behaviours observed in individuals. Therefore, a basic premise of cognitive anthropology is that culture can shape an individual's thoughts which will eventually result in behaviour. One of the essential premises of cognitive anthropology is that people use schemas in order to understand the world. These schemas consist of knowledge, which is culturally shared. It is thought that they may represent certain neural connections within the brain (LeVine, 2010). This leads to the hypothesis that culture is not only shaping the behaviour of these individuals but also the neural connections within their brains. A number of theorists have pointed out that this may explain the properties of a number of cultural models and their resistance to change. In other words, people understand the world in a certain way due to the neural connections which have been formed in their brain. It is often difficult for them to begin thinking about the world in a different way (LeVine, 2010).

8. *Cultural Relativism*

If one accepts the postulate that culture can affect the behaviour of individuals, a natural question which follows is the extent to which culture can improve the human condition (Cahoone, 2005). This brings into focus a number of complex and philosophical ideas. Cultural relativism has developed out of a wish to understand some of these questions. It points out that an individual's beliefs and activities are best understood with regard to their particular culture. Anthropologists such as Franz Boaz voiced this belief in the 19th century (Franz, 1887). It was his contention that civilization and culture were not absolutes. They were relative according to the particular circumstances.

'There are a number of methodological and epistemological claims involved with cultural relativism. The origins of the epistemological claims of cultural relativism developed during the German Enlightenment (Cahoone, 2005). Specifically, Immanuel Kant postulated that human beings were not capable of having direct knowledge of the world. The experiences of individuals must be mediated through their own mind which structures perceptions according to space and time. A student of Kant, Johann Gottfried Herder claimed that human creativity was behind the variety which exists when one examines national cultures. He believed that human experience was mediated by the mind which assumed structures based on culture (Ferrante, 2008).

Cultural relativism became popular after World War I and prior to World War II (Ferrante, 2008), when it was one of the primary tools used by American anthropologists. This was an attempt to transform the epistemology of Boaz into a method which could be used for research. An obvious example is the study of language (Cahoone, 2005). Language is usually conceptualised as a method of communication. However, Boaz explained that this is also a method of understanding the world by categorising experiences. He believed that individuals who speak different languages often understand the world in a different way.

It was soon realised by those studying an American form of anthropology that doing scientific research of other cultures involved employing methods which would lead the researchers away from ethnocentric assumptions. One of the methods developed was ethnography

(Ferrante, 2008). This research involved living with the subjects from another culture for significant periods of time. This would allow the anthropologists to become acculturated into the society and better understand the group.

The cultural relativism which developed out of this approach to anthropology stressed the importance of understanding the context of behaviour within the culture. An individual engaging in activity in one culture may be displaying a completely different meaning than someone exhibiting a similar behaviour in a different culture (Cahoone, 2005). There can be extreme differences. For example, certain behaviours may be illegal in one culture while they are encouraged in another.

9. Cultural Relativism and Human Rights

The idea of cultural relativism was eventually used as a heuristic tool for understanding moral relativism by the Commission of Human Rights, which is part of the United Nations (Smagadi, 2008). It was particularly helpful in developing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The original draft of this document was prepared by Melville Herskovits and revised by the American Anthropological Association Executive Board. The initial statement of this document is basically an explanation of cultural relativism. It explains that the problem with developing a declaration of human rights which is universal is that the document must have respect for the individual while simultaneously accounting for the social group to which the person belongs. In other words, the rights of the individual must be considered with regard to the culture in which they are living (Smagadi, 2008).

One of the goals of this paper is to determine if the behaviour of individuals can be improved through culture. This question was at the very heart of the debate over the adoption of the United Nations universal declaration of rights. The original draft ended with claims, which resulted in a number of debates (Smagadi, 2008). The first claim was that when there was a political system which denied citizens participation in the government, or sought to mistreat them, the people could rely on underlying cultural values rather than those of the government. The second statement involved assuming that there are worldwide standards of justice and freedom. It went on to explain

that people can only be free when they are living as their society has defined freedom (Smagadi, 2008).

If these claims by the United Nations document regarding human rights are profound with regard to the possibility that culture can lead to an improved human condition. The first statement that people must not rely on the cultural values of the government when it is mistreating them indicates that there is an underlying set of cultural values. Presumably, these underlying values are presented in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Smagadi, 2008). The second statement postulates that there are basic standards of freedom and justice, which are accepted throughout the world.

Conclusion

This paper has explored the influences of culture on behaviour from a multitude of different disciplinary perspectives. All of these disciplines have supported the idea that culture can significantly influence behaviour. According to the biological anthropologist culture and behaviour are inextricably intertwined (McGrew, 1998). Behaviours are passed along among individuals of a society to form the culture. The culture then influences individuals in the society. Cultural anthropology also strongly supports the idea that culture influences behaviour. According to cultural anthropologists, a culture will often help people develop behaviours, which oppose their genetics so that the environment can be overcome. Cultural anthropology (Dubois & D'andrade, 2010) applies to many modern societies and groups.

Cultural psychology (Heine, 2008) is based on the idea, that culture and the mind cannot be separated. The mind is formed by culture and vice versa. Cultural psychology examines the way in which cultures influence the formation of an individual's psyche. In other words, a culture influences the way in which an individual thinks and understands the world. This belief is confirmed by cross-cultural psychiatry (Georgipoulos & Rosenbaum, 2005) which examines the way in which mental illnesses are displayed in different cultures. Certain societies have cultures, which make it more likely that individuals will suffer from particular mental disorders.

The idea that culture influences behaviour is supported by psychological anthropology and socio-linguistics (Wardhaugh, 2010). According

to socio-linguistics, cultural norms can affect the way language is used in a particular group of people. Speech can be considered as a behaviour in this context and is used by individuals to help them bond with other people in a given culture. According to psychological anthropology (LeVine, 2010), there is an interaction between the culture and mental processes. These culturally modified mental processes then lead to certain behaviours.

A final consideration is whether there is a universal set of human rights, which can be encouraged by various cultures. If this is the case, as is postulated by the developers of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Smagadi, 2008), then culture can indeed improve the quality of life for people throughout the world. In this sense, culture can be seen as a way to save the world from a number of problems.

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MARSEILLE: CITY AND EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE IN/AND CRISIS

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Introduction

"The themes of culture and European capitals of culture in/and crisis" reflect certain realities concerning Marseille, the French city that, along with a number of neighbouring towns, was selected as Marseille-Provence, European Capital of Culture for 2013.

This paper opens with a description of the background to the crisis in Marseille since this determines the general context and social conditions for the elaboration of the "Marseille-Provence 2013" cultural project. Following this the governance of the ECOC by the implementing body is examined. Marseille's application is built upon the idea of crisis taken as an asset or at least as a means of revival which could give culture a decisive role in the region's economic development. Marseille-Provence 2013 maps out a new territory for cultural action by restructuring relationships between various actors and local authorities which should lead to increased coherence or integration, although it also involves a certain amount of dissent.

Finally, the paper focuses on the different kinds of crisis - the structural economic crisis in itself and the conflicting interests and positions of the different actors involved in the implementation of the ECoC.

1. Marseille in crisis

"Marseille a city in permanent crisis" is a phrase which has several dimensions: economic, demographic, social and urban. The present paper examines some of the most significant features or recurring statements from the late 1970s onwards. These characteristics build

up a kind of "common knowledge" about Marseille as a port city in crisis, and to a certain extent, nourish the initiatives for its renewal.

Economically, the crisis theme revolves mainly around the collapse of industry and focuses on port activity. The crisis can be dated to the post-war period and worsened after decolonisation in the sixties; it gave rise to the implementation of new initiatives for economic development that demonstrate a way of addressing the crisis in terms of mutation. The economy is then seen through the prism of a zoning process across an urban area. For the first time ever, the question of the place of Marseille in an urban area extending beyond the limits of the city is being treated on an institutional and political level.

The correspondence between economic functions and geographical areas is clearly illustrated by two major projects directly reflecting this idea i.e. the construction of the industrial port area of Fos-sur-Mer and the planning of the "Marseille Metropole" head office designed between 1964 and the late 70's. These projects organised the new economic, social and urban structure of what is now called a metropolitan area. Marseille was thus promoted as the headquarters of the industrial site specialising in the steel industry, and this mutation played a part in the building up of a new urban order.

This operation, aimed at building Marseille as a regional capital, impacted on two other characteristics of the city: the spatial distribution of its inhabitants and the place occupied by the immigrant population.

By the late 60's, an analysis of the city's urban pattern clearly showed the separation of position or place held by the social space along a north/south axis. To the north, the harbour area and the popular districts of old Marseille, with additional housing projects known as "the northern districts". To the south, luxury shops and banks and the presence of upper-middle-class districts whose vocation and social composition were strengthened in the following decades by a number of adjustments. It is mainly on the north side of the old town that the project of a new urban centre necessary for the expansion of the service sector - supposedly attractive for the middle classes - will be launched.

The history of migratory movements shows that many foreigners have found near the old harbour a place of accommodation and transit that gave the historical centre of Marseille an important role in the process of their acculturation.

For local officials, this area has long been a problem, in that they associate urban dereliction with the presence of an immigrant population. With these economic and urban restructuring projects, local officials have therefore found an opportunity to intervene in the social and ethnic composition of the city centre. The public discourse on the immigrant element in Marseille, especially North Africans, then became prominent in the rhetoric concerning the "reconquest of the centre." Arguments in favour of the transformation of an economic pattern based on small grocery shops and local artisans are based on the obvious lack of public hygiene in this area. This apparently legitimate discourse on urban rehabilitation is associated with a more controversial one on immigration and its visibility. In the context of the '70s, even if immigration did appear at the time as a critical element likely to hamper the project of a new central area, it was also taken up as a major argument to revive the "fiction of a coherent space pattern, the myth of a possible central area or the legitimacy of public initiative"¹. The "re-conquest-of-the-centre" theme was reformulated in the course of the following decades as the quest of an urban pattern specific to Marseille. The cosmopolitan identity of the city then began to be looked upon as an idiosyncratic feature, as a constitutive element of Marseille's urban pattern, as a significant contribution to the construction of the city's identity.

This restructuring scheme has not been implemented, mainly due to the global economic crisis of 1973, which had a major effect on the city. The mutation failed, which led Marseille to an economic, social and demographic decline: the city lost 100,000 residents between 1975 and 1995. The semantics of the crisis in Marseille has been built upon this failure. It also conjures up images of imbalance, paralysis, impotence, lack of discipline, local and regional feuds representing a counterpoint to the economic crisis. These major structuring projects of the metropolitan area have remained "horizons for the future" and constitute a mobilising factor regularly evoked when speaking about changing the course of the city's history. Sometimes this is done with a sense of urgency, because of the threat of social disintegration. Eventually, since the late '70s, the recurrence of the crisis as an assessment or an explanatory principle, makes this crisis a permanent state which seems to characterise the city best.

¹ Peraldi (1987) : 138-139

2. *Marseille-Provence 2013 as a crisis control device (Building up a cultural project using crisis material)*

Marseille's recent adoption of the reference grid relating to the institutional and political environment of the ECoC has helped to bring the "crisis" to the fore. The re-emergence of the discourse about the crisis reveals the changing context in which it is developed. In this sense, we consider the ECoC as a new situation of enunciation of the crisis, a prism through which Marseille has been analysed and presented for decades by various actors who, in the present circumstances, find themselves on common ground, beyond their differences over the origin and constitutional elements of the crisis. In 1994 experts issued a report²; their conclusion was that the city's spatial planning was 30 years out of date compared to its French counterparts, due to the presence of three separate entities: Marseille /Etang de Berre/Aix en Provence and their incapacity to talk to each other which characterises relations between these local authorities.

In this perspective, although one could define as a "tour de force"³ the territorial scale chosen by those involved in the ECoC application of Marseille-Provence 2013, and insofar as it comprises no less than one hundred town councils, it also points out the limits of a course of action which consists of "betting on culture to cement the construction of a metropolis." We can also analyse the effects of the reorganisation of territories characterised by their diversity as a potential asset, in spite of the divisions and antagonisms existing between institutions and their respective policies. Against the old oppositions, it is diversity considered as an asset that is promoted in the Marseille-Provence 2013 bid. Indeed, it includes 130 towns, 5 urban communities (Marseille, Aix, Arles, Salon, Istres and Gardanne), 2 regional parks (Luberon - Camargue). In this sense the application of the project achieves a significant result and delimits a place for culture (the territory for which the project is designed).

However, this site is itself encompassed in a wider area of diversity, which is that of the Mediterranean. This is mentioned in the broad guidelines of the application document. The prologue, named "Marseille, Europe and the Mediterranean"⁴, gives the Marseille-Provence

² Club d'échanges et de réflexions sur l'AMM (1994).

³ Grésillon (2011) : 36

⁴ Latarjet (2008) : 17-19

area a dimension extending beyond its local boundaries. If the Mediterranean is characterised as the birthplace of both Europe and Marseille, it is also asserted to be the future asset of local development: a "Mediterranean future for Marseille and Provence."

With this Mediterranean perspective, Marseille-Provence, Marseille-Provence is presented as a territory which contributed to the avoidance of conflict and a "26-century-old crossroads of civilisation". As quoted in the application document, today the Mediterranean is the focal point of "all the disorders of the planet", and for this critical area, Marseille-Provence can play a part and also find ways out of its own crisis. This role is defined by cultural action, which is necessary both to re-launch the Barcelona process (initiated by the EU perspective of a European policy in the Mediterranean) and as a specific experience for Marseille-Provence that could hereby find an opportunity to revive its economy.

3. MP2013 CEC, as a crisis operator device

The crisis theme has been identified in the application of Marseille-Provence 2013 as a contribution to the treatment of the relational crisis existing between the northern and southern shores of the Mediterranean, and as a means for Marseille to escape from its slump through culture. However, another type of crisis may finally be seen now concerning the governance of the project. It casts a shadow on the cohesion of a territory as promoted by the application document and which, for some time, seemed to have been achieved.

The atmosphere of crisis around Marseille-Provence 2013 arises from the rivalries between territories and local authorities but also from the distrust that the EcoC implementing body has given rise to in the local cultural environment. The national press regularly reports these problems and disagreements which are treated as emblematic illustrations of Marseille's idiosyncrasies... This is reinforced by a series of special cases and disorders which exacerbate the poor image Marseille suffers from, even though the organization of the European Capital of Culture project was supposed to be a way of fixing such disorders⁵.

⁵ Douay (2009)

The idea of making local authorities work together and thereby overcome traditional divisions, which has been promoted through the ECoC, has suffered a serious setback with the withdrawal of Toulon, one of the main cities of the area. This has implications for the CEC budget which has been cut. Similarly, Aix-en-Provence, another major city of the territory, has delayed its signature as a member of Marseille-Provence 2013 by bartering its financial contribution for compensations such as the location of the head office of a research and higher education centre in Aix instead of Marseille⁶.

In another field, the public debt crisis has had an impact on government subsidies to local authorities, which has reduced the funding of cultural organisations. In Marseille, the cuts in subsidies have caused misunderstanding insofar as culture is supposed to occupy a privileged place in the preparations of the EcoC project. The cultural sector put the blame on the management of the 2013 project for their reduced subsidies⁷. This leads to a feeling of mistrust towards the "MP 2013" implementing body; seen from the outside, this reveals the local discomfort of the cultural sector⁸. This discomfort is not only that of cultural organisations but also of council services⁹ who denounce a multi-dimensional crisis affecting the financial and administrative governance of public cultural institutions.

Conclusion

These are the first elements of a study which is being presented currently. They are part of a broader research project initiated by the Centre Norbert Elias which has made Marseille-Provence2013 an observatory of cultural and political dynamics. We consider the nomination and designation of Marseille-Provence 2013 as ECOC as an event that opens a new dynamic leading to a whole set of social, political, urban and cultural reconfigurations. From a pragmatic approach, this constitutes what we call a public experience.

⁶ "Marseille Provence 2013 : Aix gagne son bras de fer". Marsactu, 26 janvier 2011. <http://www.marsactu.fr/2011/01/26/marseille-provence-2013-aix-en-provence-gagne-son-bras-de-fer>

⁷ "Marseille 2013 : des intellectuels s'enchaînent devant la Bastille à Paris". Le Parisien, 9 mars 2011.

⁸ "Marseille 2013, révélateur du malaise culturel local". Le Monde, 18 mars 2011.

⁹ « La Culture dans la rue à deux ans de Marseille 2013 ». Libération, 27 mai 2011.

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THE CHALLENGES OF A MULTICULTURAL UNIVERSITY ENVIRONMENT IN THE ERA OF CRISIS

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Introduction

Europe in the 21st century is not what it used to be even a few decades ago. Borders have ceased to exist and people are migrating across the continent to settle, work or study in whichever country they choose. In this very different world the European student environment has also undergone fundamental change. An increasing number of students go abroad to study through various bilateral agreements or through European Union mobility programmes such as the Erasmus Project (European Commission 2012). Apart from mobility programmes, globalization and world-wide migration are also reasons why the scope of higher education has been totally transformed over the last few decades, so enabling diverse cultures to meet. Much professional literature has highlighted (McCabe 2006, Flakerud 2007, Callen and Lee 2009) that mere international knowledge is not enough, but encounters with diverse cultures are needed to provide a learning environment for the development of multicultural competences. The experience which students gain during their stay abroad changes their lives forever and also has an impact on their environment.

In the current financial crisis universities are pressured to seek ways of recruiting and/or increasing the number of international students, and the growing number enrolled on tuition-fee based international programmes is a good response to the demographic decline and to decreasing governmental financial contributions in countering ever-increasing institutional costs. The creation of a multicultural environment by enrolling a growing number of international students is also an excellent way to teach students to accept and respect other nations' culture and behaviour.

The main objectives of this article are:

- to examine whether crisis can stimulate intercultural dialogue and the multicultural environment at universities by this growth in the number of international students, and
- to examine the attitude of international students towards domestic students and, through their relationships, towards the domestic culture, comparing these data with the attitude of our own (Hungarian) students towards international students and their various cultures.

These issues will be clarified by the use of empirical observations derived from three surveys carried out in 2010-2011 among both international and Hungarian students at the University of Pécs (UP). The methodology applied was based on on-line questionnaires.

1. The surveys:

The first of the three surveys was carried out among the international students at UP in 2010, with approximately 75 completed questionnaires serving as the basis for the analysis. This research was carried out to explore the motivations and decision-making process of international students when choosing their place of study.

The second survey was carried out in 2011. The primary goal of this was to explore the attitude of foreign students to their Hungarian counterparts and to Hungarian culture. International students completed 150 on-line questionnaires to provide the basis for this particular analysis.

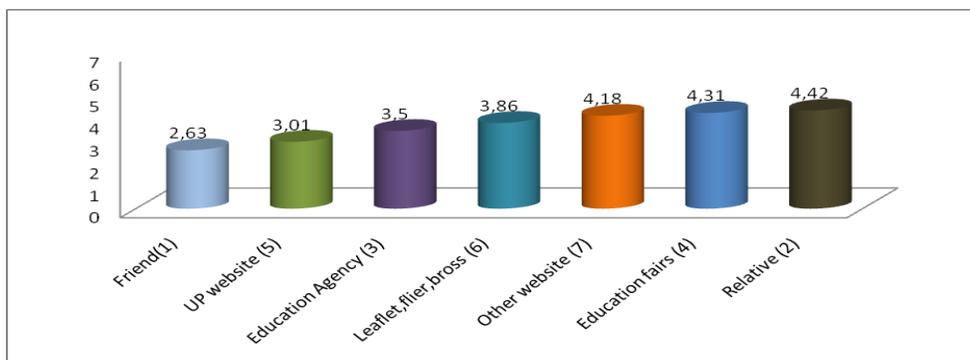
The third survey was also conducted in 2011, and among the Hungarian students of the University. The aim of this was to examine the attitude of Hungarian students to foreign students and their various cultures. Our analysis on this occasion was based on 105 completed questionnaires.

2. Motivations and influences in choice of foreign university

The data from the 2010 survey clearly shows that the main sources of information about UP were friends who either were or had been international students at the University.

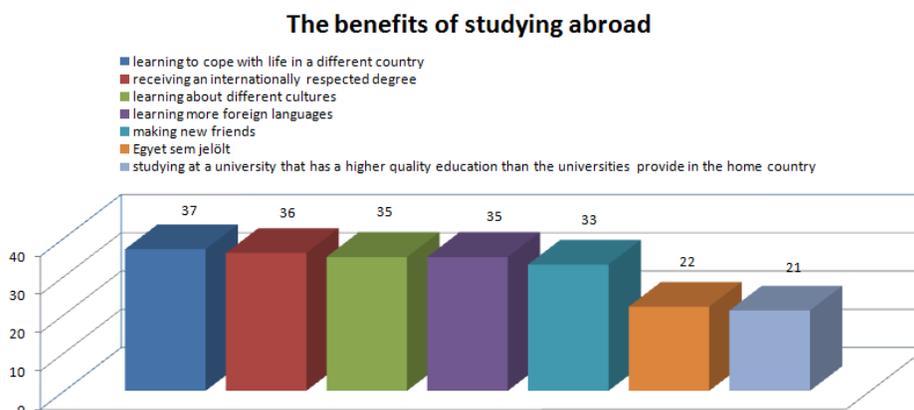
Ranking in importance:

Diagram 1 - Main sources of information about the University of Pécs



The data collected concerning the benefits of studying abroad show that the most important benefit for an international student would be learning to cope with life in a different country. The second most important would be the award of an internationally recognised degree, whilst it is also regarded as crucial to learn about different cultures whilst studying abroad.

Diagram 2 - The benefits of studying abroad



3. The attitude of foreign students to Hungarians and Hungarian culture

From the data collected we can see that 97% of the international students considered the University to have a mixture of different cul-

tures. 85% of the foreign students felt that the different cultures were respected, although 15% had experienced the opposite. 32% felt that they had been treated differently due to their cultures whilst the remaining 68% had not experienced this.

The data extracted also shows that 49% of the students found it 'quite important' to learn about different cultures, whilst 45% thought it 'very important' but 6% felt it of no importance. The research results reflect that 77% of students were aware of activities or events taking place at the University aimed at introducing different cultures, whilst 23% of the international students did not know of them.

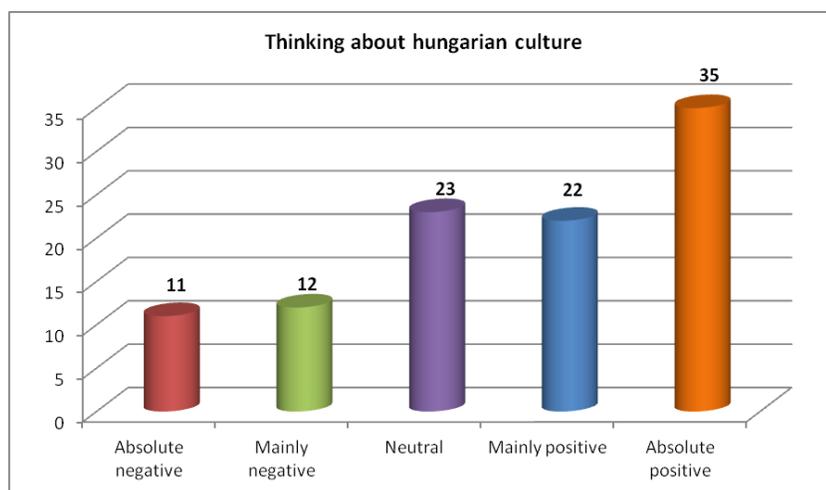
From the data collected, we can also see that 88% of the international students thought that the lecturers respected them, whilst 12% felt the opposite. The data concerning respect from other students shows that 80% of the foreign students felt that other students did respect them, whereas 20% felt that they did not. From this it appears that students received less respect from other students than from the lecturers.

Some 50% of international students would have liked to have had more opportunities to introduce their cultures. Within this 50% of the foreign student population, female students are more positive in this respect. In response to the open questions, many respondents suggested that we should organize more common activities for the international and Hungarian students, and that even compulsory activities would be very useful.

The data collected shows that 48% of the international students had not learnt a great deal about the culture of Hungary, whilst the remaining 52% was split evenly (each 26%) for those who had learned little and those who had learned a great a since enrolling.

The international students were asked to list 5 words to describe Hungarian culture. From the responses we created groups of words. The categories created were listed as: absolute positive, mainly positive, neutral, mainly negative and absolute negative.

Diagram 3 - 5 words to describe Hungarian culture



From the data we can conclude that 55% of the international students had an absolutely or mainly positive view of Hungarian culture, 22% neutral and the remaining 23% of foreign students had a negative or absolutely negative view. The most commonly used words for Hungarian culture were 'friendly', 'proud' (of country, culture or nationality), 'wine', 'traditional' and 'open'.

The results of the research indicate that 35% of the foreign students made friends only with their own nationals and 51% of them with both their own and other (non-Hungarian) nationals. Only 14 % of the international students spent their free time with Hungarians. The data extracted clearly shows that most international students rarely or never met Hungarian students. Only 27% of the international students had several times - or daily - with Hungarian students.

When inquiring about the reason for spending their leisure time rarely or never with Hungarian students we collected the following responses:

'I simply spend my time with others/ I don't know any Hungarians!

'Language barriers – Hungarians don't speak English'

'Hungarians don't want to make friends; they are very reserved'

'Different schedules; no opportunities'

'We have been socialised differently; we have no common topics'

'Because we don't have so much connection; in this university nations are like groups. All stick together and they don't like to spend their time with other nationalities so much'

'It is very hard to get to know them. They tend to keep to themselves.'

Analysing the various responses in more depth revealed several interesting points:

Those international students who felt that lecturers or students did not respect their cultures had more negative opinions of Hungarian culture;

Those foreign students who felt that other students did not respect their cultures had no Hungarian friends whatsoever;

Those international students who had met Hungarians more often felt that they had gained more information about Hungarian culture

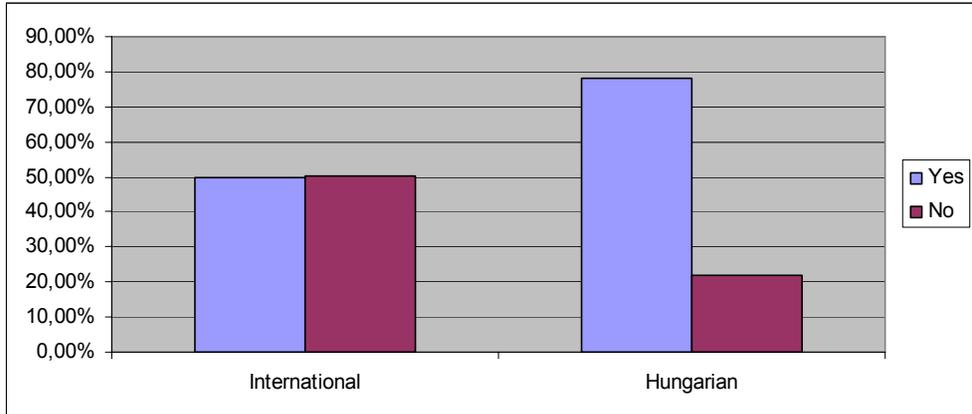
All of those who met Hungarians every day (or several times a week felt that Hungarians respect other cultures;

The less time foreign students spent with Hungarians, the more negative was their attitude towards.

4. The attitude of Hungarian students to foreign students and their culture

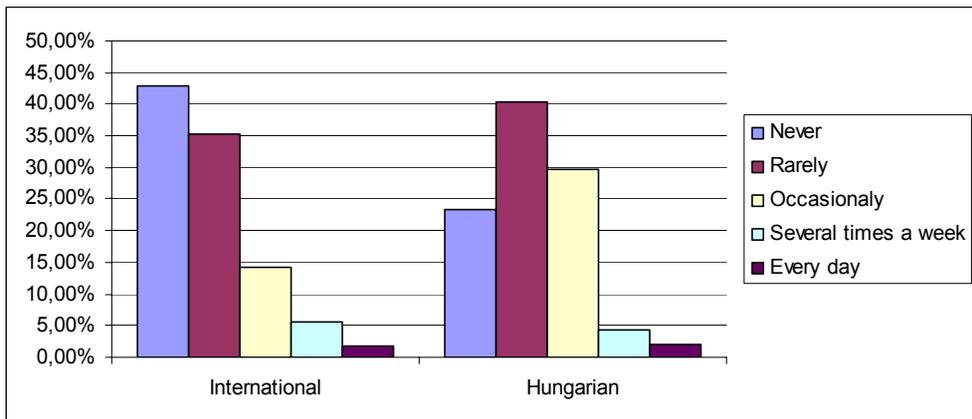
The collected data showed that similar results were found in Surveys II and III. The data showed that 32% of the Hungarian students felt that students were treated differently due to their culture or origin. The data confirms that some 90% of Hungarian students feel that lecturers respect other nations and only 10% that they do not. We can also see that 20% of Hungarian students are of the opinion that students do not respect other nationalities, whilst 80% believe that they do. However, analysing the attitude to other cultures shows that Hungarian students are more open to learn about the culture of foreign students.

Diagram 4 - *Would you like more opportunities to introduce your culture?*



Comparing the data collected about the time spent with Hungarian/ international students we can conclude that Hungarian students spend a bit more time with international students

Diagram 5 - *How often do you spend your free- with Hungarian or international students?*



The questions relating to not spending free time with international students produced the following responses from Hungarian students:

'Lack of opportunities to meet them'

'I don't know them'

'There are no common activities or events'

Conclusions

The research results clearly showed that an important element in motivation concerning studying abroad is learning about other cultures. However, analysing the data from the surveys shows that we need to ask whether (or how much) do international students at UP learn about the culture of Hungary. We also need to analyse if they are (and to what extent) they are open to learning about other cultures. Further research needs to be undertaken to examine whether the assistance and opportunities we provide for them are appropriate and sufficient.

Another important question which we need to raise is that, although the data suggested that international students most frequently described Hungarian culture with the word 'friendly', research results seemed to contradict this. If Hungarians are friendly, why do foreign students make friends with them?

As our results showed, the most important sources of information about a university are friends – earlier and current international students at the University. We need to ensure that our international students are MOST satisfied with the university and with their stay – if, that is, we wish them to recommend us – that is, to help in our recruitment activities.

Financial crises can indeed stimulate us to search for more international students, BUT that is not sufficient for a successful intercultural dialogue and multicultural environment.

If we want to increase the number of international students we must:

1. respect their culture and treat them equally – make sure that all lecturers and domestic students have a positive approach towards them
2. arrange mixed classes and organise common cultural events
3. provide more opportunities for international students to introduce their cultures

4. stimulate our domestic students to assist in their integration
5. find all ways to provide them with opportunities to learn more about Hungarian culture

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POSSIBILITIES OF THE ECOC PROGRAMME TO STRENGTHEN EUROPEAN IDENTITY – ISTANBUL’S ‘CIVIL SOCIETY DIALOGUE’ AS PARADIGM

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1. Background

After having formulated expectations from Istanbul’s nomination as European Capital of Culture (ECoC) at the Vilnius Conference in 2009,¹ and having conducted an assessment of the on-going implementation at the Pécs Conference in 2010,² this time, at the Antwerp Conference, the official ECoC programme as such is to be reflected in its principles.

It will be analysed, if and how the programme contributes to the strengthening and the further definition of European identity and the part Istanbul plays in European identity.

The Commission’s European Union policy has two main strategies. It aims at the "deepening and widening" of its internal and external relationships.³ In this regard Istanbul 2010 can be seen as a paradigm for both, since:

1. Turkey as a candidate country should be interested to prove its proximity to the EU, in order to become a member state.
2. Turkey as a future member state should be interested to enrich the EU’s culture by bringing into the EU facets of its own national culture.

Turkey is very proud of its history and its current developments, and so it promoted Istanbul as its (first) ECoC, since both Turks and Non-Turks see modern Istanbul as Turkey’s most populous, multicultural, western, and most modern EU oriented city. The making of Istanbul as an ECoC is to show the EU-27 that Turkey is ready to become a

¹ Simet (2011a)

² Simet (2011b)

³ Faber (2006)

member state. It is even now part of the EU in many cultural perspectives.

European identity is not a common, sustainable and concise concept, in spite of the EU's policies of 'widening and deepening' cultural relationships. Focusing on the "EU-Turkey Civil Society Dialogue" programme – as a sub-programme of Istanbul's ECoC programme, it will be demonstrated that 'widening' and 'deepening', the two aims of the EU's policy cannot be separated. It is not possible to simply add cultural facets of a candidate country without integrating these elements into the existing concept of the EU, as defined by its 27 member states. Nevertheless, a common, sustainable and concise concept of the EU has yet been worked out. The "EU-Turkey dialogue" could help to raise awareness of the importance and necessity of cultural exchange between the member states of the EU and that these cultural exchanges should develop and strengthen a unique identity which is a European creation.

2. (My) Expectations of the ECoC (Action) Programme

At the Vilnius Conference in 2009 I formulated my expectations of "Istanbul 2010" from the then actual perspective of the "European Year of Creativity and Innovation 2009" and concluded:

The task of "innovation and creativity" for Istanbul as a micro-cosmos of a globalised world would be to become aware of the different cultures within, to accept and integrate them in order to enrich life and build something new - for the benefit of all.

This expectation is built on, and accords with, the overall objective of the "European Capitals of Culture Initiative", as it was established:

- to highlight the richness and diversity of European cultures;
- to celebrate the cultural ties that link Europeans together;
- to bring people from different European countries into contact with each other's culture, and promote mutual understanding; as well as
- to foster a feeling of European citizenship.⁴

⁴ European Commission (17 January 2011).

Nevertheless, Istanbul 2010 failed - even before it started - because its focus was developed on culture from an almost purely touristic point of view: The "basic mission" adopted by the Istanbul 2010 ECoC Agency was:

- "to protect the great cultural heritage of Istanbul";
- to "share this wealth with the entire world, primarily with Europe"; and
- to "work on cultural heritage" "in conjunction with the culture-art and tourism-promotion activities".⁵

In this regard it is not surprising that the Istanbul 2010 projects concentrated on:

- the marketing and renovation of Istanbul's most important historic buildings (Hagia Sophia, Blue Mosque, Topkapi Palace, etc.);
- the renovation of already popular districts and places; and
- the promotion of popular events rather than the introduction of Turkish-(European) contemporary art.

This criticism was highlighted in detail at the Pècs Conference. Now, at the conference in Antwerp, I concentrate on the "Introduction" and some of the "Projects" of the official "Istanbul 2010 programme". I intend to show how the original approach of the programme, its development "under a completely civil participative structure",⁶ was re-shaped into a mere glorification of Istanbul's importance in history and future.

3. Main target of Istanbul 2010

Instead of taking the opportunity to initiate a dialogue between the EU-27 and Turkey, and to strengthen the European identity by the ECoC programme, the "emphasis on capital city status [...] appears to signal a longing to overcome a lost status of capital city", as Carola Hein correctly said.⁷ Through the whole "Istanbul 2010 programme" Istanbul is introduced and addressed first of all as a world capital.

⁵ Kurt (2009)

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Hein (2010), p. 262.

Even the "Introduction" section which comprises three key addresses sends this message:

3.1. *"Istanbul: The most inspiring City in the World"*

In the first key address Şekib Avdagiç, the Chairman of the Executive Board of the Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Agency (ECoCA), introduces Istanbul as "the most inspiring city" - not of Europe, but of the world:

"we asked ourselves this question: What does this city have to offer to its residents, to its visitors and even to those who have a desperate longing for it in distant places? What do the Istanbulites feel about Istanbul? How should they feel? The word we kept coming up with was "inspiration". And after that, we finally formulized the slogan to promote Istanbul to the world through 2010:

"Istanbul: The most inspiring city of the world".

Through history, Istanbul has always been the most inspiring city in the world."⁸

Avdagiç makes his conviction very clear and argues from mainly an historic perspective. This argumentation strategy is also used by the other two key speakers.

3.2. *Istanbul: The "eternal Capital"*

Yılmaz Kurt, the second key speaker and Secretary General of the ECoCA, declares:

"The Ottoman Empire kept Istanbul as its capital for a long time [...]. Together with the proclamation of the republic, Istanbul had to hand this title over to the newly developing Ankara. Despite this change, the city continued to function as an eternal capital and always attracted intense attention.

Istanbul is going to take the title of European Capital of Culture for 2010. With this wonderful occasion, the city once more will become a current issue on the global agenda."⁹

⁸ Avdagiç (2009), p. 5.

According to Kurt, Istanbul is not only a world capital, but also an "eternal capital". Kurt's as well as Avdagiç's views result from considering Istanbul from a historic perspective. Both speakers see the importance of Istanbul as the former world capital of the Ottoman Empire. They wish to (re-)establish the dominance of Istanbul by proclaiming Istanbul as a world capital in contemporary times as it was during the Ottoman Empire period. Once more it is to be noted that Istanbul is not seen in its importance as a former European capital, e.g. as the former capital of the Eastern Roman Empire: No mention is made of the importance of Istanbul as a future EU capital. The ECoC title is (mis-)used to celebrate Istanbul as a world capital.

3.3. *Istanbul: City of Peace "through cultural sharing"*

The third and last key speaker, Korhan Gümüş, the Urban Implementations Director of the ECoCA raises the - of course, purely rhetorical - question: "Which city other than Istanbul could better show that peace can be maintained through cultural sharing and openness?"¹⁰ Answering this question Gümüş stresses the importance of Istanbul for historical reasons by highlighting - once again - its significance during and since the Ottoman Empire.

Furthermore, he declares that Istanbul serves as a paradigm for a multicultural metropolis living in peace:

"As a capital of empires, Istanbul is one of the unique cities of the world in terms of cultural wealth. [...] In today's atmosphere of tension [...] one should remember and highlight the knowledge and tradition of uniting different cultures under the same roof, inherited from the Ottoman era. [...] the city will set a model for Europe and for the entire world, through its new intercultural communication that benefits from [...] the revival of mutual enrichment and co-existence practices. [...] Istanbul's selection as the European Capital of Culture is a unique opportunity [...] for gaining experience and know-how in constructing the foundation of cultural peace."¹¹

Gümüş' view of Istanbul is very simplistic and far from reality. Without going into great detail, it is to be remembered that the majority

⁹ Kurt (2009).

¹⁰ Gümüş (2009), p. 8.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 9.

of all the people of non-Turkish descent fled Istanbul when the Turkish republic was built. Nobel literature laureate Orhan Pamuk, born in 1952, writes in his book about "Istanbul, Memories of a City":

"When the Empire fell, the new republic, whilst certain of its purpose, was unsure of its identity; the only way forward, its founders thought, was to foster a new concept of Turkishness, and this meant a certain 'cordon sanitaire' from the rest of the world. It was an end of the grand polyglot, multicultural Istanbul of the imperial age; the city stagnated, emptied itself, and became a monotonous, monolingual town in black and white.

The cosmopolitan Istanbul I knew as a child [in the early 60s] had disappeared by the time I reached adulthood."¹²

Three years after Turkey celebrated the 500th anniversary of the "Conquest of Constantinople" by the Ottomans a wave of violence against the non-Turkish minorities hit the city on 6-7 September 1955. Pamuk concludes in relation to this disaster:

"It later emerged that the organisers of this riot - whose terror raged for two days and made the city more hellish than the worst orientalist nightmares - had the state's support and had pillaged the city with its blessing.

So for that entire night, every non-Muslim who dared walk the streets of the city risked being lynched [...]"¹³

In consequence, most of the non-Muslim population fled the city.

In Istanbul there is still a large reservoir of nationalists who hate non-Muslims as the killing of the Armenian journalist Hrant Dink on 19 January 2007 shows. Fanatical nationalists can be recruited and are poised for killing at any time. (At least sometimes) these activities are backed by the state authorities.¹⁴

3.4. *Intermediate Conclusion*

The analysis of the programme's "Introduction", i.e. the three key addresses, demonstrates that Istanbul is not focussed as an ECoC,

¹² Pamuk (2005), p. 215.

¹³ Ibid., p. 158.

¹⁴ Simet (2010)

but as a world capital. The European as well as the cultural perspectives are marginalised. Making Istanbul part of ECoC 2010 serves as a good reason for re-glorification by emphasising the previous status of Istanbul as capital of the great Ottoman Empire.

The ECoCA, as the primary bearer of responsibility for the programme, highlights living in the past, in "hüzün", as described by Pamuk as the main emotion, "cultural concept".¹⁵ Pamuk says: "Hüzün" is a "feeling that is unique to Istanbul" and its residents.¹⁶ It results from the daily memory of the loss of capital status:

"Hüzün teaches endurance in times of poverty and deprivation [...]. It allows the people of Istanbul to think of defeat and poverty not as a historical endpoint, but as an honourable beginning fixed long before they were born."¹⁷

The ECoCA is convinced that the city's "hüzün" can be healed by making Istanbul a world capital again. This aspiration is the basis of Istanbul's 2010 programme.

4. Main Criticism on the Istanbul 2010 Implementation

The official Istanbul 2010 programme lists the following 17 project categories:

- Urban Projects;
- Urban Implementations;
- Cultural Heritage and Museums;
- Visual Arts;
- Traditional Arts;
- Classical Turkish Music;
- Music and Opera;
- Theatre and Performing Arts;
- Film Documentary Animation;
- Literature;
- Urban Culture;
- Education;
- International Relations;
- Maritime;

¹⁵ Pamuk (2005), p. 82.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 83.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 94.

- Tourism and Promotion;
- PR and Events; and
- Advertising and Marketing.

Although the Istanbul 2010 proposal "was first launched as a civil society initiative in 2000",¹⁸ none of the project categories refer directly to this approach. Instead, the project categories are very general and do not express any Istanbul 2010-specific ideas.

The reason behind this lack of specificity could be the belief expressed by Gümüş that Istanbul's "cultural richness is owed to the city's location, [already] forming a [natural] bridge between Asia and Europe."¹⁹ But under the assumption that this approach is common to all members of the Istanbul 2010 ECoCA, Istanbul would not need any further promotion. The application would be absurd.

The more the civil society initiative lost its importance - as the programme was developed merely for a one-year initiative of fantastic events - the more the programme failed in:

- initiating and establishing an intercultural dialogue; and
- identifying, addressing, and defusing cultural conflicts.

4.1. *Hindering of Intercultural Encounters*

In "Civilisation Passages - Inns and Alleys", a sub-programme of the "Urban Culture Projects", it is said that:

"Civilisation Passages/Inns get to be the main artery of arguments such as "alliance of civilisations", "making a common identity", "establishing cultural bridges" and "richness stemming from diverse cultures" which have been mentioned quite often."²⁰

It is the only place in the whole programme where the expression "establishing cultural bridges" is used. Even the terms "cultural bridges" and "intercultural" are used rarely. The term "cultural bridges" is mentioned just twice: in the description of the "Juan Coytisolo Literature Conference". The term "intercultural" is used

¹⁸ Kurt (2009).

¹⁹ Gümüş (2009), p. 8.

²⁰ Gültekin (2009), p. 129.

three times: twice by Gümüş in his key address, as well as once in the "Istanbul Time Travel Experiment".

Furthermore, the conscious lack of interest in intercultural exchange is paradigmatically expressed in the "Istanbul's Languages / Istanbul Songs" sub-project:

"It is known that historically the four most widely spoken mother-tongues in Istanbul are Turkish, Greek, Armenian and the Sephardim language. A series of concerts will be given by folk singers, native speakers of these four mother-tongues. The concerts, during which songs written in these languages will be interpreted, will take place in very interesting spots. One of the concerts will be held in Kınalıada, well known for its Armenian population. Likewise, Burgazada houses a higher percentage of citizens of Greek origin, whilst Heybeliada is known for its Turkish residents and Büyükkada mostly houses the Jewish citizens. Another concert will be given for Istanbul residents who do not reside in the Prince Islands. This concert will take place elsewhere."²¹

This citation is very enlightening. It states clearly that minorities and their cultures should remain within geographical boundaries, on their own islands: The Armenians on Kınalıada, the Greeks on Burgazada, etc., so that the mainland will remain for the "real" Turks. The sea seems to be the natural barrier between Turks and non-Turks. If the minorities wish to show their cultures to the majority, i.e. the residents living on the mainland, they must transport them across the sea to their islands.

The lack of interest in cultural exchange with minorities is seen to be unimportant in the programme so that the concert venue is defined in the programme as just "elsewhere", in other words, nowhere.

Only "inns and alleys" are the true

"common culture melting pots of Istanbul, the heart of the world [...; so] inns will be re-introduced on national and international platforms with reference to their architectural, social and cultural aspects."²²

²¹ Ibid., p. 89.

²² Ibid., p. 129.

Inns are non-human. They can serve as a platform for a time-limited cultural exchange, and thereby provide the framework for controllable cultural exchange in the programme. This controllable cultural exchange within the renovated inns will not create any cultural conflicts and so they are a welcome element in the programme.

4.2. *Art as Conflict Potential*

Another failure is to be noticed in the "social peace through culture" policy, as mentioned by Gümüş:

"In short, Istanbul 2010 will start a dialogue within the city, to pave the way for initiatives in hindering alienation and dissociation through art and culture."²³

On the night of September 23, 2010, some art galleries in the Tophane district were attacked. Özgür Öğret commented on this event in *Hürriyet Daily News* as follows:

"Though the motive behind Tuesday night's attack on Istanbul art galleries remains unclear, a new theory that anger about gentrification fuelled the incident has joined initial concerns about a clash between conservative and liberal factions.

"People are worried that the price of real estate will go up and they will lose their homes. The other, deeper reason is rising conservatism," Azra Tüzünoğlu, owner of the Outlet Gallery, told daily *Milliyet* on Wednesday.

Culture and Tourism Minister Ertuğrul Günay visited the Tophane neighborhood around noon on Thursday [... He expressed] his hopes that the "social transformation" of the area can be carried out without disturbing anyone [...]."²⁴

These attacks show that the promise of art as a unifying and peaceful force in society is unfulfilled. The EcoC Selection Panel in 2006 hoped that 'arts would go public in order to attract also parts of the population which, in the past, would not have been the primary target groups for such activities'.²⁵ Unfortunately these hopes have been dashed by this violence.

²³ Gümüş (2009), p. 9.

²⁴ Öğret (2010)

²⁵ The Selection Panel for the European Capital of Culture (ECOC) 2010 (2006)

Nevertheless, gentrification is a socio-economic challenge for all modern urban societies, and not only for Istanbul. Fortunately, this complex problem is managed in society in a non-violent manner. Most protests (in the wake of the Occupy Movement) as in London,²⁶ Madrid,²⁷ or Tel Aviv²⁸ are reminiscent of the hippie movement. Protestors camp in the streets for peace, but these happenings should not obscure the fact that gentrification is a serious, maybe the most serious, of future challenges.

A reminder should be given that even peaceful protests can suddenly turn violent. The English riots of August 2011 are a warning of the possibility of violence within complex societies. In England the civil unrest started peacefully with a protest march following the death of Mark Duggan, 29, in Tottenham. Then "shops were looted and buildings were set alight"; parts of London city looked like a "war zone".²⁹ In comparison to the English riots, the attacks on art galleries in Istanbul were harmless. Nevertheless, the potential for violence in social conflict should not be ignored.

4.3. *"The Civil Society Dialogue" as sub-programme*

Although the ECoC General Secretary Kurt recalled that the Istanbul 2010 ECoC "process was initiated and developed under a completely civil participative structure",³⁰ "the civil society dialogue" (CSD) is not of superior importance. It is just a component of the "International Relations Projects". The CSD is described in the programme as follows:

"Within the scope of IPA (Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance), European Commission supports this initiative with its "Civil Society Dialogue – Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Grant Scheme Programme". The target of the programme is to support Istanbul in her efforts to bring its cultural capacity and legacy into light. For this purpose, a total of €1,578,900 will be granted to civil society organisations focusing on art and culture. The amounts to be granted will vary between €50,000 – €150,000. The supported projects will

²⁶ BBC News London (October 2011)

²⁷ BBC News Europe (May 2011)

²⁸ Tobia (2011)

²⁹ BBC News London (August 2011)

³⁰ Kurt (2009)

last for 9-12 months. The project activities will be realised in Istanbul or EU-member or membership candidate countries."³¹

The CSD initiative does not originate from the ECoCA, but has been placed on the programme because it is a grant scheme offered by the European Commission. Although the Commission declares that "development of intercultural exchanges plays a crucial role within the civil society dialogue and will be given priority",³² we have to conclude that intercultural aspects are of lesser importance.

The CSD is of inter- and intra-national importance: The CSD is important for Turkey as a candidate country, i.e. in its relationship with the EU; and "peace, stability and security" are priority aims for Turkish society.³³

5. Recommendations for the further ECoC Development

What we can learn from the analysis of the Istanbul 2010 programme is that future ECoC programmes should be developed in a concise logical framework matrix, as is already demanded for all education projects of the EU. This matrix has the following clear and simple structure:³⁴

Wider Objective:	Indicators of progress:	How indicators will be measured:	
Specific Project Objective/s:	Indicators of progress:	How indicators will be measured:	Assumptions & risks:
Outputs (tangible) and Outcomes (intangible):	Indicators of progress:	How indicators will be measured:	Assumptions & risks:
Activities:	Inputs:		Assumptions, risks and pre-conditions:

31 Gültekin (2009), p. 146.

32 Commission of the European Communities (2005), p. 11.

33 Ibid., p. 4.

34 A download of the matrix is offered in Word by: EACEA (November 2011)

The programme should be considered as a whole and be developed in a logical and output-oriented way:

- At first the wider objective should be worked out and indicated. It should be programme-specific. (Statements such as "most inspiring city" are not helpful, as they are applicable to many applicants.) It should be made clear why the applicant was awarded ECoC status. At least, the wider objective (as well as all other objectives) must have a very strong European (and not a "global") focus.
- The specific objectives have to be derived from the wider objective and relate directly to it. According to EU policy, widening and deepening should be the directions in which the wider objective should be specified.
- Output and outcome have to be clear and transparent, so that it can be communicated to the public. (It is not enough to describe the projects. Their purpose, their outcomes, and the outputs are to be communicated.) Indeed, "art and artists should be available everywhere in the city, including public spheres, hospitals, schools [...]", as Gümüş promised.³⁵
- Instead of categorising actions and activities according to project groups (e.g. "Urban Projects", "International Relations Projects") and disciplines of arts (e.g. "Literature", "Music and Opera"), the activities should result from outputs and outcomes. Furthermore, the public must be involved, invited to engage and participate.
- Possible cultural tensions have to be reflected and considered as assumptions and risks. Actions have to be taken proactively to minimise the social conflict potential.
- Indicators should help to make sure that all functions of the programme will be fulfilled in dialogue with the public.

³⁵ Gümüş (2009), p. 8.

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**A CASE STUDY: MULTI-CULTURALISM IN THE PERFORMING
ARTS DURING 'SIBIU - EUROPEAN CAPITAL
OF CULTURE, 2007'**

RADU STANCA NATIONAL THEATRE PERFORMANCES

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Introduction

As we all know, and generally speaking, multi-culturalism is evaluated according to the social implications of the term. If we 'google' the term, we are faced with results which refer to the cultures of minorities interacting with those of majorities. However, as far as art is concerned, I think the word should be discussed and re-evaluated since the problem is much more complex and complicated - especially in relation to the performing arts. As an example, in this specific domain, multi-culturalism existed long before the *Commedia dell'arte*, when groups of actors simply walked from town to town, permanently on tour.

I truly believe that, when speaking about this topic, it is best to keep in mind the artistic implications of the term and not only statistics and numbers. It seems that now is a perfect time for such a way of thinking, since post-modernism is not a reaction to earlier artistic movements, but a natural addition to all of them. Multi-culturalism belongs to post-modernism and its most important characteristics. Whilst researching for this paper, I always kept in mind that the term *multi-culturalism* has more artistic implications than social ones.

The nomination of the city of Sibiu as European Capital of Culture was understood as the confirmation of two main specific factors: first of all, Sibiu has always been a multi-cultural city. Located in the centre of Romania, it has been constantly influenced by German, Hungarian, Jewish or Romany cultures. Further, the first theatre in the city was established in 1788, in the Thick Tower of Sibiu's defensive wall and the building still exists today. Over the centuries the stage was divided between German and Romanian companies and currently there still is a small German Section, although the great majority of the Saxons have left Sibiu.

The second factor which made a vital contribution in the nomination of Sibiu as European Capital of Culture was the International Theatre Festival, an event which has taken place for 18 years and is currently ranked as the world's third theatre festival. It is produced in close partnership with the Radu Stanca National Theatre and the Lucian Blaga University and is the product of an exceptional team effort.

Sibiu European Capital of Culture was a once-in-a-generation opportunity which radically transformed the social environment town on two different levels: firstly, the centre of the town was completely restored, so that it could face the challenges which the event brought; secondly, Sibiu ECoC marked the completion of the town's social, economic and cultural transformation.

Performing arts represented the main cultural activity in 2007, due to the platform which the Sibiu International Theatre Festival had created many years before and because the organisers cleverly used the architectural strengths of the town to create cultural events.

By far the most active cultural institution was the Radu Stanca National Theatre which produced a series of shows which were major projects of Sibiu ECoC 2007: *The Ball*, *Metamorphosis*, *Faust*, *The Nose*, *Time for Love*, *Time for Death*, *The Seagull*, *Othello?!*, *Life with an Idiot*.

Because of the specificity of local audiences and of the town's infrastructure, these productions were designed for three distinct types of stage: indoor, public space and non-conventional locations.

1. *Indoor local performances during Sibiu ECoC 2007*

There are many types of theatre audience, but the most common is the mainstream public, which expects the performance to be staged in a traditional space (a straightforward theatre). This is the reason for the indoor performances which the Radu Stanca National Theatre produced for 2007, but beyond this there was a great deal of room for experiments and for innovation.

The Ball is one of the most important indoor shows, since it gathered together a remarkable group of actors, all united by a young and bold director (Radu Alexandru Nica). Originally, the idea of the performance came from the Theatre du Campagnol, but what makes it unique is the perfect adaptation to Romanian culture and its complex reality

and history. One hundred and eighty years of history (1820-2000) unfold and develop on stage, on a somehow 'fast-forward' mode which stuns and rivets the attention of the audience. The most important fact is that everything is built on music and dance and there is absolutely no text at all. There are no characters on stage, but there are cultural and social prototypes, as the action is based on short episodes which are the result of a specific acting technique: improvisation. Each communicates an emotional story: the impact of WWII, the Russian invasion, Communist abuses, the drama of a young woman who is not allowed to have an abortion. Having history on stage makes people even more sensitive to the message which the show intends to transmit and its multi-cultural references

The audience must be connected to what happens on stage, especially due to the absence of text. Music and dance are much more intimate and emotional ways of communicating, and so verbal discourse is obsolete in such situations. This is the reason why this particular performance was so highly appreciated: it gave the actors the opportunity to build their parts using special techniques. Telling a story through dance requires much more complex acting capabilities. The action takes place in a bar and there is only one character common to all the episodes. This the bartender who becomes a sort of conductor of an orchestra made up of historical events, small family dramas (in fact, huge in their intimate and particular connections and meanings) and common types of people. Having no hero on stage means that the audience have even more options to relate to one of the characters or one of the situations. Although comic moments exist and there is a good deal of light-hearted humour, the general picture is bitter, as history has no mercy on common people who are always some kind of victim. As far as the acting techniques which the cast use, and all of which rely on very elaborate improvisation, they all have a starting point in the spiritual universe of the characters and or History itself.

The other show which Radu Alexandru Nica created at the Radu Stanca National Theatre in Sibiu for Sibiu ECoC 2007 was *Time for Love, Time for Death* (a play written by Fritz Kater). Again, it tells the story of a young group of friends facing the problems of becoming adults. Since the action takes place in an East European country, the Romanian audience will emotionally and socially react to the drama. As this particular director had two productions presented during

2007, there are certain common aspects which need to be emphasised. Firstly, it is very clear that History was a good pretext for drama, in all probability since the director is young and was preoccupied by staging the way in which ordinary people are affected. After the very general image which *The Ball* created, *Time for Love, Time for Death* takes the situation to a much more particular and personal level.

By using almost the same group of actors in the two plays, Radu Alexandru Nica managed to transmit a very warm, yet sometimes cruel, message that is closely connected to *The Ball*: each of us is part of History and our little, daily actions are somehow more important than the general perception of mainstream events and their official turn. He mixed hard rock music, stupid childish games, love and sex - and the result was *Time for Love, Time for Death* - which targets a very large audience. Observing childhood during the communist era, the writer and director focused on normal, understandable stereotypes, created intense moments of surrealism - everything masked by a postmodern approach to the text and acting.

The selection of the play for Sibiu ECoC seems normal and comes as a confirmation that the people of Sibiu are interested in multiculturalism, since the action takes place in East Germany - which was very close to the ideology and abuses of Romania. Further, the fall of the Berlin wall had a huge impact on the local community in Sibiu, since its echo was close. The mass media was not so well developed at that time, but the Saxons who had left Sibiu returned and told stories of the wall, and so we had a much more personal account of what had happened. It is perfectly normal that such a text enjoyed a huge success, being staged in an innovative perspective by Radu Alexandru Nica. Its personal approach to the problems, as well as the wonderful group of young actors, made it possible to de-contextualize some recent historic events.

The Nose (by N. V. Gogol), directed by Alexandru Dabija, is another example of an indoor performance during Sibiu ECoC 2007 which focused on a large, mainstream audience. The show cast two young actors: Ada Milea, a well-known young actress and singer, and Bogdan Burlăcianu, a hip-hop singer. The director's most important aim was to deconstruct the comical mechanism in Gogol's text and to transmit it further, using a combination of post-modernist and pop art techniques. At first sight, it would seem out of place to mix classical,

dramatic text with rap music and modern guitar riffs. However, such a formula becomes rational if well performed and well directed, preserving the main dramatic nuclei which the author created.

A classic interpretation of *The Nose* might seem out of date and somehow uninteresting for the contemporary audience, but transforming it and having on stage two of Romania's best-known artistic figures attracted many people and had a great impact (especially on young spectators, who were suddenly interested in classical drama). The show made use of verbal communication, of a good deal of music and, most importantly, the cast interacted with the audience, keeping eye contact with it and directly addressing it throughout the whole performance. It is a well-known rule of comedy that, behind every comic factor lies a very serious and dramatic problem: in fact, we laugh and make fun of some of the most ugly features of ourselves. *The Nose* works on a somewhat different level: it is an almost surrealist, absurdist text, much ahead of its time and its main goal is to create humour and laughter out of nothing. However, behind this there lies the problem of self-perception, which the two actors splendidly transmitted to the audience.

More than anything else, *The Nose* is a brilliant example of multiculturalism: a classic text is staged using the rules of post-modernism, mixing contemporary pop music and modern acting techniques. In this way, people from different cultures would have a wide area of possible artistic meanings from which to choose and young audiences would be more interested in the show. Also, the director used basic stage technology, with almost no decor and simple lights, but had images projected on to a huge screen. Everything focuses on the two actors and their parts become even more difficult: they have nothing to rely on but their own bodies and voices. However modern it was intended to be, *The Nose* used basic, conservative dramatic tools.

The Seagull was directed by Andrei Serban, one of the most important and prestigious contemporary Romanian directors and featured a double cast: the first one teamed up many of the best-known actors in Romania and the second cast consisted from local actors. This double team made the parts the actors had to perform very challenging and stimulated performance and competition. Each actor had to prove his skills and techniques, as well as his talent, in order to be casted.

As we all know, Anton Chekhov's *The Seagull* is based on the concept of the 'theatre within the theatre': Nina performs the play that Treplev wrote expressing his vision for art and drama. Likewise, the play emphasises and discusses the meaning of art in general and especially the role of the actor and of the writer. The director used this as a starting point in his vision of the play and created a show in which the audience is constantly reminded the concept of the 'theatre within the theatre'. The stage limits are not always precise and the spectators sometime have visual access to the backstage (in an Oriental way – seeing the shadows of the actors coming on stage). The intention was, obsessively, to let us know and remind us that theatre is some kind of a mechanism which the director and the actors can dismantle. The way in which the audience was organised on seats during the performance confirms this. The first two rows are made of pillows and are extremely close to the actors (no more than one meter), and then come some seats from which one can have a close look at the stage. Finally, there is the balcony, where the spectators have a general, wide-angle view, but from which they lose the advantage of proximity. It goes without saying that the performance was totally different from all of these perspectives.

Andrei Serban pushed the actors very far in order to extract a maximum of artistic expression from them. Before the premiere there were open rehearsals and all could see the complicated mechanism of creating such a performance. The audience was able to witness the director's suggestions and the actors' reactions: they all contributed to the 'theatre within the theatre' feeling.

As far as multi-culturalism is concerned, *The Seagull* might be one of the most important examples from Sibiu ECoC 2007 because of the way in which the director conducted the rehearsals: being one of the world's most important directors, he summarised all the artistic influences he had encountered. For example, he used yoga exercises as a relaxing technique for the actors. This might not seem much, but we must keep in mind the general picture: we have a show for which the actors prepare by yoga, made by a Romanian director, using a classical Russian text, during an event for an ECoC, with spectators from the whole world. Each of these factors will influence the artistic expression of the actors, the way in which they transmit their characters' emotions - and the audience itself. The use of shadows brought

a very welcome *couleur locale* to the performance and did not conflict in any way with the play's general message and meaning.

Othello?!, directed by the Ukrainian Andryi Zholdak, was the first huge success for the Radu Stanca National Theatre - ten years ago. For the ECoC in Sibiu 2007, the organisers included this play, which had to be revived since it had not been performed for a few years. Andryi Zholdak is one of the best directors in ex-Soviet space, an 'enfant terrible' of Russian and Ukrainian theatre who has always shocked the audience with his shows.

Shakespeare's text became the pretext for the show, since the director extracted from it what he considered to be the most important dramatic nuclei and staged them using a contemporary, post-modernist approach. His approach to the play was free and personal: he transformed the *dramatis personae*, letting Iago be the main character, as he considered him to be the 'engine' which powers the text. Othello is nothing more than an instrument in Iago's hands, being so much influenced by him. More than this, Iago's evil desire to harm people around him cannot be explained and this makes him special. All of Shakespeare's villains justify their actions by simple, very human desires (power, love, money). Iago has no specific reason for his actions, and so the director left a blank field which that he filled with pure, simple evil and perverse thoughts. As Desdemona's character is divided in three sequences in time (each played by a different actress) we see Iago being her teacher when she was just a child and the director suggests complex sex desires as reasons for the villain's actions.

Zholdak's performance may very well be perceived as being a 'by the book' manifesto of late post-modernism in the theatre. Everything is very loud and strange pop music invades the auditorium. There is little decor on stage, but there are impressive effects; the letter which orders Othello to go back to Venice is very visual: it literally rains with sheets of paper as the first act ends.

The script was reduced and concentrated to just a couple of pages, leaving aside and abandoning what was not needed on stage. In this way, the cast and the audience can all feel the importance of body language, of artistic communication through it, however difficult it may be - it only emphasises Othello's tragedy and the characters' cruel faith.

'Zapping' is a very important feature of postmodern art and Zholdak does not hesitate to use it: he applies it not only acoustically, but he also links it to actors' movements on stage. Freezing the image and brutally switching to some other level of interpretation keeps the audience very focused and with no chance to relax. Zholdak's technique is simple, basic and violent: the audience must not feel good. The people watching the show must be harmed, bombarded with sound and images in order to obtain a postmodern catharsis and to completely identify with the characters.

Life with an Idiot is the second production directed by Andryi Zholdak in Sibiu, 2007. This time he chose to dramatise a contemporary Russian short story by Victor Erofeev, in which the life of a young couple in love is destroyed by the appearance of an idiot who will live with them.

Again, a 'by the book' interpretation of post-modernism in the theatre fills the stage: there is 'zapping', fragments of contemporary pop music songs and theatre/cinema inter-textuality. More importantly, however, the universe on stage is created as in reality shows: cameras film the actors and the images are displayed on two huge screens; what happens backstage is also broadcast and available to the audience and so the spectator never loses sight of any detail. Everything is extremely violent and Andryi Zholdak seems not to care about political correctness. The idiot who destroys everyone's life is, of course, mentally disabled, but people around him will explicitly abuse him. Falling in love with the young woman, he will be the subject of even more abuse. Since it is full of clichés, the production gambles on this rough and uncut approach to theatre and life. In fact, everything is a cruel and horrific metaphor: the idiot is the human self, commercialised and promoted by TV and reality shows, and simple, pure souls have no chance in such a dirty world.

2. *Outdoor local performances during Sibiu ECoC 2007*

One of the most important performing arts events during Sibiu ECoC was the production of *Metamorphosis*, directed by Silviu Purcărete, based on Ovid's narrative poem - staged in a public space, just outside the theatre. The show was not a normal street performance since it was played on a huge stage with complex lighting and sound, creating extraordinary special effects. In fact, the stage was a large pool of

water in which the actors had to perform for almost two hours, no matter what the weather conditions were. It was first played in Luxemburg, then moved and played again in Sibiu.

Metamorphosis was probably the production which had the most consistent multicultural background. It was created using improvisation techniques in order to visually express and dramatise Ovid's poem. This meant that the director and cast had to search deep in the text to find the most relevant parts in order to amplify them, to assume them so that they could visually express the subtext and to work together as a group, communicating precise, expressive images which were perfectly coordinated.

Improvisation in the performing arts requires a set of special techniques which the actor uses to identify a special moment or theme which he needs to concentrate on and transmit to the audience. It is vital that it should be amplified and interwoven with personal experiences and feelings, so that the spectator will easily make connections and establish a personal, intimate link with the theme of the text, the director, the actor and the stage. In respect of this, *Metamorphosis* is a remarkable masterpiece and its multicultural levels go a long way back in time, directly to a mythical level of human existence. Usually, the multicultural factors of a theatre production refer strictly to the sociological and/or political implications of a specific text or theme. Silviu Purcărete pushed the actors to their limits by creating a production which required them to perform in water and which used complex and complicated special effects to create impressive images.

3. *Unconventional locations*

The second show directed by Silviu Purcărete for Sibiu ECoC was *Faust* and its initial aim and challenge were to transform the social environment of the city: the play was staged in a huge, deserted, old factory from the communist era. This was part of the strategy of Sibiu ECoC 2007 for the rehabilitation of such places. It was pure post-modernism mixed with multi-culturalism, since *Faust*, the classical text by Goethe is played in a huge abandoned factory, with only two characters (Faust and Mephistopheles) but then joined by more than a hundred actors. There are special visual and acoustic effects and live hard-rock music.

There is no doubt that it is possible to write a massive PhD thesis on Purcărete's *Faust*, and so discussing the performance is quite difficult. Nevertheless, it is important to say that it works on two distinctive levels. The first one is the dramatic relation between Faust and Mephistopheles which is very intimate and strong. Although the stage is huge (something like a football field), the two actors use every square centimetre available and they never give the impression of being small. On stage, they are exactly what Goethe intended them to be: prototypes of good and evil, human and evil that interact, that ask questions, that may be playing games with each other and that depend and rely on each other. A young actress played Mephistopheles brilliantly, and this detail emphasised the ambiguity which Goethe granted his character. The director also meticulously shaped Faust, making him more human, more humble, but still willing to question Mephistopheles about life, death and the absolute truth.

The second level of the play is much more general and spectacular. More than a hundred actors, creating a grotesque, violent and surreal environment, invade the stage. The Walpurgis Night scene takes the audience to a much more personal level of feeling for the show, since they have to leave their seats and go backstage, where they plunge deep into their worst nightmares. The fact that everything happens outside the stage contributes to the deconstruction of the theatrical mechanism, making it clear that there is an antithetic level of reality and universe, in which everything happens according to different rules which the common people cannot access. Further, audiences today are used to comfortable seats and situations and so it is difficult for them to leave them and to go on stage to witness a horrifying performance which takes place all around them.

The inclusion of German expressionist elements contributes to the artistic multi-cultural aspect of the performance, as do the set and the costumes. Leaving aside the social implications of multiculturalism, *Faust* is a masterpiece since it addresses a wide range of audiences and is exactly as Goethe intended it should be: universal.

Finally, the multicultural level of the performing arts events during Sibiu ECoC 2007 could not have been so complex and consistent without the active participation of the Department of Theatre Studies at the local university. This was the perfect, ideal link between the local academic community and the artistic environment. All of the students and staff played a part in the projects developed, and their

wider dissemination now plays an important role through projects of the highest academic level.

The multicultural aspects of the Radu Stanca Theatre productions during ECoC 2007 were very subtle and they were all hidden beyond powerful and impressive images created on-stage. However, the organisers and directors were aware of the importance of presenting a diversity of cultural suggestions on-stage and this has been a constant concern. The undeniable success of theatrical performances during Sibiu ECoC is also a product of more than 200 years of artistic multi-culturalism. The local audience appreciated and acclaimed the diversity of cultures because the people of Sibiu have a very solid background: the Sibiu International Theatre Festival has joined this tradition, has opened new artistic doors and has trained and educated theatregoers.

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THE MODIFIED ROLE OF THE STATE IN CULTURAL FINANCING AS A REACTION TO THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

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Introduction

The economic crisis has induced changes in the role of the state in subsidising culture. The role of the state is still determinant in the economic performance of the cultural sector, but there are differences in the methods to make reforms. The article compares the coordinated and the liberal cultural financing approaches to show how these two contradictory philosophies try to fine-tune their best practice to the modified institutional system born of the economic crisis. It also tries to answer questions relating to which approach is more successful in adapting itself to the modified institutional system and what kinds of reform have been made in the two approaches to support the sustainability of the cultural sector.

To show the trends, the article compares the performance of the cultural sectors and financing systems of the UK, France and Hungary and how these EU Member-states reacted to the challenges caused by the crisis. The UK is a typical example of the liberal tradition, whilst France represents a coordinated cultural finance approach and Hungary uses a hybrid culture financing system.

Hypothesis I: The more homogenous the cultural policy and financing of a country is, the faster and more successful will be the modification of the institutional system.

Hypothesis II: The existence of a long-term, consequent cultural policy has a positive effect on the speed and success of crisis management.

To prove the hypotheses, first the positive and negative effects of the economic crisis on the cultural sector are introduced. Then three case studies, (the UK, France and Hungary) demonstrate how the different approaches attempted to react to the challenges of the crisis. The article ends with the conclusions and the theses drawn from the results of the analysis.

1. The effects of the economic crisis on the cultural sector

If there is an economic downturn, culture is one of the first subsectors to whose budget the government makes cuts. The SICA research group perfectly describes the reason of this statement:

"For politicians, culture is just one of many areas where savings can be made. Those in favour of government support for the arts are few and far between and tend to keep their heads down when every vote counts."¹

As the article focuses on the economic analysis of the effects of the crisis we do not examine the relationship of politics to culture. However we accept this statement.

The IFACCA group in its research made in 2009 focuses on the economic consequences of the crisis. The research group made a survey to discover what the actors' opinions and assumptions are about how the cultural sector is affected by the economic slowdown. The results can be summarised as follows²:

- The downturn will have a 'mildly negative' impact on the arts.
- The impacts of the downturn are likely to last at least 24 months.
- The downturn will have strongly negative impacts on sponsorship, philanthropic giving from foundations, and endowment income revenue.
- The downturn will lead to staff layoffs in arts organisations, a reduction in commissioning new work, and less adventurous programming.
- The downturn is expected to have a greater impact on the non-subsidised sector than on the subsidised sector; and greater impact on performing and visual arts than on literary and community arts.
- The impacts of the downturn will be felt mostly by arts which are exposed to 'discretionary' spending.

¹ SICA (2009):1

² IFACCA (2009): 3.

We can see that the results demonstrate that both the publicly and privately subsidised cultural actors are highly affected by the crisis, but the worst situation is for 'free runners', who enjoy no financial support. The majority of the respondents believed that the impacts would last more than a single year, and so a long-term strategy is needed to handle the situation.

However, not only negative but positive effects were also mentioned by the respondents³

- Some positives may arise out of the downturn, particularly due to the arts' ability to provide both a 'feel-good' factor and critical and timely debate.
- The arts sector's flexibility and its familiarity with working within limited budgets are strengths which will give it resilience during the downturn.
- Local cultural tourism may increase, offsetting an expected decline in international tourism.
- People will turn to the arts in times of turmoil for the arts' 'feel-good' factor, and so demand for the arts may not drop as much as in other sectors.
- Innovation, creativity and flexibility in the arts sector will allow it to respond better to the downturn than other economic sectors.
- Smart artists and arts organisations will use this time as opportunity to demonstrate their capacity to deliver effective community development strategies.
- An increase in the number of people exploring their own creative activity.
- Substitution away from more expensive leisure offerings and travel leading to an increase in arts consumption, albeit to less expensive arts experiences.

All these statements show that, although the cultural sector and its actors feel the negative effects of the crisis at the same time, they believe in a faster recovery as the special characteristics of the sector

³ IFACCA (2009): 3-8.

such as creativity, flexibility, community and locality are key factors in accommodating to the modified market environment.

Inkei argues that the first reaction from the state emphasised that the situation was exaggerated by panic, that the normalisation period would last not too long and a return to former ways would prevail. However, today it is evident that the crisis goes on and the main questions are how culture will survive and whether the cultural sector itself has a decisive role in the transition process.⁴ So we argue (in Hypothesis II) that a long-term, consequent strategy is a basic criterion for a successful response to the impacts of the crisis.

We can see that some literature emphasises the importance of the form of intervention; others try to estimate its future effects.

In this article the focus is on the former, and so in the main chapter we demonstrate how these previously mentioned positive and negative effects motivated and helped the state to work out a modified subsidising system for culture.

2. Methodology

According to Hall–Soskice there are two main capitalist systems: one is so-called 'coordinated' and the other 'liberal' capitalism⁵.

The countries analysed can also be categorised into two groups. These are the so-called coordinated and liberal cultural financing models. It is important to emphasise that, although the names of these cultural financing models are almost identical to those of the Hall–Soskice capitalist systems, their characteristics are not so. It is not automatic that in a particular country the approach to financing culture and the capitalist system are the same.

It is common in the liberal capitalism and liberal cultural financing models that both put the arms-length factor in the centre. The difference is that some countries use the liberal cultural financing model with a higher direct government subsidy as a percentage of GDP. When speaking about the liberal factor in cultural financing, it refers not only to the subsidising system, but also to how actors - consumers and artists - act in the market and use an entrepreneurial ap-

⁴ Inkei (2010): 18.

⁵ Hall & Soskice (2001)

proach in their interactions. The role of the State in this system concentrates on providing a legal framework for independent arts councils and committees to function, giving tax incentives, providing a legal basis for the efficient operation of the non-profit sector, investing in human capital and protecting intellectual property rights.

The coordinated capitalist system and the coordinated cultural financing model emphasise the importance of the non-market- oriented way of subsidising culture. The State has a decisive role in financing and coordinating the cultural sector.

In both the liberal and coordinated cultural financing models the size of direct government action and subsidies are higher than in the traditional capitalist systems.

The UK is the symbol of the liberal cultural financing approach; France uses the coordinated model the most effectively in the EU; Hungary has created a mixture of the two models.

The next chapter aims to show how the different countries and models reacted to the economic crisis.

3. Reactions to the economic crisis: an institutional perspective

3.1. The United Kingdom

The United Kingdom prefers the liberal cultural financing model. As fiscal and political de-centralisation are the main characteristics of this model, the non-profit sector has a very important role in the system. The model aims to liberalise the cultural sector as far as possible without destroying the quality of cultural projects. To preserve high culture and the quality of cultural services, the government establishes independent artistic committees, which are the main decision-making institutions in the field of arts and culture. The government uses the indirect way of fiscal support for culture. The two basic methods for motivation are tax incentives and the accountable, credible, predictable and transparent institutional system. Decentralisation and liberalisation are the key determinants of this model, as consumer demands are satisfied in the free market where needed. This model shows in many ways the characteristics of the American one⁶.

⁶ Tóth (2008)

The reaction to the challenges of the crisis from the British government was, not surprisingly, to follow previously introduced strategy. Cultural policy experts believed in the fast recovery of the private sector, which is the motor of this subsidising system.

"The private sector will recover faster than the public sector, and so private investment in culture must not only be maintained but maximised."⁷

In the name of the liberal way of financing culture certain steps were taken⁸:

- Decline in government subsidies started in 2005 continued after 2008.
- £21m cut from the Arts Councils grants in 2009.
- An extra £22m for culture from the government not related to the 2012 Olympic Games from the Lottery Fund.
- 2006–2019 – an average 28p for every Pound for culture not related to the 2012 Olympic Games from the Lottery.
- DCMS (Department for Culture Media and Sport) budget must be decreased by 25% over four years between 2010 and 2014. Increase in the first 2 years, but then a decline to £1.1m in the next two years.
- A further £40m 'Sustain Fund' was created to support arts organisations suffering because of the economic downturn.
- Household expenditure including culture +0.7%.
- Cinema attendance +5.6%.
- Private Sector philanthropy -6% in 2008/2009
- Education and international development funding should be protected.

The facts and details show that the British way of crisis management consequently follows the liberal long-term strategy in which market mechanisms are at the centre. The system reacts fast to changes as the flexibility of the private sector is a key factor in the process. The public sector - especially the government - supports the recovery of

⁷ Mermiri (2010)

⁸ Compendium Country Profile UK (2010), Mermiri (2010)

the private sector by making decisions in harmony with the needs of the actors in the market and the private sector. If increased financial intervention is needed, it is well planned and given for special fields of culture, which helps prediction and long-term planning for the publicly owned and run cultural institutions.

3.2. *France*

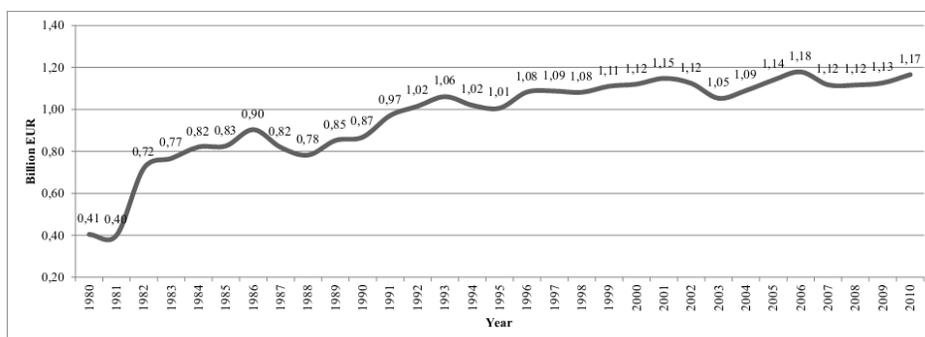
France uses the coordinated cultural financing model in the most efficient way in Europe. Decision-making is centralised; direct governmental support as a percentage of GDP for culture is high. In this model the focus is on using non-market-oriented incentives to reach high quality cultural production. Productivity and active state intervention are the main incentives of the economic growth of the cultural sector. The government delegates its officials to the artistic committees to help in managing central cultural policy. The officials have direct influence on the cultural policy of the country and the regions also.⁹

The following government interventions were implemented as a reaction to the crisis in France:

- Increase of government subsidy to culture even during and after the crisis (Figure 1).
- Philanthropy of the Private Sector: -14%, although between 2006 and 2008 a very rapid 75 % increase in philanthropy was seen.
- The liberal cultural financing methods had just started to be accepted by the private sector actors and society, but the crisis reduced the intensity of the process.
- Still a highly homogeneous system with centralisation in focus.
- The government laws are enforced. 1% is given to culture from the state budget is in practice, even during and after the crisis.
- Household expenditure (including culture) increased by 1.8%.
- Cinema attendance increased by 5.7%.

⁹ (Littoz-Monnet/2007)

Figure 1: The Budget of the French Ministry of Culture and Communication (1980-2010)¹⁰



Based on these trends and provisions we argue that France, in using the coordinated cultural financing model, believes in the non-market-driven development of the cultural sector. The main aim is to create an efficient cultural sector with high direct governmental support and political centralisation even during and after the economic crisis. This system is also consequent but in a different way to the British. The long existing stable cultural policy has a key role in successful crisis management.

3.3. Hungary

22 years after the political change, we can assume that Hungarian cultural policy has changed a great deal as more and more arms-length factors were implemented in the system. The establishment of cultural funds and the decentralisation of resource allocation from central to local government level are examples of this transition.

However, the role of central and local government has not changed much in reality. There is some kind of decentralised fiscal allocation, but in general the whole system strengthens central cultural and decision-making policy. The Hungarian cultural financing system is a combination of an ideological heritage (oversized, weak core state) and the Western form of financing culture. Although some best-practice has been implemented into the Hungarian model, the transition is not yet finished and is mostly visible only on the surface; no real structural reforms have been made. We assume that the mixture of the communist-style, paternalist tradition and a pseudo- decentral-

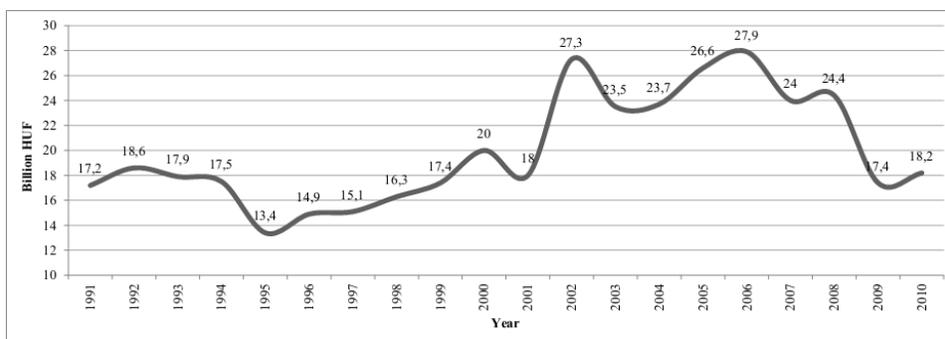
¹⁰ Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication (2011)

ised system imitating Western-style resource allocation cannot be sustained. The hybrid character of the system shows why Hungarian cultural policy could not manage the crisis.

This eclectic system reacted to the challenges of the crisis by improvisation:

- €4.4m government cut for culture (Figure 2).
- Re-centralisation both in decision-making and resource allocation.
- Reform of the National Cultural Fund (arms-length body).
 - New leader, new structure - 9 collegia instead of 17. Although a symbol of the arms-length factor, this institution is now over-politicised and has lost its independence. The double financing of public institutions is one of the major roles of the National Cultural Fund.
- 90% of allocated Lottery funds are for culture since 2009, but this method of financing is new both for decision-makers and cultural sector players also, and so efficiency is less than optimal.
- Crony capitalism, no transparency, lack of trust is the main characteristics of the system.
- There is no real consequent strategy, and reactions are based on improvisation.

Figure 2: The Budget of the Hungarian Ministry of Culture (1991-2010)¹¹



¹¹ Statistical Yearbook of Hungary (2011)

Although mostly negative trends were highlighted in relation to the Hungarian crisis management of culture, we assume that the homogenisation of the system (recentralisation) could make the Hungarian cultural financing more productive and effective in the future, but only if a long-term stable strategy is created.

Conclusions

The article aimed to compare how the UK, France and Hungary tried to soften the impacts of the economic crisis on culture. These three countries have varied institutional background; all of them use different cultural financing models. Our assumption was that these dissimilarities affect how successful their crisis management is.

The UK and France have a long-term strategy (more than 50 years) in cultural financing. Government dispositions and interventions were consequent and were in harmony with the needs of the players in the cultural sector. The system is homogenous - which is helpful in terms of survival.

In the case of Hungary, the lack of a homogenous institutional system, the erratic way of path-searching combined with improvisation (22 years) has caused much damage which will be hard to repair in the near future.

The more homogenous is cultural financing system; the more successful will be crisis management. A long-term, consequent strategy for culture helps faster reaction and a more efficient way to soften the impacts of the economic crisis on culture.

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THE CULTURAL DIMENSION OF CAREER DEVELOPMENT (THE CASE OF LITHUANIA)

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Abstract

Cultures determine the understanding of career phenomena in society and career development alternatives suggested by the organisations or wider social systems supporting, adapting or even suppressing individuals' career development processes. Cultures also influence career decisions made by individuals. Such variables operating in any culture as societal positions' structure, attitudes to power and its acquisition possibilities and attitudes to personal development could be considered in terms of whether they provide contextual explanations of individual career behaviour. The authors ANALYSE. based on their empirical research, analyse individual career development perspectives in relation to the cultural context. Such factors as career conception, career mobility, career aspirations, career and work identity construction efforts, internal and external career barriers were investigated and evaluated.

Key words: human resource management, career, career development, cultural factors of career development

Introduction

Cultures treat career related phenomena differently. Studies of career development have already recognised the presence of national differences in career patterns and practices⁽¹⁾. However, the systematic studies of careers from a cross-cultural or comparative perspective are still taking their first steps. The literature in this area is fragmented and lacks a coherent framework to guide inquiry⁽²⁾.

¹ Osipow, 1983; Skorikov, Vondarcek, 1993; Arthur, McMahon, 2005

² Thomas, Inkson, 2007

It has already been established that culture has a good deal of influence on the understanding of career concepts in society⁽³⁾. Cultural factors determine career development alternatives chosen by individuals and the methods used by the organisations supporting, adapt or even suppressing the career development processes of their employees.

In the majority of Western societies, an individual's career is perceived as a phenomenon with positive consequences for the organisation and the individual. It is usually supposed that, taking into consideration the needs of the individual, efforts to create a career are to be respected. Individuals involved in building their career are valued by society as they fulfil themselves in a sphere interesting and meaningful for them at the same time as they create value to society and their organisation⁽⁴⁾.

Lithuania, however, one of the countries of Eastern Europe, had a much weaker background in terms of the cultural and historical context of career development since the bureaucratic-administrative career system, which prevailed in the Soviet bloc, influenced it negatively. In the Soviet period, the career was important as it could ensure access to a variety of privileges and other advantages unachievable for the citizens who were not building a career. Thus this system did not provide career development possibilities for the most competent individuals of the country, since having the capacity and the potential for free thinking were not considered as a solid basis for career development⁽⁵⁾. In the communist system work was considered important, not in terms of individual achievement or self-fulfilment, but only insofar as the performance at work costed the collective good. Official systems of promotion were hierarchically based, whilst actual systems were political, nepotistic, and corrupt. Those progressing in their careers were, therefore, the objects of contempt. Career decisions were not so much made by individuals as by central authorities and organisations, and this inevitably led to a high level of external monitoring career behaviour⁽⁶⁾. The key goal of the socialist system was economic security for the masses, which included a fundamental

³ Watson, Stead, 2001

⁴ Baruch, 2004

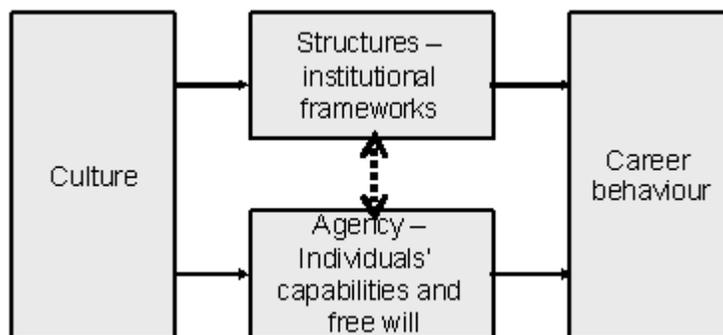
⁵ Diskienė, Marčinskas, 2007

⁶ Skorikov, Vondarcek, 1993

belief that labour is not a commodity to be bought and sold, but a resource to be employed⁽⁷⁾.

Some scholars in the above context investigate the problem of tension between 'structure' and 'agency'⁽⁸⁾. 'Structures' are the institutional frameworks of society: class, ethnicity, gender, as well as government, education systems, professional structures, and employing organisations. These frameworks allow, attract, constrain, or direct career behaviour. 'Agency' in this context is proactive individual or collective career behaviour, the exertion of personal will over social structure in the building of careers⁽⁹⁾.

Figure 1. - Interaction of structure and agency in determining career behaviour, therefore the question arises of whether careers must primarily be considered as reflecting institutions, or whether it is open to individuals to transcend and even create institutions through their own career behaviour?



The developed Western societies have progressed from structured industrial state to a relatively flexible new economy, and so it might be supposed that individuals expressing their will build their careers crossing the boundaries of organisations, professions and countries. However in East European countries, including Lithuania, institutional structures prevail. Individuals depend on organisations or institutions and the positions suggested within the social systems.

⁷ Thomas, Inkson, 2007

⁸ Peiperl, Arthur, 2000

⁹ Thomas, Inkson, 2007

On the other hand, cultural influences on career development must be related to fundamental dimensions of cultures which are mediated by organisational culture. G. Hofstede identifies 5 main dimensions according to which all the cultures of the world are different. The study of Lithuanian culture shows that Lithuanian respondents show levels of:

power distance - moderate low; uncertainty avoidance - moderate-high; masculinity - very low; long-term orientation - very low; individualism moderate-high; long-term orientation - very low⁽¹⁰⁾.

In this context one question which is relevant must relate to the levels of expression of the main cultural dimensions and how they influence the career development processes on the part of individuals and on the part of organisations.

Therefore, and on the grounds of these scientific ideas and issues, the aim of the article can be formulated as to reveal and consider cultural career development factors in Lithuanian organisations and the relation of cultural and career development factors.

1. Method

1.1. Subjects and procedure

A survey of civil servants was carried out between November 2010 and January 2011, and 523 randomly selected respondents participated. Ages ranged from 22 to 64, and gender distribution was males - 41.3 % and females - 58.5%.

1.2. Measures

The career conception is taken as the basis of individual level career factors. It could be defined as the general attitude to a career and its building principles of a person - which may either help or hinder the making of a career, in spite of the conditions provided for a career in the organisation. The personal career conception influences an individual's aspirations expressed in certain contexts, and so this was assessed by using a semantic differential method⁽¹¹⁾. One extreme of

¹⁰ Huettinger, 2008

¹¹ Osgood et al., 1957

the 5 point scale (0 to 4) constructed by the authors refers to traditional and other to contemporary conceptions of career. Dichotomous adjectives in contemporary and traditional career conceptions were based on contemporary conceptions⁽¹²⁾.

The career mobility of public servants and these constructs were measured: career aspirations, career and work identity construction efforts, conceived career possibilities, internal/external career barriers.

Career mobility was assessed through the question: "Have you ever been promoted (transferred or downgraded). If yes, how often?"

Career aspirations are understood as a desire and intention to pursue a role or a particular position within an organisation or a wider system. Aspirations play an important role in career decisions since they reflect the goals and intentions that influence individuals toward a particular course of action⁽¹³⁾. Career aspirations were assessed on a single item 5-point scale: "Would you like to pursue a career in the civil service?" Respondents who expressed such aspirations were asked about the direction of their aspirations: vertical (transfer to higher posts) or horizontal (transfer to other posts).

Career and work identity construction efforts are understood as a desire and efforts by a person to construct a career investigating their work identity. The basis for measuring career and work identity construction is the theory of M.L. Savickas (2002)⁽¹⁴⁾ stressing the importance of the efforts of a person creating and giving sense to his/her career. The career and work identity construction scale was developed by the authors; 11 items were assessed using a 5-point scale. The measured coefficient of internal consistency of the scale Cronbach α was 0.887.

Conceived career possibilities refer to possible career paths, their quality, quantity and adequacy for the individual within a social system as conceived by the individual. Conceived career possibilities are related to objective career possibilities, although subjective evaluation is the most important in this construct. Conceived career possibilities were assessed on a 5-point scale developed by the authors.

¹² Arthur, Rousseau, 1996

¹³ Greenhaus, Callanan, 2006

¹⁴ Savickas, 2002

Respondents were asked if the civil service had many career possibilities which could be used by those wishing to make a career.

Career barriers have been defined in many ways, but generally they involve individual perceptions of negative conditions that might interfere with career progress. In this research we indentified 16 possible internal and external career barriers and we asked respondents to indicate on a 5-point scale how each was seen as a barrier to a career in the civil service.

2. Findings and discussion

Analysing career conceptions prevailing in the Lithuanian civil service, we found that the characteristics of contemporary and traditional understandings of a career are quite equally distributed, although the contemporary understanding dominates (Fig 2; Table 1).

Figure 2. - Career conception (to be interpreted using Table 1 where the dimensions of career conception are explained)

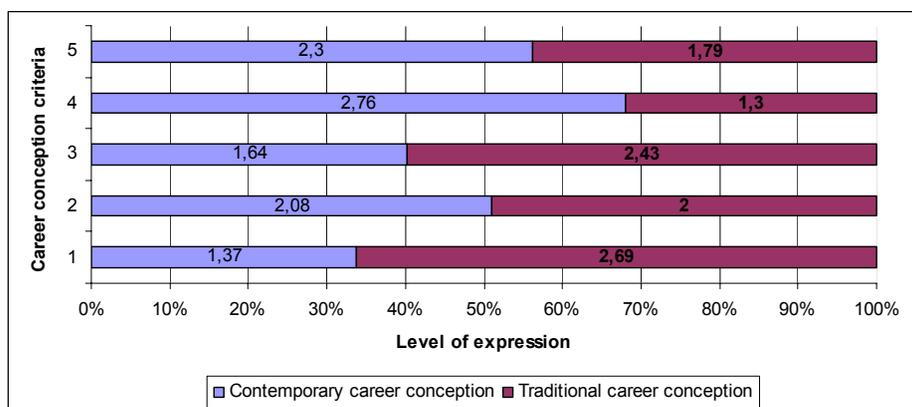


Table 1. - Dimensions of career conception

No.	Traditional	Contemporary
1.	Higher posts	Various work related experience

2.	Providing rights	Opening self- expression and development possibilities
3.	Suggested by the organisation	Initiated and constructed by the individual
4.	Related to personal acquaintances and tenure in posts	Related to competence and work results of the person
5.	Planned essentially in one organisation or profession	Developed in the context of the life of the person in various organisation or professions

In two respects the career has a more traditional connotation than contemporary: it more closely concerns seeking promotion than a variety of working experience and is more likely to be activated by the organisation than devised and developed by the individual employee. In contemporary HRM science, 'career' is defined as the sequence of the person's work-related experiences in one or several organisations. In this sense, career comprises not simply vertical promotion to higher positions but also any change of position, responsibility and the related learning, whilst seeking to acquire a variety of meaningful work experience. Hence, we can conclude that traditional elements of the 'career' are still quite strong in the consciousness of Lithuanian civil servants.

In respect of career mobility in civil servants, this is clearly a rare phenomenon. The average public servant during tenure (11.5 years is the average term) can only expect promotion 1.19 times and to be transferred to another post 0.68 times (Table 2).

Table 2. - Mobility within the Service

Form of Mobility	Mean	Median	Mode
Promotion	1.19	1	0
Transfer to other posts	0.68	0	0

The majority of civil servants have no objectively measurable career experience. Those who have most often move within the borders of one institution (Table 3).

Table 3. - *Changing Posts in the Civil Service*

Frequency of change	Promotion %	Transfer to same level %	Demotion %
0	41.5	61.4	88.3
1	22.8	19.7	9.6
2	19.7	11.7	1.7
3	9.8	5.4	0.4
4	4.8	1.0	0
5	1.0	0.6	0
6	0.4	0.4	0

It is clear that the Lithuanian civil service does not function as one single space of career possibilities, although this is not favourable in respect of learning and talent development in civil servants.

From the cultural point of view the situation can be interpreted by taking into consideration the uncertainty avoidance estimates for Lithuania, which are moderately high. The career in itself is a less stable and more uncertain phenomenon than a mere job, and so we can expect that cultures which have higher estimates of uncertainty avoidance produce institutions with lower levels of mobility.

Moreover the bureaucratic traditions of organisation management of the Soviet era are still visibly influential. As mentioned above, during this period the mobility of all kinds of employee was regulated centrally, i.e. no personal initiative was desirable in terms of career matters. After the changes began, the authorities attempted to liberalise management practices and encouraged Western style individualism and proactive career behaviour. However many heads of institutions

were unable or unwilling to change their entrenched negative attitudes to careers. Having previously acquired patterns of career behaviour which worked in the socialist system, individuals were unwilling to change their attitudes and behaviour even in the face of the new realities⁽¹⁵⁾.

Comparative data which we analysed support the assumption that the situation in some well-developed countries is different. In the Canadian Civil Service, for example, only 16% of civil servants were not promoted. 21% were promoted at least once, 14% twice, 16% three times, 15% four times and 19% more frequently still. In general some 42% of civil servants had mobility experience in the Canadian civil service during the two-year period 2007 – 2008⁽¹⁶⁾.

Analysing the career aspirations and career building efforts of civil servants, it became clear that the majority of civil servants do have such aspirations in the career space of the civil service and only a minor number are undecided or have no such ambitions (Table 4).

Table 4. - *The career aspirations of civil servants in the career space of the Civil Service*

Aspirations	Civil Servants %
Definitely none	1.2%
Do not have	8.0%
Unsure	12.4 %
Have	39.%
Definitely have	39.%

The high percentage of civil servants having career aspirations could be explained by the quite high levels of individualism distinctive in Lithuanian culture (according to Hofstede’s cultural dimensions). Comparing these findings with low objective mobility percentages in the system it can also be concluded that Lithuanian institutions are

¹⁵ Skorikov, Vondarcek, 1993

¹⁶ Public Service Commission of Canada, 2008

developing more slowly than are individuals, and such institution as the civil service cannot meet the career needs of most employees.

From the character of career aspirations we established that their dominating direction is vertical (Table 5).

Table 5. - *Character of career aspirations of civil servants*

Career aspirations	%
Vertical	46.6
Horizontal	39.5
Unspecified	16.7

The fact that the dominant direction of career aspirations is vertical could be related to the prevailing low long-term orientation indicated by Hofstede. These types of cultural attitude highlights the search for quick results - i.e., individuals are unwilling to invest much into career development but expect to achieve high posts and their optimal career as soon as possible. Comparative data analysed indicate that, for example, groups of Canadian civil servants seeking vertical and horizontal career movement are roughly equal⁽¹⁷⁾. This situation may be related to a more contemporary understanding of career and higher long-term orientation in that culture.

Analyses of other factors relating to career aspirations revealed that the mean score of conceived career possibilities ($M=2,69$, $SD=1,030$) in the Lithuanian civil service was significantly lower than the mean scores of career aspirations ($M=4.07$, $SD=0.984$, $t(511)=59.99$, $p=0.000$) and career-working identity construction efforts. This reflects the individuals' intentions and seriously devoted efforts to build

¹⁷ Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat, 1999

a career ($M=3.7823$, $SD=0.74839$, $t(511)=59.99$, $p=0.000$). Therefore our research highlights the likely situation, when civil servants, disappointed with their career possibilities, will look for opportunities outside the civil service.

Hence the results of our research have enabled us to identify unfavourable assumptions in the system of career development in the civil service, which can lead to the loss of some human resources due to problems in the field of career development. This is especially true in terms of high-quality human resources, which are very much in demand in the private and non-governmental sectors. We conclude, therefore, that civil servants do not trust the career system of the civil service, and that the current state of reform in the career development system lags far behind the rapidly forming and changing career needs of civil servants.

An analysis of further data related to career barriers helps to reveal the reasons for mistrust in the career system (Table 6).

Table 6. - Career barriers within the civil service

Career barriers	Average strength of feeling
Lack of career opportunities in the civil service	3.45
Unfavourable career policy towards civil servants	3.31
Belief that selection/promotion processes are unfair	3.07
Lack of support from line manager	2.67
Lack of self-confidence	2.55
Lack of qualifications	2.4
Belief that taking other positions makes involvement in politics inevitable	2.35

Concern that changing position would mean difficulty in harmonising work, leisure and family duties	2.33
Lack of experience	2.27
No wish for new, additional responsibilities	2.14
No wish to take another position	2.10
Lack of interest in working more than before	2.06
Wish to stay in the same position	2.03
Age	2.00
Lack of support from family	1.90
Gender	1.74

As we see from the table, the main barriers to a career in the civil service were felt to be a lack of career possibilities in the service, unfavourable career policy towards civil servants and a belief that selection and appointment procedures are unfair. Hence, we can suppose that the career development system is politicised and career barriers are regarded as the factors related to the dysfunction of the career development system, or that they directly discourage career ambitions. This situation is clearly related to the lack of a strategic approach towards human resources, meaning that long-term human potential is not developed and that it is believed that high-profile professionals can grow and maintain their quality with no serious change of career experience in the sphere of public service.

Also, it is evident that external career barriers prevail over internal ones. These data also confirm the fact that institutional and structural changes in the career system of the Lithuanian civil service are slow, implying that the career behaviour of civil servants in Lithuania is still more regulated by the institutional framework than by ability and free will.

Conclusions

- Cultures legitimise career development practices performed by institutions of society and influence individuals' career behaviours through different attitudes, belief, perceptions, and expectations towards a career.
- Hofstede's cultural dimensions theory shows its validity in the institutions managing individual careers and in an individual's career itself.
- The career conception of the Lithuanian civil servants surveyed is more contemporary than traditional. The exceptions are found in just two areas: a career is considered more closely related to achieving promotion to higher positions than to acquiring varied work experience, and the career is felt to be more often suggested by the organisation than initiated and developed by the person.
- In command-type economies (or even transition economies) career choices, which imply individual autonomy, were not considered important. Having previously acquired patterns of career regulating behaviour which worked in the socialist system, institutions are unwilling to change to face new realities. Low levels of career mobility and low evaluations of career possibilities confirm these statements
- The career behaviour of civil servants in the Lithuanian civil service is still more regulated by institutional frameworks than by ability and free choice - that is, individual careers are more frequently created by institutions than are institutions created by individuals.

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**THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SUSTAINABLE CULTURAL INFRA-
STRUCTURE FOR MEGA-EVENTS:
TOWARDS VALLETTA 2018
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Abstract

Culture is increasingly regarded as a source for regeneration, and it has, in fact, been proved that large-scale cultural events can help regeneration since they can produce different types of impact. Mega-events, such as the European Capital of Culture (ECoC), have often been used to regenerate cities through infrastructural investment - which normally takes place once a city is awarded the ECoC title. This paper looks at the construction of large-scale buildings as opposed to the development of cultural quarters within the ECoC concept. An analysis of both types of development is given in relation to mega-events.

Valetta, the capital of Malta, is a candidate for the title (in parallel with a Dutch city) for 2018. An overview of the 'Valletta 2018' bid will be provided, including an analysis of how the city will prepare itself in the period leading up to 2018 in terms of the development of its infrastructure.

Introduction

The role of culture in regeneration is an increasingly important item on government agendas since culture is used by cities in regeneration projects. Mega-events are often used for this purpose and their cultural product is a tool supporting their investment in the infrastructure. However, this form of investment is not always sustainable, since some cities have only the single event in mind when they plan their development and fail to consider its longer-term impact,

The European Capital of Culture (ECoC) event was originally created as a celebration of established cities with a strong cultural background, but it has now developed into an opportunity for cities to re-

generate themselves in urban, cultural and social terms. Malta's capital city, Valletta, is bidding to host the ECoC title in 2018. The bid will encompass all the islands of Malta Islands, so spreading investment, activities and events across the whole territory.

This paper aims to examine the construction of large-scale buildings, including landmark buildings, as opposed to developing one or more cultural quarters - and the benefit of these within the ECoC concept. An analysis of how Valletta will prepare itself in relation to the development of an improved infrastructure follows.

1. Mega-Events and Regeneration

The concept of regeneration is defined by Evans and Shaw as "the positive transformation of a place that has previously displayed symptoms of physical, social and/or economic decline"¹. Regeneration helps to improve the quality of life and promote sustainable development incorporating the physical, social and economic well-being of an area².

Cities are increasingly using culture as a tool to regenerate themselves, particularly through the use of events³. Events generate a number of impacts, including (1) economic, (2) socio-cultural and (3) environmental impacts, with these being both positive and negative. Mega-events, such as the Olympic Games and the ECoC have become a significant catalyst of urban change. Far from being merely symbolic, the desire to create a world-class image presents an important opportunity for a city's economic development strategy⁴.

Considerable investment is required for mega-events. The Olympic Games, for example, require a huge investment in sporting facilities, whereas cultural events require the development of a cultural infrastructure. Both types of event, however, require a supporting infrastructure, and it is assumed that all developments associated with such investment will become part of the legacy for staging such large-scale events. Such events are useful as a tool to generate long-

¹ Evans and Shaw 2004: 4

² DCMS 2004; Evans and Shaw 2004

³ Balsas 2004; Richards and Wilson 2004

⁴ Essex & Chalkley 1998; Andranovich, Burbank and Heying 2001

term economic development although the real effects are, at times, difficult to measure - and generally debatable⁵.

The original creation was the 'European City of Culture' which was created in 1985 with the aim of "bringing the people of Europe closer together... (aiming to show that) culture, art and creativity are no less important than technology, commerce and the economy"⁶. From its inception, the title evolved from a celebration of established cultural cities into a tool for cities to use to regenerate themselves and to attract investment and tourism⁷.

2. *The Development of the Infrastructure*

2.1. *Capital Expenditure in ECoCs*

Earlier ECoCs mainly focused on achieving (1) sustainable long-term development, (2) urban regeneration, (3) infrastructural development and (4) social inclusion, in addition to a simple increase in visitor numbers. Infrastructural development is still crucial in some ECoC cities. The investment in the physical infrastructure is often one of the most important legacies left by the year of the ECoC. Besides the upgrading of the general infrastructure, such as roads and other networks, the development of an, often much-needed, cultural infrastructure is there to stay⁸.

Capital expenditure associated with ECoC is broadly of three types:

1. New provision and upgrading of 'cultural capital'
2. Urban revitalisation
3. Supporting infrastructure

In their examination of budgets for former ECoCs, Richards and Palmer⁹ note three distinctive periods associated with ECoC, with the third and current period being tied to the development of cultural infrastructure. These three periods are defined as follows:

1. 1985-1989 – Expensive Festivals – Host cities were major cultural capital cities with an established cultural infrastructure;

⁵ Essex and Chalkley 1998; Hiller 2000

⁶ European Communities 2009: 4

⁷ Palmer 2004; Richards and Wilson 2004; European Communities 2009; EC 2010a and b

⁸ Palmer 2004

⁹ Richards and Palmer 2010

2. 1990-2004 – Investment in Cultural Regeneration - ECoC as a tool for cultural and economic development. The title awarded to secondary cities as a tool for development and regeneration and for changing image. Increased development of infrastructure and an increased attention to cultural and social objectives;
3. 2005 Onwards – Investment in Infrastructure – A greater attention to infrastructure spending, which often outweighs operational spending, includes the use of EU Structural Funds.

Table 1. - *ECoCs Operating and Capital Expenditure 2005 - onwards*

Year	ECoC City	Operating Budget	Capital Budget
€ in millions			
2005	Cork	13.50	-
2006	Patras	36.00	100.00
2007	Sibiu	16.00	40.00
2007	Luxembourg and the Greater Region	56.00	-
2008	Liverpool	142.00	984.00
2008	Stavanger	37.00	293.00
2009	Linz	65.00	300.00
2009	Vilnius	25.00	442.00
2010	Pecs	37.00	141.00
2010	Essen	48.00	30.00
2010	Istanbul	64.90	-
2011	Turku	55.00	145.00
2011	Tallin	38.00	-
2012	<i>Maribor</i>	<i>57.00</i>	<i>143.00</i>
2012	<i>Guimaraes</i>	<i>41.00</i>	<i>70.00</i>
2013	<i>Marseille</i>	<i>98.00</i>	-
2014	<i>Umea</i>	<i>40.50</i>	<i>690.00</i>

*Source: Richards and Palmer, 2010
(Cities in Italics are future awarded ECoCs)*

Recent ECoCs' capital expenditure budgets (where available) vary from a maximum of €984m (Liverpool) to a minimum of €30m (Essen). As shown in Table 1, not all cities have catered for infrastructural development. Nonetheless, research shows that only a few ECoC organisations take the responsibility for managing capital projects directly. Budgets are a reflection of different priorities and the development of the infrastructure mainly takes place in secondary cities which aim to achieve ECoC status to regenerate and improve their European image.

Although infrastructural development creates much-needed facilities, the development of the infrastructure for mega-events often lacks a long-term perspective, mainly in understanding how the infrastructure will be used after the event. One of the main risks associated with planning for mega-events includes the creation of 'white elephants' – which are too big and so can end up either under-utilised or not utilised at all after the event¹⁰.

Nonetheless, the ECoC is not the only large-scale event to create issues in infrastructural development. Cities and governments organising the Olympic Games also commit themselves to significant investment in infrastructure, even though many former Olympic developments have become 'white elephants', ending up unutilised or enjoyed only by the few¹¹. Approaching the London 2012 Olympics - and following the earlier problems incurred with the development of the Millennium Dome, it was stressed that there would be no 'white elephants'. The Olympics will be hosted in the East End of London, an area which required regeneration and, according to the original plan, some venues will continue to be used whilst others would be reduced in size. A deal to sell the new Olympic Stadium to the West Ham Football Club and Newham Council collapsed and the stadium will remain in public ownership, possibly being leased, after the Games, meaning that the new building is at risk of becoming a white elephant. What will actually happen to the new Olympic infrastructure after the event is, of course, yet to be seen¹².

2.2. *The Development of Landmark Buildings & Cultural Quarters*

"Important buildings have always been tools for expression; they often reflect a story and are used to demonstrate power and the capacity of a society to meet change"¹³.

The development of landmark buildings is often used to promote regeneration in decaying areas¹⁴. The construction of landmark buildings often takes place through the design of famous architects, which helps to attract increased visitor attention. However, there is a con-

¹⁰ Jago et al 2010

¹¹ Owen 2005 and Macrury and Poynter 2008

¹² Mail Online 2011

¹³ Felice 2009

¹⁴ Baniotopoulou 2000

cern that cities are increasingly 'copying' or 'borrowing' ideas, so making experiences increasingly similar and reducing the element of creativity and innovation, thus losing the feeling of authenticity¹⁵.

In contrast to the concept of developing landmark buildings is the development of what is often referred to as the 'Barcelona model'. Barcelona sought to achieve sustainable regeneration by using the 1992 Olympic Games. The games acted as a catalyst for urban change, transformation and renewal. Development included investment in road and transport infrastructure, telecommunications, tourist accommodation, environmental infrastructure and the rejuvenation of a run-down coastal area. Barcelona managed to invest in well-planned infrastructure which was used in the long-term serving for tourism and place-making purposes¹⁶. Contrarily to other Spanish cities (such as Bilbao with the Guggenheim Museum and Valencia with its City of Arts and Sciences) Barcelona did not choose to be associated with one single building but looked at an overall picture of sustainable long-term investment and regeneration. Twenty years later this is still ongoing.

The use of the creative industries and the concept of innovation can be used to showcase the uniqueness and creative aspect of a city. The increasing importance of creative cities has also been highlighted by the President of the European Commission (EC). Jose' Manuel Barroso states that cities have a capital of culture and creativity and a combination of both can help achieve sustainable and inclusive growth. Through the ECoC title a combination of culture and creativity must be used to develop and regenerate with a long-term focus, enabling economic, cultural and social growth¹⁷.

The development of cultural quarters has often been used to regenerate cities and specific areas in a sustainable manner with a long-term perspective¹⁸. Design, gastronomy and entertainment can be used to create a cultural quarter and allow for urban regeneration, re-creating a vibrant and interesting city space and allowing for regeneration and re-use of abandoned buildings, so developing in a sustainable form the needed cultural infrastructure.

¹⁵ Baniotopoulou 2000; Richards and Wilson 2004

¹⁶ Essex and Chalkley 1998; WTO and ETC 2005; Macrury and Poynter 2008; Brunet 2010; Jago et al. 2010

¹⁷ WTO and ETC 2005; Euractiv 2010

¹⁸ McCarthy 2005

An analysis of the plans for infrastructure development for Valletta 2018 will now follow, looking at the development of both large-scale, landmark buildings and the development of cultural quarters.

3. *Valletta 2018*

“Valletta, like most European cities, is a place to be enjoyed, a place for events, a place for celebration...the walls of Valletta are static but its boundaries are constantly changing. The separation between the fortified towns around the harbours and the villages which dotted the Maltese landscape, is no more”¹⁹.

3.1. *The Valletta Context*

A Maltese city is designated to host the ECoC title in 2018 together with a city from the Netherlands. The Maltese Islands, situated in the heart of the Mediterranean, are a bridge between Europe and North Africa and the Maltese city to be awarded the ECoC title will be the southernmost ECoC ever.

Malta, a member of the EU since 2004, had a total population of 417,608 as at 2010 over an area of 315.12 square kilometers²⁰. Tourism is one of the major pillars of the Maltese economy and in 2010 there were more than 1.3 million visitors. The Market Profile Survey, compiled by the Malta Tourism Authority’s (MTA) shows that 13.5% of tourists who visited Malta and Gozo between 2006 and 2010 were interested in Malta’s culture and heritage²¹.

Valletta, the capital city built in 1566, is the governmental and administrative centre of the Maltese Islands. A UNESCO World Heritage Site, visited by 92.4% of tourists coming to Malta, Valletta was originally built to protect residents from wars and threats on a peninsula site. Nonetheless, with a total residential population of 6,309, the population of Valletta makes up just 1.5% of the total for the Maltese Islands²².

¹⁹ Felice 2009

²⁰ NSO 2007; NSO 2011

²¹ MTA 2010

²² NSO 2008; MTA 2010

3.2. *The V18 Bid*

The bidding process for Malta's ECoC was officially launched in December 2010. Following this, the Local Councils of Malta and Gozo signed a Charter in which it was agreed that all local councils would support Valletta as the ECoC for 2018. Following the signing of the Charter, the Valletta Local Council, together with the Local Councils Association, established the Valletta 2018 Foundation (V18 Foundation) to deliver and submit the 'V18' bid, incorporating all 68 Local Councils and aiming to develop and improve cultural life in the Maltese Islands and implement action identified in the bid should it be successful. V18's bid was officially presented on the 17th October 2011.

The V18 vision looks to set in motion a process of culture-led regeneration to develop Valletta and the Maltese Islands as capital and cultural centre, creating an environment of exchange by enabling ideas, dialogue and creativity to flow freely. V18's mission is to (i) construct a visible culture by sustaining a tangible cultural infrastructure which supports a long-term legacy, (ii) develop a virtual culture with a sound technological structure resulting in effective forms of communication and (iii) foster a visceral culture to enable a debating society²³.

3.3. *Malta's National Cultural Policy*

"Planning for the cultural infrastructure required (both physical and organisational) is an immediate concern and will form a fundamental part of the Maltese submission for the European Capital of Culture project."²⁴

The NCP, launched in 2011, lays out the need to plan for the required cultural infrastructure development by transforming, "cultural and creative activity into the most dynamic facet of Malta's socio-economic life in the 21st century".²⁵

Planning for the cultural infrastructure is an immediate concern and forms a fundamental part of the V18 application. The ECoC is the vehicle to implement most measures of the NCP and this vision is encapsulated by V18's proposal to transform and regenerate the cultural

²³ Valletta 2018 Foundation 2011

²⁴ Parliamentary Secretariat for Tourism, the Environment and Culture 2011: 28

²⁵ Parliamentary Secretariat for Tourism, the Environment and Culture 2011: 9

and urban environment. The NCP makes clear recommendations for the development of cultural infrastructure projects that promote creative excellence. V18 supports these measures and gives them attention as it is believed that the ECoC is an opportunity to make up for the current weaknesses in the cultural infrastructure in Valletta and Malta in general.

The three main cultural infrastructure requirements mentioned within the NCP are:

1. The identification of a site and implementation for a museum space for modern and contemporary art;
2. The development of a large-scale and versatile performance space within the wider context of major urban redevelopment measures;
3. The foundation of a Centre of Architecture and the Built Environment, within the context of a national architectural strategy, to bring architecture and urban planning issues closer to the public.

V18 will take the above recommendations on board and aims to encourage and work towards the development of these requirements, looking at transforming these concepts into the flagship projects for V18. With the priorities for cultural infrastructure mentioned by the NCP in mind, V18 is therefore preparing for a culture-led regeneration project to make the benefits of the ECoC project last beyond the scope of 2018.

3.4. The V18 Strategy for Cultural Infrastructure

V18 is working on the implementation of a strategy moving towards an integrated programme for the cultural infrastructure. This also includes open thematic workgroups, one of which is dedicated to the cultural infrastructure, which the V18 Foundation has created.

The Foundation's strategy for the cultural infrastructure includes:

- Assessing the requirements of the related projects recommended by the NCP, identifying how any existing buildings may be revitalised to provide new projects which lead to the creation of a permanent and tangible legacy for the ECoC;
- Reporting on current cultural infrastructure projects undertaken by a range of organisations and compiling an inventory of the ex-

- isting cultural infrastructure, with special emphasis on localities outside Valletta;
- Identifying areas for creative clusters and cultural quarters, to provide adequate physical spaces within an existing urban context;
 - Exploiting the unique potential of external public and shared spaces as a major provider of venues for the cultural programme;
 - Identifying optimal governance for the management of cultural infrastructure projects, coordinating with other plans and strategies²⁶.

3.5. *The Current Status of the Infrastructural Programmes*

As a preliminary study to understand Valletta and Malta's needs for a cultural infrastructure, the Inter-Ministerial Commission for the ECoC (IMC_ECoC) one of the Governors of the Valletta 2018 Foundation, compiled a report of infrastructure projects taking place. This report showed that government is committed to a substantial investment on cultural infrastructure, ranging between €150m and €200m.

As a follow-up to this report, a further assessment was compiled. Valletta is currently undergoing a rapid and substantial physical change and transformation. A series of projects are being planned and others are in a state of execution, giving the impression that Valletta is currently in a phase of work-in-progress. This creates practical inconvenience, but also helps to create a positive feeling that things are happening and that a new future is being carved for the city.

Nonetheless, the main challenge for V18 is to set up a cultural infrastructure which will be of sustainable use to Valletta and Malta's citizens in 2018 and beyond. Currently, the city is in a state of decline in terms of population and dynamism. A strong cultural infrastructure fabric would attract creative minds to live and interact with the city and its citizens, rethinking and re-using existing buildings and constructing new ones to revitalise the socio-economic realities of Maltese citizens. Furthermore, V18 will also look at regeneration through supporting the development and professionalisation of home-grown artists, enabling the development of cultural quarters, equipping citi-

²⁶ Valletta 2018 Foundation 2011

zens with the necessary creative tools for them to tap into the vast opportunities available.

The report compiled by the V18 Foundation has showed that infrastructural projects are mainly split into three main categories. These consist of cultural infrastructure projects, urban transformation projects and supporting infrastructure projects. Besides cultural infrastructure projects, which look at the development of sites for arts & culture, creative clusters, re-development of museums and cultural heritage sites and the development of interactive centres, V18 also looks at urban transformation projects. These are aimed at covering projects which allow for accessibility and urban renewal, the re-integration of symbolic features within the Greater Valletta context and the re-development of waterfronts and landscapes. Given that Malta has already a basic infrastructure in place, including an international airport and cruise-ship terminal, the supporting infrastructure projects are aimed at improving the facilities to support the overall quality of life, including enhancements to the transportation network, improving educational facilities and the development of environmental management facilities. A full description of on-going and planned projects is found in Tables 2 to 4. All projects described are being carried out by government ministries or government appointed entities. The presented projects currently range from 2011 to 2016 for target completion date. These projects are financed through a combination of government and EU funding, particularly through the use of Structural Funds. Furthermore, given that the current set of Structural Funding expires in 2013, V18 is assessing sources of funding available to sustain the development of further cultural infrastructure required including the budget provided by Structural Funds for the period 2014 – 2020²⁷.

²⁷ Valletta 2018 Foundation 2011

Table 2. - Cultural Infrastructure Projects

CULTURAL INFRASTRUCTURE	
<i>i. Arts & Culture</i>	<i>iv. Cultural Heritage</i>
<p>Valletta City Gate Project - Restoration of the Opera House ruins and rehabilitation into an open-air multi-purpose performance and public - Execution stage</p>	<p>Archaeological Heritage Conservation Project - The objectives of this project are the preservation, interpretation and accessibility of two World Heritage Sites (Ggantija and Tarxien) and one site on the World Heritage Sites Tentative List (St Paul's Catacombs). Key components are the building of an interpretation centre and landscaping. The project also includes the building of interpretation facilities, landscaping and implementation of conservation measures at the St Paul's Catacombs, and the installation of a protective shelter and a walkway at the Tarxien Temples - Execution stage</p>
<p>Redevelopment of the Mediterranean Conference Centre, Valletta - The National Culture Policy recommends the identification and proposal of a major project aimed at accommodating a large-scale and versatile performance space within the wider context of major urban redevelopment measures - Concept stage</p>	<p>Rehabilitation of Roman Baths and Christian Catacombs, Mosta and Mgarr - The project intends to regenerate cultural heritage within the rural landscape. It seeks to develop the unique cultural and natural heritage found within two distinct but neighbouring localities, Mgarr and Mosta. The project intends to study, research, conserve and safeguard two main sites - the Ghajn Tuffieha Roman Baths in Mgarr and two segments of the Ta' Bistra Paleochristian Catacombs in Mosta. Studies to ensure a better understanding of the sites/areas involved and an understanding of the environmental conservation requirements of the site to ensure long-term accessibility and conservation will occur. It will include the development of Interpretation areas, required accessibility pathways, archaeological covers to protect the mosaics, interpretative aids and visitor facilities - Execution stage</p>
<p>Postgraduate School for the Performing Arts - To be housed within the Old University Buildings, Valletta - Execution Stage</p>	<p>Conservation of Hal Saffieni Hypogaeum World Heritage Site, Hal Saffieni - Mgarr - The Hal Saffieni Hypogaeum Paola is in a delicate state of preservation and, following the project implementation, it would have involved the most detailed study that has been carried out related to any archaeological site in Malta. In addition, this project includes the detailed documentation of the site using cutting edge technology to provide a complete record of the site as an interpretive and analytical tool. This part of the project will see the creation of a 3D digital model of the whole site, recording all its features in high detail for posterity - Execution stage</p>
<p>Culture Hotspot, Valletta - Located within the heart of Valletta's new centre of political and cultural activity and debate, the new Parliament Building and surrounded by public open space, this hotspot will provide information and booking facilities on cultural activity in the city and Malta with additional space for small scale cultural events - Execution stage</p>	
<p>Villa Rundle Open-Air Amphitheatre, Gozo - The rehabilitation of the gardens is being achieved through specific interventions aimed at upgrading the garden's infrastructure, through the development of an outdoor stage structure for cultural events, whilst enhancing its landscape and botanical value. This will allow the gardens to effectively contribute to the social and economic development of contemporary Gozo - Nearing completion</p>	
<i>ii. Creative Clusters</i>	<i>v. Interactive Centres</i>
<p>Fort St. Elmo, Valletta - Restoration and rehabilitation of St Elmo Fort, establishment of a museum and Carafa Bastions Heritage Promenade - Concept stage</p>	<p>Architecture Centre - The National Culture Policy recommends the foundation of an Architecture Centre, or a Centre for Architecture and the Built Environment, to bring architecture and urban planning issues closer to the general public and at the same time advance the building professions and contribute to an improved design process - To be initiated</p>
<p>British and Knights Buildings, Dock No 1, Cospicua - Rehabilitation and restoration works of existing historical buildings for cultural and creative enterprise. The public sector has approved a scheme proposal for the two buildings and is preparing a development brief to propose the regeneration of the building. Shortly a Request for Proposals for the private sector will be published - Concept stage</p>	<p>Interactive Science Centre, Bighi - The aim is to develop a permanent structure where students and the public will be able to immerse themselves in a unique interactive science experience. The objectives of the National Interactive Science Centre are to motivate children and youths to learn science, inspire them to appreciate the value of science and technology in everyday life, bridge the gap between science and the public and contribute towards innovation in the Maltese education system. The centre will cover more than 4,500 square meters in multi-sensory interactive exhibits, presented in a thematic and conceptual manner - Concept stage</p>
<p>The restoration, conservation and adaptive re-use of Fort St Angelo, Vittoriosa - Fort St Angelo will be accessible to the public as a heritage site with interpretation focusing on its importance within the context in Grand Harbour. The fort will include displays highlighting these themes and a 'visitor centre', exploiting location. Facilities for open air events will be provided - Concept stage</p>	
<p>Regeneration of Strait Street, Valletta - The proposal intends to create a cluster of cultural activity in this historically very active but now derelict part of the centre of the City. The project shall re-utilise existing spaces and buildings - Planning stage</p>	
<i>iii. Museums</i>	
<p>Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art - The National Culture Policy recommends the identification of a site and shall implement the necessary work to open a Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art - Concept stage</p>	
<p>Fortifications Interpretation Centre, Biagio Steps, Valletta - Restoration of this derelict building to be utilised as an Interpretation centre of the fortifications of Malta and Gozo, their planning, how they functioned, how they were connected and how they have been restored - Execution stage</p>	
<p>Grandmaster's Palace, Valletta - The restoration and rehabilitation of the Grandmaster's Palace, following the moving of the House of Parliament to its new facilities. This shall include the restoration of the building and its artifacts. Once completed, the Palace will offer visitors a new visitor experience - Concept stage</p>	
<p>Rehabilitation of Market Building (Is-Suq), Valletta - The project will develop this building within its context as an excellent expression of modernism within a baroque city, as an architectural and spatial gem and will be assigned the most suitable sustainable use. Studies are currently being carried out to identify such use - Concept stage</p>	

Table 3. - Urban Transformation Projects

URBAN TRANSFORMATION	
<i>i. Symbols</i>	<i>iii. Waterfronts and Landscaping</i>
<p>City Gate, Valletta - Redevelopment of the entrance to Valletta, including improvement to access to the city and landscaping of the historic ditch - Execution stage</p>	<p>Senglea Waterfront - The rehabilitation of Senglea waterfront from Macina up to Boiler Wharf (French Creek) - Planning Stage</p>
<p>Vertical Connection, the Barrakka Lift, Valletta - Construction of a 2-car panoramic passenger lift including landscaping at Lascaris Ditch, providing direct access from the Grand Harbour to Valletta's City Centre - Execution stage</p>	<p>Urban Landscaped Spaces and other facilities in tourism zones - This project includes rehabilitation of the St. Paul's Bay promenade, the development of a public aquarium in Qawra, the creation of a landscaped garden in Pembroke, the creation of a cycle track and the restoration of Madiena Tower - Execution Stage</p>
<p>St Elmo's Lighthouse, Valletta - The aim of this project is to commission a contemporary, site-specific work of Public Art at Fort St. Elmo, Valletta, to foster and promote a contemporary artistic heritage which increases awareness of innovative artistic work, stimulating a visual and aesthetic legacy in preparation for 2018. The anticipated outcomes are to promote area regeneration, allow for the growth of a culturally-informed public in the run up to 2018 and wider accessibility to contemporary art - Concept stage</p>	<p>Dock 1, Cottonera - Landscaping at Xatt ir-Risq, Vittoriosa, the rehabilitation of Dock 1, landscaping of San Gwann t'Ghuxa and Dockyard Creek waterfront from Xatt ir-Risq to Senglea. The project intends to catalyse a regeneration programme to the area historically dedicated for use for shipyards and docks, intertwined with residential areas within a complex historic urban context - Execution Stage</p>
<p>Breakwater Bridge, Valletta - The purpose of the project is to re-create a new steel foot bridge, joining the St Elmo Foreshore to the St. Elmo breakwater. The foot bridge is to be solely used by pedestrians, respecting the original dimensions of the original structure that was in place before being destroyed during World War II - Nearing completion</p>	<p>Mdina Ditch, Mdina - The Mdina ditch rehabilitation intends to clear the various accretions on site to regenerate the site and to create potential for new uses and provide new links to the city - Planning Stage</p>
<p>Restoration of fortifications, Valletta, Mdina and Vittoriosa, Malta and the Cittadella, Gozo - This project includes the restoration of the fortification network, and the architectural lighting. Works also include the paving of the Birgu collachio area, and the restoration of facades - Execution stage</p>	
<i>ii. Accessibility and Renewal</i>	
<p>Tunnel project link, South Street, Valletta - Improved access to the City is of fundamental importance. A tunnel that connects the core of the city to the ditches will provide direct and rapid pedestrian access, reducing the requirement for vehicular traffic through more traditional entrances. The project shall rehabilitate the existing spaces and provide ancillary space for culture and the arts - Concept stage</p>	
<p>Inter-Harbour Ferry Service - The introduction of new modes of transport as part of Malta's overall transport policy through waterborne facilities. This includes the re-introduction of a regular ferry transport system, linked to the land based bus transport system within the inner harbour region. The plan is to have a service linking the Three Cities and Sliema to Valletta - Planning stage</p>	
<p>Malta Goes Rural - The project seeks to promote the Maltese rural heritage through the set up of walking trails and small scale infrastructural interventions to improve accessibility in semi-rural, rural and natural areas. The project seeks to strengthen rural tourism in Malta, to mitigate the seasonality problem. A fair distribution of income is foreseen for the local community. The proposed project offers a holistic product which is environmentally and socio-culturally sustainable and that offers potential for the development of small scale arts and cultural events for the community - Execution stage</p>	

Table 4. -Supporting Infrastructure Projects

SUPPORTING INFRASTRUCTURE	
<i>i. Transport</i>	<i>iii Environmental Management</i>
<p>Improvement of the TEN-T Road Infrastructure - The upgrading of five stretches along the TEN-T Road Network . The upgrading of this road network will improve the quality and efficiency of the Trans-European Transport Road Network in Malta, from north to south at their extremities, including sea connections - Execution stage</p>	<p>Setting up of the Gozo Waste Treatment and Transfer Facility and a Biological Waste Treatment Plant - The Gozo Waste Treatment and Transfer Facility comprises a controlled facility for the reception, sorting, processing, interim storage and transfer of wastes originating from Gozo and Comino. The dry recyclables will be sorted and baled prior to further treatment or export. The Municipal Solid Waste (MSW) will be separated into three fractions: the organic fraction, Refuse Derived Fuel (RDF) and rejects - Execution stage</p>
<p>Ferry Terminals, Ċirkewwa(Malta) and Mgarr (Gozo) - Expansion of the port of Ċirkewwa through land reclamation and extension of the breakwater to provide two additional berths and improved sheltering for vessels. Building of two ferry terminals at Mgarr and Ċirkewwa providing segregated connections for foot passengers and vehicles boarding the ferries, sheltered waiting areas for passengers and marshalling areas for vehicles, parking areas, public transport facilities and ancillary facilities - Execution stage</p>	<p>Establishment of Malta North Facility - The facility will consist of a Mechanical Treatment Plant and a Biological Treatment Plant to be situated within the Għallis engineered landfill in the North of Malta. The aim is to treat the residual fraction of MSW. The waste entering the site shall be processed to have the organic fraction and the RDF extracted shall be directed from the landfill. The Mechanical Biological Plant (AD) will treat the organic fraction will include a potential for the treatment of the animal manure not managed directly by farmers - Planning stage</p>
<i>ii. Education</i>	
<p>Redevelopment of the Malta College of Arts, Science and Technology (MCAST), Ċorradino - The project consists in the development of the MCAST Campus, to provide physical resources to match the increased demand for its services and to include other Institutes which currently do not form part of its campus. It shall include the development of ten Institutes and support facilities such as an Administration block, a Library and Resource Centre. The first part of the project will include the Institute of Applied Science, the Institute of Business and Commerce and the Flexi Teaching block - Planning stage</p>	<p>Establishment of a Hazardous Waste Storage and Treatment Facility - This facility will provide the first centralised storage and treatment facility for hazardous waste in Malta will reduce reliance on exportation of waste, reduce risks associated with dispersed storage of hazardous waste in terms of human health, pollution and fire risks and enhance economic conditions for commercial investment - Planning stage</p>
<p>ICT Faculty Building, University of Malta, tal-Qroqq - The development of a state-of-the-art building to house the Faculty of ICT at the University of Malta to facilitate teaching, research and basic restorative faculty activities. The building will consist of two sub-buildings linked between them by a smaller service structure. The building will avail itself of alternative and clean energy measures. The building will be integrated within the existing University of Malta environmental and architectural landscape - Execution stage</p>	<p>Rehabilitation and Restoration of the Closed Landfills and Development of Engineered Landfills - The project is the final stage of the closure and rehabilitation two landfills in Malta and one in Gozo, which were the locations for the deposit of all wastes in Malta and Gozo and were closed in April 2004. Both sites created risks to human health and the environment through combustion of wastes and landfill gas production. Rehabilitation and restoration of landfills will be achieved by the installation of an engineered capping to improve control of gas emissions, reducing rainfall infiltration and control of surface water run-off using a drainage system. This will be followed by restoration planting using indigenous Maltese species and ongoing maintenance and irrigation. New engineered landfills were also currently being developed - Execution stage</p>
<p>Life Sciences Centre, San Gwann - The construction of an auditorium within a Life Sciences Centre being developed in close proximity to the University of Malta and the Mater Dei General Hospital. The auditorium facility is complemented by exhibition space, meeting rooms and ancillary facilities - Execution stage</p>	<p>Development of a Family Park in the South of Malta - This project aims to provide an area and promote rural heritage for visitors in the South of Malta. The leisure area will provide recreational space with picnic areas, an information and education centre about agricultural produce and practices and promotion of local arts and crafts. The project also aims to restore and maintain the valley system that runs adjacent to the northern boundary of the proposed leisure area. Storm water control measures. The restoration of the valley will include the removal of alien species and the planting of indigenous species, to encourage re-colonisation of the valley by fauna typical of the habitat - Execution stage</p>
	<p>Off Shore Wind Farms at Sikka l-Bajda, Malta - A close to shore offshore wind farm along the North-East coast of Malta. The project covers a sea area of around 11 square kilometres with water depths varying between 10 to 35 m. The Sikka l-Bajda wind farm will consist of up to 19 five-Megawatt wind turbines with a maximum generating capacity of 95 MW providing a significant source of clean, renewable electricity that would make a major contribution towards meeting Malta's renewable energy target of 10% by 2020. The development will strengthen Malta's energy production, providing electricity to an equivalent of 45,000 homes from an environmentally friendly and sustainable source - Planning stage</p>

Conclusions

Mega events such as the ECoC and the Olympic Games are increasingly used for regeneration purposes. One of the main priorities of most cities bidding for the ECoC title today is the development of infrastructure, which usually includes the development of cultural infrastructure, urban transformation projects and supporting infrastructure.

There are different approaches to the development of infrastructure. Some cities look at the construction of large-scale, landmark buildings, whilst other cities look at facilitating the development of cultural quarters, though one strategy does not exclude the other.

The Valletta 2018 bid was officially presented in October 2011. The bid covers the whole of the Maltese islands aiming to broaden the impacts generated by the title towards the whole of the Maltese territory. The bid's vision looks at developing an environment of exchange with one of the main pillars being the development of a visible culture through the development of sustainable infrastructure for the long-term. With the recommendations of the recently launched NCP, V18 looks at developing a project and its accompanying infrastructure, within the framework of a culture-led form of regeneration. A combination of both landmark building development and the facilitation of cultural quarters will take place, looking at exploiting Malta's temperate climate and scenic open spaces to show that Valletta is truly a European Capital of Culture.

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A HOLISTIC PEDAGOGIC VIEW OF THE CRISIS

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Introduction

The timing of the current global financial crisis has coincided with a crisis in the culture of education. In fact, solutions in this area have been sought for some time, and I would like to use this opportunity to offer a teaching analysis model which indicates certain development opportunities for enhanced pedagogic cultural standards in the realm of teaching - but from a holistic perspective. Using experiences in constructive drama pedagogy shows that the concept is valid in every teaching situation, and successful educators have the most important advantage that they can direct the process of learning and can create an ideal motivational network among participants with its help. The aims of this situation research will also be discussed - research carried out with the help of several hundred students and their teachers in observing the pedagogic culture applied in their classes.

1. Current Challenges in Pedagogy – The 'Seven Conflict model'

The pedagogical world cannot be separated from global, social reality, and, no matter from what perspective we examine the situations, the symptoms of the world crisis are clearly visible. The nature of this crisis can be summarised by means of seven points, viewed from the perspective of the individual and touching on its every contractual dimension (Hajnal, 2010). Our relationship with nature or, more broadly, with our environment, is in crisis. Humanity, which has grown five-fold over the last one hundred years, and which increases by the population of a city the size of Pécs each year, will soon have no access to adequate quantities of healthy food, drinking water and raw materials. Our social relations - from family, through small communities and nations to county-clusters are also in crisis. So is our sense of history. Our 'threads of identity' have been severed at various levels - the self, the family, the community and on the global

level also. The past has almost been obliterated by a distorted and manipulative, 'Orwellian' wave of worldview, which has produced a plethora of extreme ideologies over the course of the last 250 years. Our relationship with the transcendent is in a crisis of its own. Even though 90% of the World's population of seven billion people say they belong to a religion of some kind, close cooperation with a God figure is missing from their everyday practice. Nietzsche's diagnosis is quite accurate: for most of the contemporary population 'God is dead'. Finally, we are not satisfied with ourselves; human consciousness, the individual himself is in crisis. Many people seek the chance to live a life of harmony via various techniques and methods, but there are only few who reach the level where they are able to experience a peace of mind and peace in their relationships. We cannot mobilise straightforward and clear goals for them as their motivational mechanisms fail to work properly.

It is therefore a strategic goal of education to provide solutions for these crisis situations, or rather to teach them to be able to seek viable alternatives (Monoriné, 2010). This, however, is only an alternative for those who seek and live fullness. We need to educate young people who will grow up to be adults who are healthy and have integrity - physically, emotionally and spiritually also. They will represent the higher meaning of autonomy, id best being able to exist freely, responsibly and with a higher degree of love on all three levels of the personality. These are the people who may save the world or represent the paradigm of a new world order. This is the way our students can become the people of the age of 'perceptual thinking'. For this, we need such a model of teaching-learning, which is capable of creating a new world.

Experiencing the world is the student's most important base of motivation. Without it, all learning is 'worldless'. It is most regrettable that contemporary students have 'worldless experiences'. We could truly learn from the experiences of our ancestors.

For example, in the dramas of ancient eras, the Choir was the entity which 'lit the world'; it was their speech which represented the 'background' of the community world, in relation to which actions and speech took place in the 'foreground'. Today, there is mostly only 'action' and no background construction; no world-building, neither in motion pictures, nor in simple stories, nor even in school lessons.

2. Components of the Culture of Teaching-Learning and Talents

In this chapter, I would like, with the aid of the world-view of constructive drama pedagogy, to introduce the complex pedagogical model which rules each teaching-learning situation, but there are crucial differences in terms of extent and at the level of cognition (Nahalka, 1997). I also wish to prove or advance my thesis, according to which one of the most basic qualities of a good educator is the ability to see through and control learning situations, with the help of which he is capable of creating such situations in which the most ideal motivational network can form among all the participants (Zalay, 2006).

Perhaps it is no accident that the number of research activities has multiplied in this topic since the last thirty years of the 20th century, and several development programmes have been launched at various schools (Sternberg-Davidson, 1994, 12). By now a basis for knowledge and methodology have developed, which also provide a firm basis for programmes aimed at compensating the disadvantaged and managing talent. Drama-pedagogy is one of these.

One of the basic issues in the practice of education dealing with disadvantaged groups and the underlying philosophy is the correct definition of talent. The Renzulli model is the most generally accepted theory in the definition of talent today (Mönks-Boxtell, 1994, 35). According to this model the components of talent are: above average capabilities, commitment to tasks and creativity. This model locates various types of talent in a social field. This is the context in which students live: family, educational facility and peers. High-level abstract thinking, developed capabilities related to the mother tongue, good memory, effective information processing strategies, etc. are regarded as above average capabilities above average. The role of these attributes is naturally different in certain special areas of talent. The special capabilities lend character to talent. There are several models, which describe these special capabilities; however it is the Gardner classification that is generally accepted (Harsányi, 1981, 53). According to this, seven different special groups of capabilities may be distinguished: language, music, mathematical-logical, visual-space-related, body-movement, social-interpersonal and intrapersonal. These capabilities serve as pre-requisites for special talent development. Creativity also has several components. They are: originality, flexibility, fluency, problem-sensitivity, etc. This component is also definitive in the functioning of talent since talent, among other

factors, may be characterised by the fact that a talented person finds new solutions in problem situations, which would be impossible without creative capabilities. Commitment to tasks involves personal characteristics, which provide energy for high-level capacity. These are: Interest, competitive spirit, endurance, emotional stability, etc. No matter how highly the capabilities are developed, there is no high level performance without these background factors. We do not receive these talent-components ready-made at birth; they are the result of a long process of development activity. Many such components must be perfected in the process of talent management in order for an individual to develop dormant talent in the person into full-fledged capabilities with high performance. A clear consequence is that educational facilities, schools and teachers have an important role and responsibility in finding and developing talent.

Teachers or trainers who practise drama-pedagogy may undertake this responsibility with confidence, since their basic attitude is to see the world as a network full of tension and problems, which may or may not be resolved. These teachers and trainers also have a diverse set of methodological tools, which is the key to the effective development of creativity. There are also great opportunities in drama-pedagogy for the development of interest, competitive spirit, endurance and emotional attitudes, which is the most effective way to develop commitment to the resolution of tasks. All these factors together may result in the revelation of above-average capabilities through drama-pedagogy by the development of thinking, mother tongue-related capabilities, the memory or strategies for information processing together with a special focus on the development of special personal capabilities in areas such as language, music, visual space, body and movement or social-interpersonal areas.

It is in this area, where the process of making up for disadvantages and talent management through drama-pedagogy has great potential. This may be able to build bridges between individuals who use different codes and the trainers. It may also be able to mobilise energies which could not appear and manifest themselves earlier - either in the conventional educational system or in social discourse. This possibility may provide particular chances for drama-pedagogy to gain space in various development programmes, so creating demand for training drama-teachers and drama-trainers and inducing changes in the conservative structure of pedagogy. Maybe it will also be able

to create attention for the necessity of a paradigm shift, which is bound to happen sooner or later in every scientific discipline. It is an essential issue in Hungarian society. Which is trying to find its identity in an IT revolution in a globalising world - and in the European Union - to create a learning environment in which young students and adults do not learn dead knowledge during endless and dull lessons; rather they focus on real problems and related solutions. They may try to find, together with their teachers and trainers, viable strategies for survival and further development, thus resolving tension from language differences and freeing their talent.

We tried to turn the previously theoretical search for solutions into a practice-oriented one and develop an empirical search programme which is statistically capable of differentiating activities carried out during lessons. This programme has a central value measurement category (the CTQ factor). CTQ (Culture of Teaching-Learning Quotient) is the name of a quotient of the measurement of the 'world-building level' (id est 'cultural components') of the lesson, as the all-time base element of teaching. This number (with the help of an evaluation system of the underlying four primary variables and twenty-five secondary viewpoints and a special formula) characterises the universal factor of the teaching-learning process, which, according to the basic hypothesis of my pilot study, greatly influences the activity's effectiveness. The four primary variables (analogous to 'three space and one time dimension') are based on the 'educational knowledge' of the teacher (planning, teaching, teacher, material, student, learning, teaching aides), the 'learning process' of the students during lessons (entering, world-building, narratives, understanding, deepening, reflectivity, exiting) (Szauder, 2004), their 'inter-communicational components' (use of space, use of time, performers, relations, antecedents, motivations, manifestations) and the atmosphere of the lesson, the 'time experience' (flow, boredom, distress, apathy) (Csíkszentmihályi, 2001). By standardising, introducing and widely distributing this measurement system, we have an evaluation system never before employed in the field of education, not only in Hungary but throughout the World.

In areas permanently battling with crises, a need arose for professionals to develop evaluation systems capable of accurately describing the symptoms of a crisis and validating a solution-centric viewpoint. With the use of methods utilising CTQ factor assessment, such

representative surveys can be conducted in any field of teaching-learning, both locally and internationally. With this help, on the one hand we can obtain a picture of the present situation at different levels and, on the other hand, there would be an opportunity for the direct renewal of the training and vocational training portfolio which would allow the viewpoints of the new system to prevail. This would be expected to improve significantly the results in this field.

3. Measuring the Level of Pedagogical Culture

The essence of the process is that, in examining the four primary variables, we have the students of a class/group and their teacher fill in four multiple-choice surveys via the internet, each consisting of twenty questions about the lesson's 'world-building' components. The mean of the results from the participants, with the aid of a patented formula, form a quotient with each other, from which the CTQ degree can be calculated. This, of course, requires a serious IT back-up service. The applied IT technology must have specific capabilities:

- to randomly mix the twenty questions within a single test and randomly mix the order of tests as they appear before the participants;
- to calculate the CTQ degree of a single lesson from the input results;
- to make further, detailed dissections (calculate average scores) in respect of the twenty-five viewpoints and send mails about the results to the conductor, the given teacher and the headmaster;
- place input data in a database, and, comparing new and old data, make diagrams and charts.

The validity setting of the gauge is under way with the aid of a 500 people 'pilot study' in the 'Deák Ferenc Practice Elementary School and Grammar School' in Pécs. The first results are promising. A sample of the first phase of this experiment can be found in appendix I.

Summary

With the wide distribution of an evaluation system based on the CTQ factor, a much faster change of paradigm may occur in the field of education-theory as well as in education practice in Public Education, Higher Education and Adult Education, with special emphasis on Educator Education, and vocational training, primarily in Hungarian schools. This may be of considerable economic benefit to the national economy. The patented method may even have market potential also, whether via the interest of foreign research centres, universities and/or state education management bodies. In the past year I have spent considerable research time on developing the method, making test assessments and evaluating the first results. The infrastructural background to my research was provided by my former employer (PTE FEEK, Faculty of Cultural Studies) as my primary place of research. Fine-tuning in practice is currently under way in the Leówey Klára Grammar School in Pécs where I direct the evaluation group's work as headmaster. After data processing, an academic essay will be available at the 'Eötvös József College Pedagogy Faculty' in Baja and at the PTE Education and Community Pedagogy Doctoral School'.

Based on these needs, procedures with similar goals are being called for at numerous universities around the world as well as in Hungary. Considerable sponsorship for such research is expected at both local and national levels of pedagogical research.

There are many teacher assessment methods under development in all major universities around the world as an important factor in countering the current global economic and social crises.

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OPERATIC CRISES?
CULTURAL STRATEGIES TO DEAL WITH A TRANSFORMATION
OF THE STATE

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1. Opera in Crisis

Crisis is a chameleon. A crisis can be caused by a natural disaster or by human failure, can describe the state of a personal relationship or the state of a whole country. In any case, it comes with a wide set of emotions. Crises provoke passive surrender as powerful activism. The international financial crisis in the recent years proved – again – what Murray Edelman already stated: “Any regime that prides itself on its capacity to manage crisis will find crisis to manage.”¹ Of course, the term “crisis” also resounds throughout the cultural sphere of Europe. It serves as an apology, account, and analysis. Somehow, it is said to be related to the cutback of the welfare state. Seemingly, it is imminent in cultural policy.

To get closer to this phenomenon, I would like to take a glance at a very telling crisis scenario: that of the operatic landscapes of three major European capitals – Berlin, London, and Paris – all priding themselves in possessing at least two large-scale opera houses, all of whose existences have been questioned in terms of crisis in the last 20 to 30 years. Exploring the multifaceted crises of the most cherished cultural heritage, art form, and institution, highlights above all the impact of an altered role of the state on the cultural sector.²

Opera, as the most expensive and ostentatious art form, had always a close relationship with the power brokers of the time – at last to those of the democratic welfare state.³ In the 20th century, almost all opera houses became state operas (or national operas): The state took over opera from the royal courts as well as from the free mar-

¹ Edelman (1977): 43.

² This article can only give a brief insight into the extensive research on opera and the transformation of the state that I undertook for my PhD. The results are published in a book (unfortunately available in German only): Sarah Zalfen (2011).

³ Cf. Bereson (2002); Bovier-Lapierre (2006): 231–256.

ket, where impresarios once had made a fortune with it. The rising costs of labour, inflation and the well-known Baumol Law made it impossible for opera companies to exist without public support.⁴ It happened, therefore, that even in countries that had never seen any public support for the performing arts, such as the UK, state or state-governed organisations run the opera houses.⁵

With financial support, opera – as other cultural institutions – came under dual control. The first was that of the public administration: Financial support and controlling, accountability, public human resource management for the leading functions in the opera, collective labour agreements and the legal status of the opera company, all bound the opera to the public agencies of a cultural ministry, department, or an analogue institution. The second control the opera underlies is that of public values and norms: The “Democratic Constitutional Interventionist State” (DCIS)⁶ – the form of statehood which we have and know in the Western world – made the opera a public or a merit good. This status included the claims for accessibility, excellence and the cautious use of taxpayer’s money, shared by almost all national concepts of cultural policy, how different they may otherwise be.

2. *The Transformation of the State*

The DCIS embodies the ideal type of statehood in the Western (OECD) world: the nation-state as the central territorial, political, and social unit. Current research characterises this as having four dimensions:⁷

1. The territorial state holds a monopoly of power and of the collection of taxes within a specific territory. (Regarding opera houses, taxes are the main source of subsidy; terms such as State Opera or National Opera refer to the territorial scope from where this money is derived.)
2. The constitutional state recognises that the state is internally bound by its laws and may not intervene externally in the laws of other states. (The legal principles of cultural

⁴ Baumol & Bowen (1966).

⁵ Auvinen (2000).

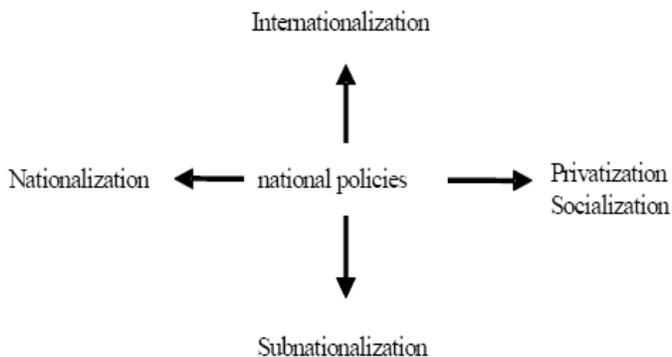
⁶ Zürn et al. (2004).

⁷ Ibid. 6ff.

policy, above all the constitutional guaranteed freedom of art, intend to protect the opera from public censorship or forces of the free market.)

3. The democratic nation-state is formed by a common national identity, the feeling of being a community. (The operatic repertoires as well as old opera houses are regarded to be part of a common national cultural heritage.)
4. The social, and one should add cultural interventionist, state claims to increase wealth and opportunities and to distribute them fairly. (One main target of subsidies is to open the formerly elitist opera to everyone wishing to listen to an opera and to provide education to enable the people to develop the desire.)

This type of state had its Golden Age in the 1960s and 1970s – as did democratic cultural policy and most art institutions such as opera houses in Europe. In the last 20 to 30 years, however, the DCIS underwent a creeping transformation. The ‘transformation of the state’ is understood as the relocation of the mentioned dimensions of statehood from the national to the international level and/or from the public to the private sector.



Source: Zürn et al. (2004): 18

Many see the state coming to an end.⁸ Others, with whom the author is in sympathy, see the process better described as 'shifts in the dimensions of statehood'.

This approach recognises that the state remains the main anchor of statehood – despite all new forms of governance.⁹ What could rather be observed is a "defibrillation" of the monolithic structure of the state. This means that the formerly interwoven structure of the dimensions of statehood is broken down into separate elements, institutions and territorial levels etc.¹⁰ This development cannot only be observed by the rather helpless behaviour of the nation-states in the current financial crisis. It infects all cultural life and cultural institutions that grew up and grew strong with the DCIS.

The author would like to sketch out the major changes found whilst researching into opera crises – something which would most certainly fit many other cultural and educational institutions also. These can be categorised as processes of economisation, social pluralisation, and fragmentation of the symbolic relation between state and state opera.

3. The Transformation of State-Operas

3.1. Economisation

Will the model of the state opera, which has been developed in the 20th century, come to an end? Will opera eventually return to the free market it belonged to once? The answer is probably in the negative – however, the developments at major opera houses reflect a process where the public funding and administration of opera is newly structured.

Despite different national cultural policies, all cases analysed showed a similar pattern over recent decades: rising subsidies – corresponding to the Baumol Law – in absolute numbers, on the one hand. On the other hand, however, the relative part of state funding was also shrinking quickly (mainly post-1990). Even in London (and there even in the noninterventionist Thatcher era in 1986), 53% of the opera's budget was covered by public money. Ten years later, it was only 38% and another ten years later, in 2006, 31%. In Paris, the per-

⁸ Risse & Lehmkuhl (2006); Ehlers (2003).

⁹ Leibfried & Zürn (2006); Benz (2001): 231, 285.

¹⁰ Genschel & Zangl (2007).

centage fell from 85% to 55% in the same period and, in Berlin, least of all, from 88% to 75%.¹¹

What is shown by these figures is that the balancing function of the state, to keep the institution running under the conditions prescribed by the state itself, ended. At the same time, the alternative funding sources of the opera houses became not only more important, but also more differentiated. Strategies involving sponsorship and marketing changed and increased income came from corporate clients. Grants, donations and legacies, opening the venue for special, non-operatic events, commercial merchandising, and co-productions, etc., are just some of the current concepts of opera funding.

The process of economic change, however, was not limited to funding. Of course, financial crisis was usually the most urgent and obvious, but beyond that a strategic dimension became increasingly important in making the opera culture sector more economical. To obtain new funding, juridical as well as institutional reforms needed to be initiated. Planning stability outside public budgeting cycles and General Election cycles, institutional independence, and the easing of employment law were among the institutional and structural changes initiated by the economic crisis. The processes of privatisation became more than just horror scenarios of austerity which had often been the case earlier - and soon, these conceptual goals became actual change.

In Berlin and Paris, where the opera houses had been an institutional part of the state and public administration, numerous functions of decision-making, controlling and strategic planning, were transferred to newly created private or semiprivate bodies. In London, according to the only indirect influence of the state rooted in the principles of British cultural policy, they were already more differentiated. Even here, however, more economic independence was conceded to the opera houses. On the other hand, this meant more responsibility and so more professionalism within the structures and bodies of the opera companies. Informal rules and corruption were replaced by formal communication requirements and by rights and demands in writing.

¹¹ Cf. House of Commons (1997); Royal Opera House, Annual Reports, Annual Reviews and Trustees Reports; Agid & Tarondeau (2006); Opéra National de Paris, *Évolution du résultat financier*; Der Senator für Wissenschaft, Forschung und Kultur, *Materialien zum öffentlich geförderten Kulturangebot in Berlin*; Deutscher Bühnenverein (1990–2008).

Members of the social elite, dedicated artists stressed with running the house and all-purpose bureaucrats were not invited to join new management boards or trusts, but simply experts.

The state remained the main source of funding. The state is also represented (mainly by a voting majority) in most of the new boards established in the opera houses across Europe, but the state's policy agenda and responsibility for opera is more and more divided among a wide range of actors from the public, private and artistic fields.

3.2. *Social Pluralisation*

With its origin at Court, as a playground for the aristocracy, the historic elitist image of opera is not only a problem for opera houses: it is also a constant challenge for the democratic state to legitimise the spending of taxpayers' money on an art form that is visited by only 3% to 10% of the population. The accessibility of opera is, therefore, a major cultural policy target, promoted by all Western states. Very clearly, at least in the case of opera, this aim of cultural policy is characterised by the tradition of the 19th century middle-class idea of the Enlightenment through Art. The universal language of Art, and especially of music, is thought of as a medium to transcend everyday life, individual interests and conflicts of class or politics alike. This assumed catholicity is addressed by the culturally responsible state.¹²

Despite this (certainly important) aim, at second sight, this lofty approach¹³ strengthens the notion opera as high culture - notwithstanding all the efforts to democratise it. The pursuit of patronising the expensive and elusive sphere of opera did not, in fact, diminish, and its reputation as a stronghold of the elite with all of its traditional protocol and social graces continued to flourish. This was especially visible where the opera was still part of the elite's social rituals - as in France among the "200 familles de Paris" or with London's upper class at Covent Garden. Cultural policy remained for years, in these cases, in a constant crisis of legitimisation - caught between, on one hand, the influential but elitist opera-goers defending their social distinction and, on the other, the "vox pop." trying to abolish state subsidies for minority types of art.

¹² Cf. Storey (2003): 1, 5-35; DiMaggio (1992): 21-57; Marcuse (1965): 56-101; Fumaroli (1992).

¹³ Dworkin (1985).

The renovation of the Royal Opera House in London - supported by the National Lottery - is a perfect example. Instead of being content that only lottery player's (not taxpayer's) money was used to finance part of the opera's face-lift, the yellow press roared: "It is time this rich shower of snobbish parasites were forced to pay for their own elitist hobby."¹⁴ They revealed that the ideal of art as transcending social differences, proclaimed by cultural policy and pursued by the strategy of facilitating access, was no longer demanded. Likewise, the supporters of the opera house proved no more accommodating. Even though aware of the furious public debate, many defended the elitist opera. The democratisation of the art form was regarded as an attempt to "downgrade the opera house. I don't want to sit next to somebody in a singlet, a pair of shorts and a smelly pair of trainers."¹⁵

With the pluralisation and diversification of cultural interests, tastes, and lifestyles, research by sociologists over the past 20 years has shown,¹⁶ however, the access strategy of legitimising cultural policy and arts funding is increasingly undermined. "The great pyramid of high, middlebrow and popular art forms has crumbled, and people feel free to pick and mix amid its ruins, enjoying opera here, stand-up comedy there," as Robert Hewison put it.¹⁷ Aida or Ayurveda, Carmen or Clubbing - all this became more than ever not a question of status, class, and cultural capital, but of individual decision. The quality of experience became more important to the people than quantitative accessibility. Going to a great national opera house has become just one way of enjoying the pleasures the art form has to offer. Whether at commercial open-air spectacles, in soccer stadiums, or in industrial ruins; at classic lounges in large techno-clubs, public screenings or more experimental performances in 'off-theatres', opera has many faces for many different people.

Here, a second crisis appeared. The need for a monolithic institution that controls access to a mainly outmoded complex of the arts became questionable. Suddenly, private venues might seem to offer a similar or even more "accessible" culture than the officially fostered "high" culture - in quantity as well as in quality. The educational

¹⁴ Daily Mirror, 21st January 1998.

¹⁵ Statement of the opera house board chairman, Sir Colin Southgate, quoted after Lebrecht (2000): 445.

¹⁶ Schulze (2005); Bell (1976).

¹⁷ The Times, 11. June. 1995, 10, 13.

mandate that legitimised the state to maintain and fund opera and to be the only authority to formulate policy targets towards opera, is put at risk. However, the same huge amounts in subsidies still flow to the major opera houses, proving that the cultural influence of the state is maintained, whilst other venues are operating far outside the circles of public cultural funding and cultural policy.

4. *Fragmentation*

That the public purse is nevertheless spending up to one third of its cultural or music budgets on opera raises the question of the function of opera for the state – and what part this function plays in the current state of crisis.

“As states are reconstructed toward multi-level governance, capital city culture (as the opera house, for example) turns from a collective good into a contested symbol.”¹⁸ The case of the newly built Opéra de la Bastille in Paris gives a perfect example of this. The Bastille was commissioned in the early 1980s by the first left-wing government in post-war France and its President, François Mitterrand, as part of a prestigious architectural programme known as “Les Grands Travaux”. As a symbol not only of Mitterrand and his government but of a reinvented state, the new opera was to replace the old one – built by Emperor Napoleon III. It was to break with old traditions and styles, with the old elite and its political and cultural practices.

As such a representation, however, it also became a perfect symbol with which to attack the political order when, a few years later, in 1986, an unknown political situation known as the first cohabitation came into state. The construction site of the opera house became an arena to fight over the authority to define the cultural identity and aesthetic expression of “Nation”.

Cohabitation was caused by development policies faced almost everywhere in recent history: the pluralisation of the political landscape, the vanishing influence of former 'catch-all' parties and unclear majorities after elections. In those days, the representation of the nation-state through a monolithic symbol such as an opera house became impossible to fill with a coherent message.

¹⁸ de Frantz (2011): 1.

The expectation that opera is a representation of a certain power lies in the arts' form tradition, and, clearly, all kinds of political system had made use of this function.¹⁹ However, where this power is transformed and divided as much as its institutions and discourses on a spatial and organisational level, the vertical gesture of defining an opera house as a display of the Monarch's Rule has become impossible. The state no longer owns the monopoly of the "power to construct reality," as Bourdieu put it.²⁰ Cultural "stages" are no longer reserved for sovereign representation and can be used as symbols by a variety of stakeholders, creating multifaceted images of 'their' reality.

As in Paris, political, private, corporate, artistic, and many more agents in about a dozen countries have argued in recent years about the architectural shape of new opera houses. This, for example, includes their location, their names, the colour of the seats, the repertoire, the chief conductor and, last but certainly not least, the right to sit in the front row of the Royal Box.

Conclusion

I would like to resolve two features of the three exemplified processes:

Firstly, the case of 'the opera' shows that the transformation of the state refers not only to the financial, political and juridical dimensions of statehood; it leads us to realise that, in the Golden Age of the state, statehood encompassed the monopoly of a certain political and cultural reality, of certain symbols and many more soft power factors, which we now see in the same transformation as the four 'standard' dimensions.

To revert to the term "defibrillation" of statehood, it becomes clear that not only are institutional and financial structures concerned: a transformation of the state can be traced also in the diversification of social milieus, cultural practice, matters of taste and status. What "defibrates" here is no structure of the state itself, but what the state with its norms and concepts of cultural policy has to refer to. The same is

¹⁹ Bereson (2002).

²⁰ Bourdieu (2003): 166; cf. also Edelman (1977).

true of the representation of sovereignty, which has become too open, too multifaceted in that the state alone can monopolise it.

Artists and cultural policy research have much to contribute to the discussion about the transformation of the state. Their topics are noticeably absent from the research agenda of this field.

Secondly: What is this crisis all about, accompanying the transformation of the state? Crisis theory teaches us, that "before we can speak of a crisis, a considerable number of players must agree that a threat exists and must be dealt with urgently."²¹ This makes the functional dimensions of crisis visible. 'Understood' in this context means the values and threats, friends and enemies, strengths and weaknesses of a society or political system in their ranking order.

This is a way in which the crisis discourse on opera could be interpreted.²² In the Golden Age, the state had provided opera houses with a modern cultural policy mandate, which linked them closely to the different dimensions of statehood. With the weakening DCIS, the relation between the state and opera houses changed. The status of crisis expresses the impossibility of all parties to deal adequately with the new development. Even more, it shows the often contradictory conflicts that the public agents argued about between reducing costs, risks and efforts, while retaining a certain level of control, influence and sovereignty.

The crisis can be seen as a discourse, in which new private or non-governmental actors and bodies set out their claims and capacities to replace the cultural state. At the same time, it has opened an arena for the state to try to reshape its power in new parameters. The meaning and content of crisis, of privatisation, of public or private responsibility, of popularity or excellence and so on, were defined by the agency of public cultural policy. Crises and reforms within the transformation of the state were no linear (self-)denationalisation. They were processes in which the state gave up selected competences but secured its position as an anchor of statehood among new actors, bodies, and structures by defining the terms of debate.

²¹ Boin et al. (2005): 25.

²² See also Zalfen (2007).

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