INCLUSION THROUGH EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Fourth Annual Conference

of the

University Network of the

European Capitals of Culture

jointly organized with the

Compostela Group of Universities

PROCEEDINGS

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On 14 and 15 October 2010 the University Network of the European Capitals of Culture (UNeECC) held its 4th annual conference in Pécs, jointly with the Compostela Group of Universities. Under the title 'Inclusion through Education and Culture'. UNeECC wanted to make a contribution to the 'European Year for Combating Poverty and Social Exclusion'. As befits academic organizations, they did not just corroborate these themes underlying that European Year, but they also formulated a number of questions and critical remarks, notably on the role of higher education in stimulating growth and furthering 'common wealth'. Moreover UNeECC adapted the topic to its own interest, i.e. the link between higher education and culture. UNeECC not only wants to promote culture on campus, but encourages its members to actively participate in cultural policy-making through education, research and academic outreach. In doing so UNeECC is actively bridging the gap between academia and cultural workers on the local, national and European levels; as such it has definitely a role to play in the assessment of the ECoC programme.

Combating Poverty and Social Exclusion in Higher Education

Combating poverty and social exclusion are key notions in both the EU's Lisbon Strategy and its successor 'Europe 2020'. Given the important role assigned to higher education in both strategies, universities should ask themselves whether they want to contribute to this objective, and if so, to what extent? Do they merely acknowledge the idea, operate as catalysts for social advancement, or do they actively pursue a policy of inclusion? Do they accept public ownership of social inclusion policies, emphasising everyone's responsibility in tackling poverty and marginalisation? Do they contribute to a more cohesive society which recognises that society as a whole benefits from the eradication of poverty? And are they convinced that this combat requires the commitment of all actors, because real progress requires a long-term effort that involves all levels of governance?

There is no doubt that European universities subscribe to these ideas. However, when it comes to their implementation, universities are less certain about the role they can and must play. For the last three decades 'common wealth' has increasingly been defined as the 'sum of the wealth of individuals'; 'social welfare', i.e. the public funding of services that further society as a whole (social security, but also education, culture, public transport) then is seen as an expensive indulgence towards the less fortunate. When the economic crisis struck in 2008 and public funding was diverted to save the failing (private) banking sector, 'social welfare' was the first to suffer from the budget cuts. As a result many European countries have restricted the access to higher education, mainly by increasing the tuition fees. Whether these restrictions are inspired by a political agenda (individual responsibility) or are indeed the only way to let social welfare survive, the fact remains that such a decision goes against the spirit of the Lisbon Strategy and the Europe 2020 agenda with their emphasis on knowledge economy. By restricting the access to higher education to those who are financially less well off, they not only ignore the importance of higher education for the creation of common wealth, but they even prevent it from being a catalyst for social advancement. As it happens access to higher education no longer depends on the intellectual capacities and potential quality of the future student, but on the available budgets (decreasing, with growing numbers of students) and the financial means of the students and their families. In an attempt to come up with a socially more acceptable redistribution of the available funds, university leaders have distinguished between 'useful' and 'less useful' subjects. Students who chose a 'useful' subject, i.e. which contributes to the economy (such as engineering), would pay lower fees than those who chose less useful ones. This reasoning, however, only holds true as long as there is a 'return on in-

vestment', i.e. that (part of) the profit generated by that 'useful' education flows back to cover the costs of that education (students in less useful subjects would pay in advance anyway). And here we touch upon the limits of the 'sum of the wealth of individuals'. Individuals do not live in a vacuum; on the contrary, they are constantly interacting with other individuals and in doing so create a 'social space'. The costs incurred by this social interaction, be it education, culture, transport , environment etc., need to be covered too. Reducing 'common wealth' to 'individual wealth' and neglecting its 'social welfare'-dimension (in the broad sense), reeks of ideological bias.

These ideas, of course, are not new[1], but often dismissed as inappropriate and unrealistic in the present situation. The majority of the contributors to this volume, however, are not deterred. From their activities and reasoning, as described in their papers, it is obvious that they are not defeatists accepting the inevitable commodization of their (educational) trade. They strongly believe in education as a tool for social advancement and are committed to putting this into practice.

A lot of articles in this bundle focus on teacher training, social work and pedagogy as a vehicle for social inclusion. Myriam Deroo, Greetje Desnerck, Cathérine Barbez and Ria Vermote, for instance, explain how the 'Pulley' creates a 'homework-friendly' environment for pupils coming from a socially deprived background; at the same time future teachers and social workers gain hands-on experience at the same place. Similar issues are treated by Renáta Anna Dezső, Silvia Florea, Witold Ostafiński and Szabolcs Zalay. A particular approach comes from the Pascal Observatory, a OECD spin-off which studies and promotes 'Place Management, Social Capital, Learning Regions and Cities'; its PURE-project looks at the regional engagement of universities from diverse angles: cultural, civil society, health and welfare, environmental as well as economic. A bit apart stand Hatto Fisher's reflections on 'Poverty and Experience'.

The Assessment of the European Capitals of Culture Programme

Closely related to the concept of commodization of education is the commercialization of culture. Over the last decades the cultural sector has made tremendous efforts to free itself from the pedagogic pedantry with which it used to welcome the visitor, who usually did not come back unless he/she was already convinced in advance of the sector's quality (often teachers). Nowadays the public is at the heart of the cultural event. This has definitely increased the quality of the cultural sector itself and, more important still, has made visitors happy. Or rather: customers. The ongoing, often politicized debate about subsidizing culture (supporting popular mass events or provide a tiny group of (left-wing) artists with an income?) may lead to the conclusion that culture which cannot seduce a sufficient number of consumers is probably worthless. Overnight commercial value becomes a synonym for cultural value.

This evolution is also visible in the European Capitals of Culture programme, which celebrates it 25th anniversary in 2010. Initiated in 1985 as a showcase for the diversity of European (high) culture, the programme became a tool for city regeneration (the Glasgow model) as of the early 1990s. Since 2000 the title of ECoC is perceived as an award for successful city branding. A fortunate consequence of this evolution is that the assessment of the programme has become much easier. City branding can fairly easily be caught in marketing figures, whereas 'diversity' and the (immediate) effects of city regeneration are difficult to qualify.

Over the previous years UNeECC has advocated the role of universities in the assessment of ECoCs. The outcomes of (part of) that assessment are published in this volume. However, the authors of these papers have not contented themselves with simply quoting marketing figures. They have also dared to question the ECoC programme as it is today. What is the impact of the programme beyond what can be quantified? Does a city as Istanbul, for instance, need the ECoC to enhance its attraction? Are there any long-lasting cultural, social, political effects of being a ECoC? The fact that some of the recent

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1   Cf Martha C. Nussbaum's *Not for Profit. Why Democracy Needs the Humanities* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2010).

ECoCs have been so susceptible to the economic crisis testifies to the fact that sustainability was not their major concern.

The articles in this volume deal with general themes (Anna Arvanitaki; Domenico Crisafulli; Petar Filipić, Jasna Gluić, Branimir Vukorepa; Ákos Tóth; Tuuli Lähdesmäki), as well as with topical ones (Vladimiras Grazulis, Jelena Ostik; Sabina-Adina Luca, Dragoş Dragoman; Lucia-Marilena Pavelescu; Georg Simet).

ECoC Programme and the Combat against Poverty and Social Exclusion

Even more difficult to assess is the role the ECoC Programme plays in combating poverty and social exclusion. Does it contribute to this combat and if so, in what way? Do universities participate in it? And how can we evaluate the achievements of the ECoC programme in this field? In volumes 1 & 2 of *UNeECC Forum* a couple of contributions already dealt with this issue[2], but understandably this volume pays particular attention to it. Katalin Dobrai and Ferenc Farkas focus on non-governmental organisations for equal opportunities in the framework of the ECoC; Katalin Füzér connects universities and social urban rehabilitation; Daniel Paul i Agustí is interested in the promotion of social mixing through major cultural events. Adam Guld asks himself to what extent popular culture, notably in the context of ECoC, can fight poverty and social exclusion.

Inclusion through culture

The present volume comes full circle with a number of contributions on culture and inclusion. The link between culture and inclusion is not always that obvious, at least not from a developmental point of view in the narrow sense. However, as Martha C. Nussbaum argues in her recent essay *Not for Profit. Why Democracy Needs the Humanities*, these are precisely subjects without a immediate, economic goal that increase the quality of life and further human development beyond the narrow scope of economic growth. Particularly charming and warming are the efforts made at Liverpool Hope University (Bill Chambers) and Umeå University (Jonas Ericson) to include art on campus. Of a broader scope are Marta Erdos' or Peter Sköld's articles on the involvement of local people in the Baranya region and among the Sami, respectively.

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2 E.g. Knud Knudsen (2011). Does an Open Port Widen People's Minds?, in: *Innovation, Creativity and Culture. Proceedings of the Third Annual Conference of the University Network of the European Capitals of Culture*, edited by J. Kenyon & W. Coudenys, Sibiu, 140-157 [*UNeECC Forum 2*]

COMBATING POVERTY AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

THE DEPRIVATION PROJECT 'THE PULLEY': THE EFFECTS OF GIVING STUDY SUPPORT TO UNDERPRIVILEGED CHILDREN ON THE PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCES OF TEACHERS AND SOCIAL WORKERS

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Methodology

Research question:

What are the effects of giving study support during education to underprivileged children and their families through the professional competences of teachers and social workers?

Procedure

An important starting point in responding to this research question is whether a project such as The Pulley can contribute to the development of the necessary competences in dealing with vulnerable groups and, if so, which and how?

The results of the research can contribute to increasing knowledge regarding experiential learning, such as giving study support to vulnerable children at home, the careers of young professionals and, more specifically, their competences in dealing with vulnerable families and their children. Through research we aim to provide input to the further enhancement of The Pulley project.

Phase 1 Which are the competences needed to work with underprivileged parents and their children?

We undertook a case study in The Pulley in respect of which competences they named as important in working with the underprivileged.

We were looking for operationalisation in competences.

A study of the literature and sources showed that most skills in dealing with vulnerable people were described in generally terms - for example, 'realising' authentic connections in a professional relationship.

In the curricula of the different Bachelor courses (Teacher Training, Applied Psychology and Social Work) we were searching for further operationalisation but it appeared that the job-specific skills were still much too generally described. For example communication skills, and the operationalisation was too specific aimed at learning goals and were too different for each course for example the teacher can develop materials and customize them.

Because for the description of the effects of study support we cannot depend on existing research, we did further research by gathering qualitative data by focus groups and interviews with 20 professionals of different groups, psychologists, social workers and teachers.

The questions we asked were:

1: What do you mean by vulnerable people/groups? (vision, ideas, thoughts) Do you have to deal with such people in your professional life – and, if so, how? Can you give us an example?

2. Are there things that stand out when you deal with such a group? What do you do (behaviour)? What do you think (thoughts)? How do you deal with the group? What does it ask of you, others, (feelings)? Can you explain this?

3. Did your training prepare you for this, and, if so, how? What have you learned that you still apply or that helps you to deal with this group? What did you miss? What could be better or different? If you could make a suggestion regarding the curriculum of your training, what would you definitely want to include?

4. Which competences are most important in dealing with vulnerable people? Mention five.

An analysis of the data produced a few themes that show the influence on the person and the profession of the person who provides study support. Professionals indicated three clusters that are very important in dealing with vulnerable groups, namely: data related to (human) vision, data related to the context and data related to the competences. 'Human vision' includes all answers related to the description and perception of the target group: who are those people? 'Context' includes all answers related to the setting in which the contact occurs. 'Competences' includes all answers related to a specific interaction with the target group. It emerged that the category of 'context' often overlaps with 'vision' or with 'competences'. Finally 'human vision' and 'dealing with' remained, and the influence of 'context' was taken within.

Phase 2 What are the effects of giving study support to underprivileged children and their families on the professional competences of teachers and social workers?

Professional action in this study is limited to:
- vision of vulnerable parents
- competences in dealing with vulnerable groups

To be able to answer our research question, finally, we did a quantitative analysis to answer the following questions:

1. a. Which vision do professionals in the field have of underprivileged families?

   b. In what degree have they developed competences in working successfully with the underprivileged?
2. Are there differences in vision on underprivileged parents and competences between disciplines (teachers, social workers)?
3. Are there differences in vision of underprivileged parents and competences between professionals who have provided study support during their studies and those who have not?

Respondents

We wanted to question all the alumni of the Bachelors Social Work course, Applied Psychology, nursery school, primary and secondary school teachers who ended their studies between 2003 and 2009 (the Pulley started in 2002) at the University College of West-Flanders in Bruges. We did as much as possible to update their email addresses since we wanted to question them online during March 2011.

Material

We developed an online questionnaire that existed of several parts.

Next to personal data (age, education, work) we asked them if, and to which degree, they worked with underprivileged groups and how long. Naturally, it was also important to know if they had, or had not followed the practical course with The Pulley during their education.

In the second part we wanted to know what their opinion was about underprivileged parents by agreeing (more or less) with seven statements:
- These parents often have no training and have little connection with the school life of their children.
- These parents need extra support/counselling for their children, because for them it is the easiest way to help their child.
- These parents want their children to learn and graduate and do better than themselves.
- These parents want to do everything for their children.
- These parents do not have high expectations for their kids.
- These parents avoid contact with school/teachers/services, for various reasons.
- These parents find 'going to school' for their children as important as other parents.
- These parents do not show up at a scheduled appointment.

In a third part they indicated how they had developed their competences (knowledge, insights, skills and attitudes). Did they attribute this to:

- who they are
- what they had learned in their education
- what they had learned and developed in their work

In a fourth part we gave them 25 competences to assess.

The questions in the questionnaire were based upon our qualitative research.

Results

Respondents
Of all the alumni (703) of the Bachelor Teacher Training, Applied Psychology and Social Work at Howest who graduated between 2003 and 2009 and have had at least one year of work experience, 127 (18%) responded, of whom 105 were women (83.3%) and 21 men (16.7%). Graduates in Social Work formed the largest Group (50.4%), followed by Teacher Training (31.5 %) and by Applied Psychology (18.1%).

Most (86.61%) work within their specialisation and the average age is between 23 and 28.

Those respondents active in The Pulley as their 'practicum' totalled 41.7%. For 46.6% of these it was obligatory. The respondents working with underprivileged groups total 68.5%, for 69.20% of their working time. The others work with immigrants, the disabled, psychiatric patients, elderly people and other families. What is remarkable is that teachers clearly say that they work less with the underprivileged than do social workers.

Research question 1

a. Which vision do professionals in the field have of underprivileged families?

b. To what degree have they developed competences in working successfully with the underprivileged?

There is no difference in vision of vulnerable groups but there is a difference in vision of vulnerable parents.

The overview of developed competences shows us that …..

Research question 2

Are there differences in vision of underprivileged parents and competences between disciplines (Teachers, Social Workers)?

There are no significant differences between teachers and social workers in their vision of vulnerable parents or in developed competences.

We asked teachers and social workers why they worked well with these groups. Was this because of who they are (their personal characteristics); was this because of their education or was this because of their work experience? A comparison of the two groups showed no significant differences in terms of the person or work experience, but education is an important factor - which is an important finding for our research. Teachers report that they are much less prepared for working with vulnerable groups then are social workers. In respect of the question as to where they developed their competences, we find differences in the development of knowledge, insight and skills among the various Bachelor course, but not in their development of attitudes.

Teachers more frequently attribute the acquisition of knowledge and insight to themselves, who they are as a person or to their work experience, but less to their education - unlike Social Workers who refer more to their education and their work experience and less to themselves as a person.

By the acquisition of skills ('What I can do') in working with vulnerable groups, we see that teachers attribute these very much to themselves, their education and their work experience. Social workers attribute them most to work experience and less to education and to themselves as individuals.

By the acquisition of attitudes ('What I do') both groups attribute this to who they are as a person, to work experience and not to education.

Research question 3:

Are there differences in vision of underprivileged parents and competences between professionals who have provided study support during their studies and those who have not?

When we look at the two groups: those who have provided study support during their education and those who have not, we found significant differences between the two in a few items of vision of, vulnerable parents, namely: 'these parents want their children to learn and graduate and do better then they do' and 'these parents want to do everything for their children'. Respondents who had participated in The Pulley practicum agree much more with these statements then the Group who had not.

Also in respect of the degree to which competences are said to have been achieved we found significant differences between the two groups for: 'taking responsibility', 'being flexible', 'taking time', 'being patient', 'reflecting on one's own impact', 'working with positive things' and 'being respectful'. For the other items we found no differences. Those who had taken part in The Pulley Practicum claimed that they had acquired these specific competences more than the Group who had not .

Discussion

The participants mainly consist of teachers and social workers who work with vulnerable people and spend a lot of their time with them, and so this seems to be a rather selective group. We can say that our results are relevant for this group, although we should be careful with generalising the results for all graduates.

The positive result is that there are no significant differences in the number of Teachers and Social Workers who undertook The Pulley Practicum or who did not. This enables us to identify the effect of both conditions on the issues of competences and vision.

The results differ significantly among different educational backgrounds to the extent that they contribute to the development of competences in working with underprivileged children and adults. These differences are primarily in the areas of knowledge, insight and skills, but not in the area of attitudes.

According to the results, teachers attribute their acquired competences mainly to personal factors and less to work experience and education, whilst social workers emphasise the importance of education and work experience. A possible explanation for this could be that the teachers who responded are especially motivated to work with these groups, and in various ways this compensates for the lack of knowledge, insight and skills in their education and work experience.

Although we found no significant differences between professional teachers and social workers in the way in which they look at vulnerable parents and the extent to which they have acquired competences to deal with this group, we found differences between those who have given study support and those who have not.

The competences which are mentioned ('taking time', 'working with positive things' and 'being respectful') by those who had taken part in the Practicum are claimed to have been acquired more. These competences are linked directly with the objectives and methods of The Pulley, such as Presentation Theory and Empowerment, for example.

This group agrees more with the view that parents find a degree important and want to do everything for their children, than the group who did not give study support. Their positive view of the parents is also an important starting point in the practice of The Pulley.

Conclusion

The results of our research suggest that The Pulley Practicum can offer a special contribution to the acquisition of competences and to the view of professionals of the commitment of parents to their children - and influence it positively.

Professionals need many competences to deal with the underprivileged. Those which we propose for dealing with vulnerable groups are developed within a specific context, namely dealing with vulnerable children and their parents.

We have tried to ensure the validity of the 25 competences selected by checking them against the product of in-depth interviews, lists of competences in the Bachelors courses and those listed in The Pulley. To ensure total validity, we shall re-examine these by qualitative research.

For the Bachelors courses it seems essential to develop a view on dealing with increasing diversity in the workplace. Leaving the situation in the workplace and adapting the curriculum accordingly is of great importance in working on competence-based learning. Competences are a combination of knowledge, insights, skills and attitudes and cannot be separated from values and norms that prevail in a given context. This was very clear from our qualitative research. To see and know these contexts and the differences between them is, for a Practicum such as The Pulley, essential.

However, working on the necessary basic attitudes that one must have in the field is an essential part of any training. We must ensure that no disparities occur in graduates in whom these basic attitudes were present and those others for whom this is either not so or only to a lesser extent.

Each graduate from these courses in his field will have to deal with vulnerable children and parents and will have to develop the skills to cope with this.

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SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION IN COMBATING POVERTY AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION

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In the contribution of Social Work Education to the conference it is important to start with the international definition of social work.

This definition indicates that 'combating poverty and social exclusion' is paramount in education for future bachelors in social work.

'The social work profession promotes social change, problem solving in human relationships and the empowerment and liberation of people to enhance well-being. Utilizing theories of human behavior and social systems, social work intervenes at the points where people interact with their environments. Principles of human rights and social justice are fundamental to social work.'

This definition served as a starting point to develop a competence-based framework in the educational program of social work in Flanders.

In order to acquire competence based skills, modules such as internship and practical exercises are the ideal learning environment in order to realize methodologically the social values within society and the optimization of a dignified existence of all members.

Proposals from within the work field are developed systematically as projects. An example is the project – developed by students – "October 17th: Global Day of Action Against Poverty".

This was the underlying motive for the foundation of the preventive development project "De Katrol", with its translation into English "The Pulley".

In Ostend, the event has pushed underprivileged parents to stand up and say: "We want our children to have a better life than ourselves and getting a diploma can help". As such the policy paper of the Flemish Minister of Education – "Social background determines the level of education of someone"- have inspired lecturers from the professional bachelor education, social work at Bruges. That was when they came up with the project De Katrol/The Pulley.

Since 2002, students from the professional bachelor education social work, applied psychology and teacher training have been offering educational support and upbringing support in homes, for families who are threatened to be socially excluded. The support is for free and is given twice a week for about three months in the students' second year and another two months in their third year of education.

This project has three aims

- First, children from families with a poor background get more opportunities.
- Second, the self-sustainability of parents is increased.
- Third, future welfare workers and teachers get a realistic picture of families living in poverty.

As already mentioned in the international definition of social work, namely 'utilizing theories', this powerful learning frame offers students the possibility to expand their knowledge and insight from within human sciences, such as sociology, psychology and methodological frameworks. From these insights partial skills can be expanded and working attitudes can be developed further. Here I mention two important methodologies: the presence theory and empowerment.

The presence theory implies being present in the families. Students go to a family unbiased, they do not need a file on them – but of course they carry their own personal history with them. They work with the information that the parents give them.

Empowerment implies that students try to take over the job of the parents as little as possible. They encourage parents to help their children with their homework. As far as contacts with school are concerned, they try to push parents to really keep in touch with the school of their children.

The project De Katrol comprises different elements

Prevention: in this project prevention means to make interventions to prevent retardation at school as early as possible. Always at the request of the parents. Prevention also means to hold the right thing. Students start from the capabilities of the family and try to reverse a negative situation. They do not counsel families, but give them support;

De Katrol is also an integrated project. Students must report difficulties within the families, not out of meddlesomeness, but because they care;

Lastly, it is a developing project. It's not finished. Existing views develop through cooperation between parents, students, kids and others.

During this practicum an 'anchorperson' will provide extra support for students. If they are having a hard time or need to talk to someone. First the anchorperson introduces the students to the families. So they have someone by their side the first time. The anchorperson also gives them a bunch of examples of situations that they can be confronted with. The students are well-prepared. After the education support the students come together to talk about their experiences. They can ask questions to or formulate suggestions for the other team members and their fellow students.

Students also fill out a checklist, which guaranties the anonymity of the family. The checklist can serve as a basis to continue or stop further education support.

The anchorperson also acts as a confidant for the family, he or she works for a local welfare organization.

In the social work education students are supervised by lecturers. During three supervison sessions, they reflect on and learn from the practical experience they gained during the practice.

Initially the reach of this project was limited to the region of Ostend. In the meantime the scope has been expanded over the entire Flemish region consisting of about ten sub-developments in close relation with local welfare organizations. In West Flanders, every year about two hundred students reach about the same amount of families where after a certain time school related items are being incorporated within the vulnerable families.

Welfare and education are reaching hands.

This project will provide the students with a contribution to society.

In order to measure the efficiency of this project and in case there is need to adjust, research is required. In 2008 a research team started. Reference is made to my colleague, Myriam Deroo.

RAISING AWARENESS OF SOCIALLY EXCLUDED GROUPS IN TEACHER – TRAINING

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Rationale

Institutions of education are scenarios where social inequalities are tangibly present. According to an April, 2009 Amnesty International report:

> *"The Roma community suffers massive discrimination throughout Europe. Denied their rights to housing, employment, healthcare and education, Roma are often victims of forced evictions, racist attacks and police ill-treatment. Living predominantly on the margins of society, Roma are among the most deprived communities in Europe. In some countries, they are prevented from obtaining citizenship and personal documents required for social insurance, health care and other benefits. Romany children are frequently unjustifiably placed in 'special schools' where curtailed curricula limit their possibilities for fulfilling their potential."[1]*

Romany children are still the least successful in Hungarian schools also [2] due to their segregation, their social handicap and a lack of knowledge about their specific distinctiveness. Today's and tomorrow's teachers have an enormous responsibility to shape our societies and so teacher-training should prepare student teachers to be aware of the differences shown by Roma communities to enable them to deal with these.

The 2007 Open Society Institute (OSI) monitoring report on Equal Access to Quality Education states: 'in Hungary the public regards the new pedagogical methods as weak and teachers themselves admit that they rely heavily on lecture-based lessons and seldom use cooperative methods" [2.] Also "there are no courses for teachers focusing on tolerance or multicultural education available as part of standard teacher training"[3].

The present paper intends to demonstrate the existence of one exception: the case of the Institute of Education at the Faculty of Humanities, at The University of Pécs. This contribution outlines a significant social phenomenon in Hungary (i.e. racism and its socio-political consequences) and describes possible ways in teacher-training to counter it. Through the example of the Institute we can see examples of raising awareness about socially excluded groups (i.e. those of the Roma) in teacher training.

Dangerous Socio-political Features in Hungary and elsewhere

As a recently published representative 8-minute long 'Euronews' documentary[4] observes, Hungary is among the countries where xenophobia and racism are growing rapidly today. A significant number of Hungarian citizens welcome the ideas of the Far Right [5] and do not even see these as dangerous phenomena.

The results of the 2009 European Parliamentary Election for Hungary [6] show 14.77% as having voted for Jobbik (the Far Right party), whose name can be translated in two ways: a) one of the 'better' – sug-

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1   Amnesty International 2009
2   OSI 2008:61
3   OSI 2008:96
4   Euronews 2009
5   Le Bor 2009
6   European Parliament 2009

gesting the 'better' option for voters and b) the 'right' – indicating their ideological conviction. The party's popularity and message depend heavily on anti-Gypsy propaganda. Although Jobbik was not founded until October, 2003, today they have three seats in the European Parliament in Strasbourg. Jobbik took 17% of the votes at the 2010 General Election, and, in consequence, have 47 of the 386 members of the Hungarian Parliament.

Hungary has recently witnessed a series of violent attacks against Roma. In February 2008 media reports headlined the case of Robert Csorba, a 27-year-old Romany man and his five-year-old son, Robika, who were killed in Tatarszentgyorgy, a village about 40km SE of Budapest, the Hungarian capital. As Amnesty International recalls:

> *"They were reported to have been shot dead whilst fleeing from their house which had been set on fire as a result of a suspected arson attack. Local police at the scene were reported to have initially announced that the fire had been caused by an electrical fault. This was despite reports from neighbours of gunshots and of spent cartridges and blood stains in the snow. Hours later, the police said that it had not been an accident...According to the Hungarian National Police, in 2008, there were 16 incidents involving the use of weapons against Romany homes that led to at least four Romany people being killed."* [7]

The so-called 2006 Olaszliszka lynch-law case is one of Jobbik's basic arguments when public debate turns to "Gypsy crime" although the story behind this terrible event is a symbol of how legislation works for (and how justice becomes the privilege of) the middle-class majority[8]. This appalling incident happened in 2006 and involved the lynching of a teacher – whose car had almost hit a Romany child – by a group of Roma. Those who lynched the teacher, however, had themselves lost one child in an earlier, similar accident. At that time they had gone to court seeking justice, but their claim had been rejected with no reason given.

January-June 2011 was the period of Hungary's Presidency of the Council of the European Union. One of the most significant priorities of the presidency was the introduction of the EU's strategy on Roma inclusion[9]. According to the strategy, priority areas require more effort from local, national and EU authorities to integrate Roma people. Legislation itself, however, cannot directly lead to instant action, and local players, such as universities, have a huge responsibility for realising this eminently worthy goal.

Romany Studies at The University of Pécs – a Brief History

There is a notable tradition of lectures on Roma issues at the University of Pécs. Katalin R. Forray [10] first introduced courses at the Department of Linguistics with the support of György Szepe [11] in 1997 and has since recruited colleagues to teach about the history of the Roma, the Romany and Beash languages, linguistic studies, Roma communities in Europe, relevant anthropological and ethnographical studies, fine arts, literature, music, minority rights, sociology, social work, and Regional Studies. As the chair of the Institute of Education between 2003 and 2007, Professor Forray encouraged the introduction of courses focusing on the challenges of education, new teaching methods, multiculturalism and education against racism.

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7   Amnesty International 2009
8   The non-communicated true framework of the story summarised by Péter Hack and Zoltán
    Fleck, both lecturers at the ELTE Law School, Budapest at the 17th Annual Conference
    on 'The Individual vs. the State', at CEU Budapest, June 12-13, 2009
9   European Parliament 2011
10 Professor Emeritus, an academic supervisor with major research concerning the integration of
    Roma in public education, Romany and Travellers in education and poverty research
11 Professor Emeritus, a noted Hungarian linguist.

The Department of Romany Studies and the Sociology of Education was founded in 2000. The courses offered start at Bachelor level and reach PhD programme [12] The basic programme offers a BA in Romology (Romany/Gypsy Studies). This degree enables one to become an Assistant in administration (in local or central government and in minority local government), an assistant in school and child care and to act as an assistant in research and development. The annual intake of students into this programme is some 18-20.

Since 2005 those with a BA degree in Romology can continue their studies at Master level in courses either in the academic stream (MA) or in the teacher-training programme (MEd). An MA in Romology is a qualification for academic researchers in different fields of applied social research; experts, consultants in Romany/Gypsy or other minority questions or museologists, editors, professional communicators. The academic programme annually offers 8-10 places. On the other hand, an MEd in Romology certifies that one is capable to teach Roma/Gypsy culture in elementary and secondary education or to teach the Romany and/or Beash languages in schools. Annually 15-17 students opt for this form of education.

Professor Forray founded the doctoral school of education "Education and Society" at The University of Pécs in 2006. Due to her professional interest, vocation and experience, the school offers a specialisation in Romology[13]. The specialisation teaches all forms of Romology, takes an active part in state education (developing tests for competitions in schools, drawing up final examinations in Romany culture and in both Gypsy languages), carries out research, publishes research reports (the Gypsy Studies series), organises and takes an active part in conferences, cooperates with NGOs and participates in the public life of Pécs and of the county.

Readers will understand that, whilst special interest groups of students (i. e. those devoted to social inclusion and interested in Romany/Gypsy peculiarities) consequently have been offered a wide range of courses at the Institute of Education at the University of Pécs – it remains the case that raising awareness concerning Romany groups cannot be exclusively the goal of a university department specialising in these issues.

Inclusive Education

The Institute is responsible for training teacher-students (students who intend to become teachers), allowing them to 'major' in any discipline of th Humanities, Science, Sport, Music or the Arts. Since, today, low achievement levels by the minorities in Hungary (especially the Roma) is a major issue in different scenarios of education, it is essential to introduce courses which focus on challenges relevant both during the teacher-training process and, no less importantly, during in-service training.

Following the introduction of the Bologna Process in Hungary, there are no educational courses during the Bachelor period of training: courses for teachers begin only at Master level. Within two years would-be teachers must be armed not only with subject-specific methodology but general educational skills, knowledge and attitudes that will help them succeed in schools in Hungarian society.

The "Inclusive Education" course was introduced and developed by Aranka Varga [14] in the early 2000s, building on and renewing the existing traditions of Elemér Várnagy, who first taught about the situation of Romany children at school – even before the transition years at the Institute of Education. With the introduction of "Inclusive Education" into teacher-training, a course which is compulsory for graduate students (i.e. in-service students) as well, Varga intends to
- give student teachers an overview of the culture/socio-economic features of Romany Gypsy groups living in Hungary,
- raise awareness of different needs,

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12 Information summarised in a presentation given by Professor Forray - Course Lecture: 'More Than a Decade: Romany Studies at the University of Pécs", at CEU SUN Budapest, June 28, 2009
13 The author of this paper received her PhD in this school.

- focus on issues of relevant education policy, and
- introduce up-to-date approaches to classroom management (the cooperative paradigm).

The course is introduced in the very last semester of teacher-training, but before students take the course they must complete a complex oral examinaion in education and psychology based on courses earning a total of 90 ECTS credits in specific fields: General Psychology, Developmental Psychology, Social Psychology, Introduction to Education, History of Education and Culture, Theory of Education, Didactics, Educational Psychology, Sociology of Education. On the other hand, they have no previous mandatory course dealing with minorities in their curriculum.

Widening the Horizon – Dezső's Erasmus Courses

Erasmus courses can have a huge long-term impact on different societies as the future intelligentsia from the whole of Europe make their contribution. According to the author's personal and professional belief, the more heterogeneous a classroom is – even in higher education – the more benefit we can gain from a course which involves different cultures. Once in Hungary, Erasmus students should support the interests of their teachers and also of their opposite numbers with their input - which is why I have made each of my Erasmus courses 'campus credited' for University of Pécs students since, in this way, students of different faculties can be involved in discussing issues concerning minorities, especially the Roma, and their education-related concerns.

Based on Varga's ideas, I developed a new course, originally entitled "Cross-National Observations on the Education of Caste-like Minorities Today" with the support of the Curriculum Resource Centre at the CEU (Central European University) of Budapest. The Curriculum Development Competition of 2009 supported my intention to develop Varga's course further and to add even more modern approaches and provide a broader context of today's relevant world of education. The course, finally named "The Inclusive Education of Minorities – Examples from an International Perspective" aims to give students new approaches both in theory and in practice concerning the effective education of minority students. It examines similarities between the Roma in Hungary and the Roma and/or other minorities worldwide and summarises relevant cross-national experience in Europe and the USA. Focusing on social, psychological, socio-linguistics and social psychology-based theories, participants are able to study excellent examples of teachers as 'warm demanders' by means of films and documentaries. By encouraging student participation via cooperative learning techniques and various other methods which strengthen 'learning' by 'doing', course participants will probably become conscious of the importance of inclusiveness, regardless of their future profession. The attitudes and values behind the course are aimed at making students:

- understand the importance of "all different – all equal",
- understand ideas behind segregative and integrative approaches,
- recognise the role of the teacher as a 'warm demander',
- recognise the benefits of inclusion, and
- evaluate the education systems which students know in terms of inclusiveness.

They are also aimed at
- learning the basic criteria of the 'best-achieving' school systems,
- studying examples of teachers as 'warm demanders',
- understanding revolutionary concepts of intelligence,
- evaluating theories related to minorities, and
- comparing different ways of intercultural education in European countries.

In terms of skills and practice, the course aims to
- develop skills of working in a multicultural environment,
- develop skills of using English for academic purposes (reading, writing, speaking, understanding),
- teach and provide experience of how to use debate in classrooms,

- practise cooperative techniques (given an adequate number of participants),
- explore multiple intelligences of the participants, and
- improve mindsets from fixed to growth position.

In terms of structural behaviour, the aim is to raise awareness of the importance of the inclusion of the students – inside and outside the classroom. "Inclusive Education of Minorities – Examples from an International Perspective" has been taught since the Spring semester of 2010 but is not the only initiative of its kind. The Autumn semester of 2010 produced another course for Erasmus students: "Transdisciplinary Approaches to Romany Studies – the Most Exciting Issues of the Roma/Gypsies of Europe and Beyond", also developed by the author.

Based on the findings of a relevant 3 year-long (2007-2009) Marie Curie sponsored series of academic events at the Central European University in Budapest, course offerings cater for the varied needs of academic and professional development across a wide spectrum of disciplines. These include anthropology, cultural studies, political science, public policy, sociology, art, music and cinema. The course encourages topics in newly emerging fields and trans-disciplinary approaches and is unique in its diversity of academic offerings. It aims to bring together interested individuals to study together intensively although coming from enormously varied geographical, cultural and educational backgrounds. This exciting multi-cultural composition of classes provides a stimulating environment for engaging participants in an inspiring and enriching dialogue during the course.

In terms of the level of structural behaviour the primary goal of the course is, similarly to the previous one, to raise awareness of the importance of tolerance. Whilst compiling the course, I focused on the attitudes and values which make students:

- understand differences between culture, ethnicity and social status,
- (self-)reflect on stereotypical attitudes,
- recognise the beauty of linguistic diversity.

As for knowledge and experience during the course, students

- understand the heterogeneity of Romany/Gypsy groups,
- learn about the history of Romany/Gypsy people from a linguistic perspective,
- study the past and present of Romany/Gypsy people from an artistic perspective,
- learn about the history of the Roma/Gypsies from a historical perspective,
- study today's most urgent social challenges of the Roma/Gypsies,
- understand the danger of 'linguicism' and the importance of minority language use, and
- compare different anthropologists' findings on Romany/Gypsy communities.

Concerning skills and practice, students

- develop skills in working in a multicultural environment,
- develop skills in using English for academic purposes (reading, writing, speaking, understanding),
- practise cooperative techniques (given an adequate number of participants),
- improve mindsets from fixed to growth position, and
- develop critical thinking, reading and writing.

In each semester since Spring 2010, students from Belgium, France, Romania, Sweden and Hungary have participated in the courses and reported evaluations such as:

- "interesting topics",
- "lots of new information about ethnicity and the education of minorities on a global scale"
- "open climate, time to discuss",
- "pedagogic layout",
- "you gave me ideas that I'll definitely put into practice when I will be a teacher",
- "more work than other courses but this course will also be remembered more".

Students' essays represent the thoughts of the learners after completing the courses. For the sake of authenticity, here are a few examples (untouched):

"In Europe, the situation of the Roma is more and more a problem. This population, present in every European country, is not integrated enough but is discriminated against. We can easily link the up-raising of the far-right movements and this problem of Roma integration. Indeed, the populist right's theses are founded on the fear of other people and of the unknown. The extreme right or populist movements and parties in Europe can be seen as a consequence to the structure of our societies. Clichés and fear are more and more present, and economical facts, such as the current economic crisis, are enforcing this statement... Moreover, we can notice that the Roma population is unknown, for many European people. They are just viewed as strangers, with another way of life, habits, language and culture. This difference, and the lack of integration that we can notice about them, can create a feeling of fear... As a conclusion, we can say that ignorance is creating, for a large part, the up-raising for populist and far-right movements." (Victor Gnis, France, 2010, fall semester – Romany Studies)

"When you are teaching minorities, you have to take a lot of elements into account. The background of your students is an important factor that influences the engagement of your students. The language code they use at home can make them start with a behind on the other students. The fact that there are different kinds of intelligences has as consequence that you have to deal with different skills and abilities. You have to provide different types of learning activities or strategies to encourage all students to cooperate. Besides this, you should take into account that there are two different forms of mindsets. Not all students, parents or colleagues think alike. I believe in the growth mindset type. A student can develop his or her skills constantly. Therefore, I think it is important to keep your students challenging themselves. They get to know their own skills better and they will notice that they can achieve a lot, what will make them engage even more. As I mentioned earlier, these theories make clear that we have to adjust our teaching style. Every child is different and needs specific needs. Besides that, we also have to consider the class as a whole. One of the most important things in my point of view is not only to demand respect from your students, but moreover to show respect to them yourself. This is the only way to get them to trust you and to work together with you. Examples as Ron Clark and Erin Gruwell are very important for teachers. We can learn from them in a way, but I also have some remarks. I believe as well that you should keep on insisting your students to perform. You should show that you care and that you believe in them... I believe these examples are very good practises and useful for future as well as practising teachers." (Saskia De Mol, Belgium, 2010, Spring semester – Inclusive Education)

Courses must Go On

The courses which the author developed and which are described above are not exclusively those touching upon significant issues of today's world of education. Together with my colleagues at the Institute of Education (Arato, Balint and Mrazik) we developed a short intensive programme on education. This programme[14] is available in English for Erasmus students and lso for those of the University of Pécs[l] from the Spring semester 2011. Hopefully the project will contribute to training teachers armed with the tools essential in the schools of our multicultural world in the EU.

The intention with this contribution remains to give encouragement to colleagues working in the field of teacher-training in Higher Education to introduce similar courses as a possible counter to extreme right-wing voices in our societies in the European Capitals of Culture – and beyond.

14 The University of Pécs 2010

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HIGHER EDUCATION FOR ALL: THE ROMA MINORITY AND THE WAY FROM VIRTUAL CHANCE TO REAL ACCESS TO ENGLISH STUDIES

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Abstract

This paper aims to explore the lower levels of education and the high drop-out rates that are affecting the access of the Roma minority and represent so many barriers to participation by this minority in Higher Education (in particular, in English Studies programmes); this lack of access to professional degrees, in fact, all but closes the social inequality circle, leaving the Roma out of most social, political, and economic decision-making processes. Since enrolment management strategies cannot be considered outside financial barriers affecting this minority's participation rates, we argue that all education policy initiatives can have but limited success in removing barriers to inclusion, unless they are more specifically articulated within state policies that will redress wider economic inequalities. Against this background, several measures undertaken by the Romanian state to overcome these barriers will be analysed along with a set of clearly targeted specific measures devised by the Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu in a post-European Capital of Culture context.

The status of the Roma population in Romania

The presence of the Roma population on the territory of Romania seems to have been documented as early as the eleventh century. This minority group occasionally faced the prejudices of the majority population, and, as quoted by historians, even experienced certain "institutionalised discriminative policies" of the state (Horvath, 2006) such as the massive deportations that took place in 1942 and during the Second World War. During the communist regime, the Roma suffered enforced school attendance and inclusion in the socialist production state system, in an attempt by the socialist *regime to discourage nomadic activities within and outside the group.* After 1989, for all the benefits arising from the breakdown of the communist system, the Roma minority groups, spread throughout Romanian territory, but more concentrated in the central parts of Transylvania, have still remained marginal from social and cultural points of view; politically, the group has achieved a noticeably under-representative, less active stratum of political and intellectual elite, with minimal opportunity for political mobilisation.

As a part of the Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005-2015 initiative, a team of experts of the Open Society Foundation carried out a survey. The survey uses data gathered from two parallel probes between the 16th and 30th of November 2006, with a single questionnaire, the first with a sampling representative of the entire Romanian population (1,215 respondents, with a margin of error of ±2.9%), and the second representative of the Roma population (1,387 ethnic Roma, with a margin of error of ±2.6%)[1]. The survey is in every way indicative of the marginalisation of this minority group. Though Romanian society has become much more tolerant of the Roma (in 1993 over 70% of Romanians refused to have a Roma neighbour, by 2006 only 36% still held this view, and by 2008, only 25 %), the Roma population reports discrimination within society, particularly during interaction with the police, officials, or social and health service employees. Paradoxically, of all public institutions, **school** is indicated as the smallest source of discrimination for the Roma.

In terms of education, since the 1990s, there has been little general consensus on the status of this minority as well as on which should be the most successful educational policies throughout Europe. Two

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1 http://www.dzeno.cz/?c_id=13153

main – alternative - approaches to the segregation of the Roma children in education have been identified: *the ethnocentric perspective*[2], which considers that the Roma children's underachievement in education derives from the failure of the Roma not only to accept Western values but also to integrate into the mainstream culture in order to succeed. Since this model does not accommodate multi-ethnic identity and cultural diversity, the educational policies deriving from such an approach are geared towards correcting this defect by means of assimilation and the transmission of values that might otherwise remove discrimination deemed to be the cause for students' failure. The problem is culture-specific rather than school's inability to cope with a diversity of students.

The other approach to segregation is the *relativist approach* which views Roma poverty and lack of access to education as mere manifestations of their cultural differences. Such an approach, which seems to indicate that culture preservation requires that such a minority group has to be kept away from mainstream schooling runs counter to Evgeni's educational research[3] which has demonstrated that the creation of separate sections outside regular non-Roma classrooms has only triggered an increase in segregation and inequality in the education system.

The Roma Inclusion Barometer indicates a very different educational pattern for Roma compared to the rest of the population: 23% of Roma respondents have no education whatsoever, 27% have primary school and 33% have graduated from secondary school - as opposed to 2%, 11% and 24% respectively among other ethnic groups taken as a whole; 95% of the Roma have no high-school education, compared to 60% among the other respondents. Further, the Roma seem to have had, over time, a much less significant educational development than members of other ethnic groups in Romania. Even among younger Roma respondents, 95% have no higher education and 21% have no education whatsoever[4].

Higher Education-English Studies

Last year the author completed research on access and equity issues regarding English Studies programmes, which she considered from the viewpoint of *student enrolment and participation*, trying to shed new light on the causes and effects of over- and under-enrolment. Within this study, special attention was given to the Roma minority who were considered from the standpoint of participation rates. The author argued that, in the absence of coherent educational policies in the last two decades, several factors --declining academic status, radical demographic shifts, and progressively massive reductions in government financial support among them - have affected access and rates of participation, leading, over time to both shortages in - and burdens on - universities. Under such circumstances, English Studies institutions have been staggering under the double burden of ensuring academic programme quality and accommodating mass access. Thus, English Studies departments in Romania have been seeking to *re-negotiate their social function* whilst simultaneously being 'streamlined' under the two (related) pressures of economic and academic restructuring evolving from the Bologna Process. This research found that, paradoxically, despite HE being opened to the masses, English-language study programmes encouraged elite student access; more specifically, they have *increased* class division and reduced lower-income student access to HE. In other words, over-enrolment in English Studies programmes over the last two decades may indeed have *enlarged access but has not widened it*.

Barriers to Widened Access for the Roma Minority in English Studies

Barriers to widening access in English Studies programmes are: *financial barriers* which include cost-related issues, payment of fees, loans, bursaries and credit constraints; *institutional barriers*, favoured by disparities in student enrolment, admission procedures and an institutional resistance to change;

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2 http://www.dzeno.cz/?c_id=13153
3 Evgeni Evgeniev S, 2002. *Case Study: School Segregation in Vidin, Bulgaria, In: Roma Participation
   Program Reporter*, August, Special Desegregation Issue, Open Society Institute.
4 http://www.dzeno.cz/?c_id=13153

and, finally, *individual barriers* which regard mainly individual motivation and attitudes to learning. For English Studies programmes, the state has applied enrolment quotas for the Roma minority so as to maintain interethnic equity and secure equitable access for students from both urban and rural areas. This was initiated in 1998, as an affirmative action programme run by the Ministry of Education. The most serious of barriers, except for the financial/economic barriers, are the individual barriers which can take various forms and pose varying degrees of pressure. The Roma student's motivation to learn is related to personal values and aspirations, and, perhaps some, to the political significance and degree of success of students' collective action. Along this line, Roma students seem to attach little value to education, either for economic achievement or for social mobility. Non-educated Roma children represent about 80 percent of the total of non-educated children in Romania, and so a high rate of illiteracy continues among the Roma. More specifically, 2002 HE ethnic representation shows 0.31% of Romanian Roma versus 10.44 % of the non-Roma population in Romania and these disparities in enrolment between Roma and non-Roma suggest that the gaps in education attainment will persist well into the next two or more generations (Revenga et al 12). The actual figures, however, are very hard to estimate, as there are no specifically Roma educational statistics available for closer scrutiny, as large segments of the Roma population are still reluctant to register as belonging to any administrative unit. As they are in a position to benefit from neither social nor educational policies, they are, from an administrative point of view, as it were, outside the system. Consequently, it is rather difficult to appreciate not only the exact number of Roma persons living in Romania, but also their exact drop-out rate at each educational level. A recent study (REF 2007: 38) indicates high poverty rate, lack of bilingual education, school segregation and the lack of clear enforcement measures forbidding segregation, discrimination and generally, the marginal status of Roma within the educational system, as the chief educational barriers which this minority is facing.

The Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu has aligned itself to programmes in which additional sets of support activities have been designed for Roma access to higher education so as to enhance their chances of enrolling, studying and then graduating with good grades and starting a successful career thereafter. Practically, this segment of population is carefully assisted all throughout their study periods and additional opportunities include participation as students in programmes, conferences and workshops, various training opportunities and information to promote educational, professional and personal development, opportunities for internships and small-scale community project initiatives. Additionally, LBUS has developed a process of exchange and communication by which current and former beneficiaries can support each other in the extension of their social and professional networks within and beyond the Roma community at national level. BNP will strive to develop a mechanism for current and former beneficiaries to self-organise around issues and concerns of interest to them, including, but not exclusively so, Roma education. In both the short and longer term, one of the anticipated outcomes of LBUS will be the development of a mechanism to allow Roma students to self-organise around issues and concerns of interest to them within a mutually supportive community, including but not exclusively of Roma education and extraction. As shown earlier in this paper, this mutually supportive community of current and former beneficiaries could be more significantly extended if ever larger numbers of the Roma student intake were identified and assisted more pro-actively throughout lower and upper secondary school education, that is, if the entire school education system were more integrated in all of its segments.

It is generally acknowledged that, throughout Europe, this ethnic group suffers discrimination, poverty and social exclusion. However, in numerical terms, the Roma are anything but marginal. More than ten million Roma people live ,within the EU - more than the total population of many member-states - plus another four million in the Balkans and Turkey.

The conditions that the Roma face indicate a strain on economic planning and social peace. By 2030, 16% of Slovakia's under-18s will be Roma, according to a study by the Open Society Foundation of Bratislava. Likewise, the European Commission estimates that by 2040, 40% of the new entrants into

Hungary's labour market will be Roma[5]. There has been progress in the five years of debates, educational policies and measures taken since ten European countries committed themselves to the Decade for Roma Inclusion. There is hope for improvement: in Hungary, more Roma now have access to affordable housing, in Romania more Roma have the opportunity to go to school, whilst in Finland a promising increase in the political representation of Roma has been recorded.

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FIGHTING POVERTY AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION WITH BETTER ADULT LEARNING: CHALLENGING WORK FOR UNIVERSITIES

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Abstract

The roles of Higher Education change dramatically and should determine the quality development of educational services and learning actions towards both employability and active citizenship development through partnership building. In this paper I will examine how ULLL will jointly focus on education, training, research within the organisation, and, at the same time, reach out for local and regional extramural co-operation for citizenship and governance empowerment in order to counter poverty and social exclusion. Local and regional identities strongly depend on organisations of adult learning such as Higher Education Institutions in new construction and networking. HEIs, within the European context, should continue their strong role to promote citizenship and identity development in three ways of learning: - spreading knowledge of citizenship and participation practices; - opening up participation through experimental situations of group- and self-identities; - promoting learning for citizenship. (Johnston, 2005). This paper focuses on ULLL in the context of citizenship development through adult learning referring to new roles for Higher Education.

The role of adult learning and education in the development of active citizenship

We presume that the development of democracy depends on more open and accessible education and learning. We also think that democracy depends on the participation of people to exercise their rights and take responsibility for their thinking and actions in both local and global terms and dimensions.

Therefore, it is essential to consider the role of Higher Education in the promotion of active citizenship through University Lifelong Learning which, according to UNESCO (UNESCO, 1998 and 2001) has a strong impact on active citizenship. Another element of this approach is to recognise the role of adult learning as a tool to develop citizenship and, moreover, active citizenship. It is worth remembering that adult learning and education, in the last two centuries throughout the developed world, have become essential tools to turn individuals and their communities towards change with a great emphasis on knowledge transfer in formal, non-formal and informal environments. Further, they will generate development by balancing the social and the economic through more rights given to ordinary people to change their own thinking by participating in various community actions, from politics to the economy, and from social to religious groups.

Adult learning and education after the Age of Revolution (1789-1850) started to demand a new approach to create more and more open access to education in adulthood by establishing study circles, special schools for adults (Sunday schools, parish schools, industrial vocation-based alliances, or national high-schools, etc.) and involving Higher Education in disseminating useful knowledge to a growing number of people. This era of 'free education' (from 1850 to 1920) generated and accelerated new thinking about schooling, education, teaching, and also about access, time and basic rights to learn, think, articulate thoughts, etc. to result in reform-pedagogy or andragogy (the new thinking concerning adult education) based on the thought of several scholars dealing with education, philosophy, and, from the turn of the 20th century, with psychology and sociology.

On the other hand, the two World Wars and the great European Civil War from 1914 to 1945 brought tensions and gave way to nationalism, Nazism, Fascism, and Communism, which did not allow, even in very different ways and locations, the rise and stabilisation of modern democratic and civic societies.

It was only after 1945-50 that democratisation and human rights could be universally declared as an essential part of modern societies and for their individual members. It also emerged that, in Europe, another fifty years was needed for the Central & Eastern part of the continent to leave behind dictatorship and build liberal market economies and democratic societies.

However, adult learning and education reflects even today that access to learning is not for everyone, and 'equal opportunities' is a nice, but difficult slogan to realise for every single citizen of a country.

Adult learning is considered, on the one hand, as an important tool for adults to develop their skills, and, on the other, to make adult recognise that change is something that they ought to make use of and not simply suffer. This is a recognition of the European education and training policy driven by a rather individualistic approach in the famous White Paper of the EU Commission in 1995 (EC, 1995). The White Paper called attention, amongst other important issues, to second-chance schooling - which is an important benchmark of today's Lifelong Learning in Europe.

In the last fifteen years, the European education and training policy has turned, in a rather slow, but distinctive way, to adult learning and has highlighted several issues, in two communications (the second one as an action plan), except for active citizenship (EC, 2006 and 2007). Active citizenship was mainly used in reference to Lifelong Learning under pressure from UNESCO and from some academic circles to counter the narrow and rather reductionist views in education mainly focusing on the economy and on employability.

Citizenship and active citizenship

According to Baert, there is no single definition of active citizenship (Baert, 2003) and active citizenship is an open-ended process. Another essential distinction is that education and Higher Education are important in learning citizenship and in helping to build collective and multiple identities. Therefore, Higher Education helps 'to facilitate the critical interrogation of dominant cultural codes and symbols in order to help finding connections between power and culture, to encourage the exploration of cultural perspectives and codes embedded in different meanings, values and views, and personalising the political so as to deconstructing dominant codes of information by discovering personal experiences of learning citizenship.' (Jansen, 2003)

Johnston, however, pointed out that we can learn about citizenship when learning is about citizenship as status, but we can also learn through citizenship, when we reflect on experiences (practice) of individual and collective citizenship. In addition, we can learn citizenship - and that is active citizenship (Johnston, 2005). In case we share such a model of learning combined with citizenship, we ought to consider that citizenship is generally related to rights (civil, political and social) and participation. On the other hand, according to Baert, active citizenship is about the conscious practice of rights and recognition of status.

It means that the challenge is to redefine democratic citizenship, and social responsibility, which are at risk. Eventually, we have to balance between individual freedom and collective interest, and that is a role of participatory competencies (Baert, 2003.).

We agree with Longworth as he argued that 'encouraging active citizenship means that celebrating learning is connected with active citizenship by individuals, family organisations and communities.' (Longworth, 2006) Therefore, it is not at all surprising that he connected active citizenship and the development of learning cities and regions: 'One of the most important indicators of successful learning cities and regions is the extent to which their citizens participate in active citizenship programmes that enhance community living, learning and social cohesion.' (ibid, p.153.) We think that Higher Education and related University Lifelong Learning have much to promote such city-region development through learning.

Jarvis pointed out in his famous Helsinki speech in September 2000 that Lifelong Learning was a key factor in raising socially essential forms of capital, namely, social capital based on 'value-rationality' through the development of human resources, strengthening and developing learning competences and

skills (Jarvis, 2001). In 2004, Jarvis underlined the importance of the issue of active citizenship as an integral part of the European Lifelong Learning policy (Jarvis, 2004). At the same time, he argued that 'citizenship is now a responsibility rather than a right and,… there is still a fundamental conceptual difference between citizenship and active citizenship – the one about rights and the other about the exercise of responsibility.' (ibid, p. 12.)

In addition, he pointed to the emergence and spread of the model of the knowledge-based society which, he claimed, had played a key role together with the harsh constraint of a global economic crisis in Europe's orientation to education and training. Learning should be renewed so as to promote growth, competitiveness and employability through combined actions and responsibilities of member states and citizens within them. Jarvis clearly indicated that the Memorandum (EC, 2000) gave a clear indication of the responsible citizen of society as an active (employed!) entity who takes actions in solving the problems of his environment. The role of education and training is, he concluded, to form the individual becoming both an employable and active citizen of his community (ibid, p. 14.).

Higher Education also joined the discussion on Lifelong Learning with a more intensive involvement through EUA (the European University Association) and, also, through EUCEN (the European Universities Lifelong Learning Network) after 2002. A significant number of academic researchers indicated from that time onwards that a new systemic framework was under construction in education and training which aims to generate more quality, partnership-based development, and the dissemination of knowledge through ICT-based tools (Field, 2006).

The shift from university continuing education to university Lifelong Learning

We think it necessary to examine the background of how the changing social, political and economic environment for Higher Education brought about complex policies and promoted traditional approaches of lifelong education to integrate into the Lifelong Learning paradigm so as to support a somewhat learner-centred model for education and learning. Even if the educational models and implications of Lifelong Learning have been rather economy-focused and were mainly used by the OECD for almost two decades after 1973, the European environment has helped, since 1991-92, to have a systematic combination of UNESCO-promoted, rather humanistic approach to lifelong education and learning, especially in the sense of the Faure-report and, of the OECD-represented economy and market orientation. The former stressed the community-centeredness of learning and education, whilst the later envisaged a rather learner-centred vision. Now, we think that it has become peculiar to the European environment to give an opportunity to combining the two approaches in the remarkable way of Jacques Delors who implemented that combination in his famous report for UNESCO as Learning: A Treasure within (Delors, 1996).

We think that the context of university continuing education was open to misunderstanding, especially in those countries where the notion has never meant too much or, from another angle, has never been able to modify the traditional academic understanding of Higher Education and resistance to university-based adult and continuing education (except for special courses and lectures disseminating scientific knowledge to the public).

The 1990s reflected a special phase for University Continuing Education (UCE) in the international Higher Education environment to collect relevant examples and best practices of HE-oriented Adult Continuing Education and, at the same time, examples of efficient university structures referring both to institutional changes towards management, education and research. In the European environment, the Community's efforts to promote quality education and training, efficient access, equal opportunities and partnership building reached Higher Education and Adult and Lifelong Education at the same time - influencing a shift from education towards learning in a constant process. This resulted in various UCE actions to enable universities to create close and regular links between academic staff and practising members of their profession and update their teaching to full-time students, to reflect the current attitudes of their professions and, at the same time, to attract funds for research or development

work creating greater freedom for action. In some other universities it has helped to fill the increasing number of student places being offered. However, the most visible impact has been to enable universities to play a significant role in their regions' economic and social development and meet their obligations to make available state-of-the-art knowledge to all parts of society (Becher, 1993). A clear danger for HE has been staying intact and opposing any real change required by the outside world - later, strongly challenged by the Memorandum on Lifelong Learning:

'Most of what our education and training systems offer is still organised and taught as if the traditional ways of planning and organising one's life had not changed for at least half a century.' (EC, 2000)

It was, however, in the second half of the 1990s, when UNESCO in Hamburg declared in its well-known Agenda for the Future of CONFINTEA V. that:

We commit ourselves to: Opening schools, colleges and universities to adult learners:

(a) by establishing joint university/community research and training partnerships and by bringing the services of universities to outside groups;

(b) by providing systematic continuing education for adult educators;

(c) by calling upon the World Conference on Higher Education (Paris, 1998) to promote the transformation of post-secondary institutions into Lifelong Learning institutions and to define role of universities accordingly. (UNESCO, 1997)

The overall aims of the Agenda for the Future of CONFINTEA V. became very influential and together with the respected Hamburg Declaration of the same event strongly supported a learner-centred approach and gave way to adult and Lifelong Learning to serve as a new paradigm both for adult and continuing education and for Higher Education! It also became obvious that HE had to signal new tasks in the frame of Lifelong Learning. Some distinguished scholars of CONFINTEA V. went on to formulate a new debate over HE and Lifelong Learning by indicating institutions of HE aiming to understand and consider new roles for universities in a time of change preparing for the Millennium. Therefore, UNESCO, together with respected university-based adult educators, scholars and specialists in the field of Lifelong Learning and other NGO representatives, organised a conference into Mumbai, India, when preparing for the World Conference on Higher Education in Paris, for a debate on the issue. A statement following and concluding the discussion is known as the Mumbai Statement.

This Statement recalled the words of the Hamburg Declaration, considered the relevant points of the Agenda for the Future and stated that global trends affect Higher Education and other institutions of Higher Education which struggle to cope with new opportunities and demands. The Statement indicated that HE institutions will have to play new roles in the perspective of Lifelong Learning (International Journal of Lifelong Education, 1998) The imperatives of education, the Statement pointed out, throughout life are driven by diverse demands of the global economy and those of equitable and sustainable societies. Therefore, the Mumbai Statement recognised that:

(2) Lifelong Learning has become a key concept in the thinking about education and training worldwide.

(3) We see a key purpose of Lifelong Learning as democratic citizenship, recognising that democratic citizenship depends on such factors as effective economic development, attention to the least powerful in our societies, and on the impact of industrial processes on the caring capacity of our common home, the planet.....

(4) Lifelong Learning is about the interaction between learners, educators, and diverse knowledge. The long tradition in adult education of supporting learning opportunities for the excluded groups of women and men in our societies draws attention to the rich and different ways of knowing and representing knowledge within our societies. As the construction , understanding and sharing of knowledge is the most fundamental purpose of universities and other institutions of Higher Education, so a full understanding of Lifelong Learning calls on us to examine many of our assumptions about what is taught and why.

(5) Changes and adjustment to academic life implied within Lifelong Learning include such practices as flexible and responsive systems of access, delivery, curricula, and accreditation which take adult learners' backgrounds, daily schedules, prior learning and life contexts into account. Counselling and guidance, for instance, may need to be available at later hours or in community-based settings for ease of access. The education of university level professionals needs to be rethought, taking into account initial university education and continuing learning throughout life. Importantly, the faculty and administrative staff of institutions of Higher Education need support and personal development opportunities in the light of changes due to the implementation of Lifelong Learning.

(6) The transformation to genuine Lifelong Learning institutions require a holistic approach which

(a) supports the institution becoming a Lifelong Learning community itself;

(b) integrates academic, financial and administrative elements;

(c) provides structures which are responsible for organisational, staff, student and curriculum development and community engagement; and

(d) aligns the various supportive structures such as academic information systems, library provisions and learning technologies to the new mission of universities in learning societies.' (UNESCO, 1997)

The Mumbai Statement moved forward the debate and discussions over University Lifelong Learning and also helped the European cycles of university adult and lifelong education and learning to promote such implications with the Memorandum debate over Lifelong Learning and the new contexts of the Bologna process, the former to demonstrate a wide-ranging discussion in Europe over Lifelong Learning and its key messages and the latter to frame the tasks of a reconstructed European Higher Education preparing for quality-centred changes both in education and research. However, the Mumbai Statement reflected the implications of the Lifelong Learning paradigm in structural changes within in institutions of Higher Education in order to prepare for Lifelong Learning action for various learners, regardless of age, sex, nationality, etc.

The Mumbai Statement was, in the UNESCO context, followed by the famous Cape Town Statement following a further debate after Mumbai at the University of Western Cape, South Africa in October 2000.

The Cape Town Statement moved further with the familiar issues of Lifelong Learning and connected Higher Education, Lifelong Learning to active citizenship and it called for characteristic elements of a Lifelong Learning Higher Education institution. The following six such elements were outlined by participants of the Cape Town Conference discussing the characteristics elements of Lifelong Learning Higher Education institutions:

Overarching frameworks which provide the contexts facilitating a Higher Education institution to operate as a Lifelong Learning institution. These are: regulatory, financial and cultural/social;

Strategic partnerships and linkages – to include forming relationships internationally; forming relationships with other institutions; forming relationships within institutions as well as forming relationships with other groups in society;

Research is understood in a broad sense and includes working across disciplines and/or across institutions. Lifelong Learning is regarded as an important and legitimate research area;

Teaching and learning processes – Educators encourage self-directed learning, engage with knowledge, interests and life-situations which learners bring to their education and use open and resource-based learning approaches;

Administration policies and mechanism – service to learners is a top priority of the administration;

Student support system and services – Learners are supported to become independent learners in various ways. ' (UNESCO, 2001)

It should be stressed that the Cape Town Statement generated further debate over University Lifelong Learning (ULLL) and such debates over ULLL were promoted by EUCEN in various programmes such as CEPROFS at the University of Mulhouse in 2001 and onwards.

Challenges post – 2010

In 2009, the European Commission decided to dedicate the year 2010 as a turning point with action against poverty and social exclusion.[1] The aim was to raise interest in and commitment to those issues, and, to initiate common action both in and by the member states. One option for such a step for change is to involve non-governmental organisations and institutions or organisations of education and training in order to involve as many people in Lifelong Learning as possible, raising their individual skills and competencies for employability and active and responsible citizenship. The Lisbon process, of course, demonstrated that very serious economic and social obstacles emerged from growing poverty and increasing social exclusion, and so learning for jobs and better social roles could be an effective tool to repel those dangerous challenges. It was stressed that HE should take a leading role in that battle by promoting quality-centred education and research, developing, for example, the education and further training of teachers and trainers in public education, adult education, community and cultural education. At the same time, HE should take concrete action at local and regional level to help Lifelong Learning outside the school system, namely, by giving impetus to non-formal and informal learning and, also, by helping to validate those kinds of learning activity and skill (Vámosi, 2011)

By the impact of the OECD, indicators and benchmarks have been set up to help in measuring Lifelong Learning three to five years after the Millennium with the notion that actions by different countries should become more comparable. However, comparisons have also indicated differences in Lifelong Learning amongst EU-member and candidate countries. Two such measures were also taken by OECD and UNESCO. In addition, OECD and its Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI) and IMHE initiated research into Higher Education and its impact on local and regional development in a global environment (OECD, 2007.). It generated further focus on how HEIs could engage in local and regional development and strategic planning.

In Autumn 2009, the European Commission launched a strategic plan looking ahead to 2020 to promote 'smart', sustainable and inclusive growth. The Commission published the plan and generated debate over the document a whole and its individual sections until mid-January 2010. Major recommendations of the Strategy, on one hand, presume the participation and strong alliance of education and training with a key role given to Higher Education and, on the other, depend heavily on a successful Lifelong Learning program and actions by the member states and individual citizens in adult learning and education.

Major elements of the Europe 2020 Strategy are:
- 'Smart' growth - fostering knowledge, innovation, education and the digital society;
- Sustainable growth - making our production more resource- efficient whilst boosting competitiveness;
- Inclusive growth - raising participation in the labour market, the acquisition of skills and the fight against poverty.
- The Commission proposes the following EU headline targets for 2020:
- 75 % of the population aged 20-64 should be employed;
- 3% of the EU's GDP should be invested in R&D;
- The '20/20/20' climate/energy targets should be met (including an increase to 30% of emissions reduction if conditions are right);
- The proportion of early school-leavers should be under 10% and at least 40% of the younger generation should have a tertiary qualification;
- 20 million fewer people should be in danger of poverty.

It is worth recognising that this Strategy for 2020, from the perspective of a Lifelong Learning approach, can only be achieved, in whole or in part, if the education and training systems in the European Union make use of growing national funds and EU grants in planning and implementing programmes and projects alongside national goals, in exploring local and regional factors, and participating in part-

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1   Source: http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?langId=en&catId=637

nership-based development and innovation. One basic principle in this is clear engagement in co-operation amongst public education, VET, Higher Education and adult education providers so as to promote a higher number of learners, better learning results, and more enthusiasm towards learning itself. It is worth examining who has what role in that process!

Another visionary plan was the 'Learning Revolution' document of the UK's Labour government in Spring, 2009, to generate more attention to:
• Building a culture of learning;
• Empowerment, participation of citizens, Commitment/engagement;
• Increasing access to Informal Adult Learning;
• Supporting learning by older and disadvantaged people;
• Development of community learning;
• Promoting informal learning at work;
• Transforming the way people learn through technology;
• Developing skills for using new technologies;
• Promoting new forms of partnership;
(Department for Innovation, Universities & Skills, 2009)[2]

It is obvious that Higher Education, according to the UNESCO Cape Town Statement, has a key role in the development of Lifelong Learning and active citizenship both inside and outside the school-system in co-operation with stakeholders to promote continuing and quality learning (UNESCO, 2001). That mission may be considered as a third one, although it must be understood that universities are only one of the stakeholders and that co-operation represents one aid to survival in a global economic context with social implications at local and regional level. This is one of the main challenges of the Education and Training 2020 plan of the European Council (European Council, 2009):

Strategic objective 1: Making Lifelong Learning and Mobility a reality
• Benchmark: By 2020, an average of at least 15 % of adults should participate in Lifelong Learning (3.8 – HUN)

Strategic objective 2: Improving the quality and efficiency of education and training
• Benchmark: By 2020, the proportion of low-achieving 15-years olds in reading, mathematics and science (3) should be less than 15 %.
• Benchmark: By 2020, the share of early leavers from education and training (5) should be less than 10 %.

Strategic objective 3: Promoting equity, social cohesion and active citizenship
• Benchmark: By 2020, at least 95 % of children between 4 years old and the age for starting compulsory primary education should participate in early childhood education.

Strategic objective 4: Enhancing creativity and innovation, including entrepreneurship, at all levels of education and training

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2 Source: www.dius.gov.uk

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POVERTY IN THE UNIVERSITY AND ITS EFFECTS ON THE STUDENT EXPERIENCE

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Western societies have a romantic view of life in academia, in which all are made equal by access to education and all have an equal opportunity for success through educational advancement. This view is founded on Enlightenment ideals of equality and the freedom of knowledge, and it is one of the most appealing aspects of the modern university system. Into this system there are taken children of all social classes, from disparate backgrounds: rich and poor. Within this system, they are transformed, imbued with the knowledge and skills to become engineers, doctors, scientists, business people or teachers, in order to move that society forward technologically, socially and also economically. In academia, each individual student is presumed to have an equal chance of success, with success or failure driven not by external circumstances of a student's life but by his or her internal determination, drive, and effort dedicated to learning for what he or she came there to learn.

This image of the university as an isolated but secure tower of learning does not, however motivational or reflective of the ideals of society, reflect the reality of the many students' lives. Instead, many students struggle in the university system, trying to navigate the complexities of student loans, scholarship funding, bursaries and other schooling disbursements, and often working at the same time in order to finance their education. This activity may be seen as evidence of their determination to overcome circumstances, and indeed it is so – but on the other hand, it detracts from educational experience which students deserve and need if they are to gain the most from their education, both as individuals and as contributors of a free society. European countries have been struggling to find a balance between the need to support students in their studies and the ideal of the meritocracy since the early 1990s (Daniel, Schwarz, & Teichler, 1999): but this issue has not yet been resolved. The time for this policy uncertainty is rapidly coming to an end as educational costs are becoming increasingly higher. Rather than idealising or romanticising poverty within the university, steps should be taken to eradicate it. In order to improve the product of the university environment, it is necessary to improve student support and reduce the possibility that students will not be able to succeed due to their external financial circumstances.

The Philosophy of Equality

The main philosophical approach addressed in this research is *egalitarianism*, or equality of potential outcome. Egalitarianism was an approach argued by Tawney[1] in his argument for equality within society, and it is frequently the basis for arguments relating to social justice. Social justice is a concept inherent to the philosophies of John Stuart Mill and John Rawls, and has been formative during the social movements of the 20th century. Rawls' notion of social justice was founded on a utilitarian approach, in which the overall good was to be served by the sacrifice of some members of society[2]. Rawls identified a number of basic liberties to be ensured by society, including freedom of thought and conscience, political liberty, freedom of association, freedom of the person and the right to self-determination, as well as any rights or liberties provided by the legal structure of the society in which a given individual lives.

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1 Tawney 1952: 1-20.
2 Rawls 2005, inter alia.

The Role of the University

The question must be asked – what is the role of the university? Kerr (2001) identified a continuum of roles of the university, ranging from the promotion of social equality to building a "city of intellect[3]" (in which intellectual freedom, openness of thought and creativity flourish) to active participation in scientific, social, and business research. These reasons for the existence of the university are highly dependent on the social, economic, and political norms in place in the university's location[4]. University purposes or intentions also vary strongly from university to university – some focus on teaching, some on research; some are oriented toward pragmatic business and technical specialties, while some focus on the pursuit of pure theoretical knowledge or the arts. Thus, the only definable role of the university which can be considered in its entirety is to promote the practice of *learning* in a way which is consistent with the norms and values of society. Hence, the question of how poverty affects the university must be an issue of how it affects the central goal of engaging in the practice of learning.

Poverty in the University – Current Research

There has been some research on poverty in the university and on those effects which can be used for comparison, although accounts have varied widely depending on the university structure, its funding structure and the expectations of various countries. However, this research is primarily focused on the United States which has a fee-driven university system that is distinct from the majority of European university systems[5]. There are a variety of funding structures in place in Europe, including the UK university system's use of price controls and regulation to reduce costs[6]. More traditional systems in Europe are based on state funding for the majority of students. While this may seem to signal the management of costs and the integration of poor students into the university, this is not necessarily the case. In particular, the growing role of private universities and educational institutions in post-Socialist Eastern and Central European countries gives cause for rising concern.

These new private institutions compete with the existing public institutions; the public institutions are typically well funded by the governments of their respective countries and do an acceptable job of managing poverty and providing for the needs of students[7]. However, private universities, which are typically profit-oriented and focused on providing human resources for growing export and foreign investment markets, do not have such support levels available[8]. Therefore, the private higher educational system is actually more detrimental to the poor than the public system. Unfortunately, it is also growing rapidly and may in time overcome the state university within this region, which will worsen conditions for poor students at these universities. This demonstrates the shifting role of universities under incipient capitalism, as well as demonstrating why the university may not be able to perform its intended purpose in the light of the market pressures which it has to bear. Despite this shift in the educational system, there has been little research on changing impacts on students within these educational systems. However, above-inflation increases in tuition and other fees in some areas cannot help but increase the effects of poverty on university outcomes. Table I shows the fees for 2010-2011 programmes at leading Central and East European universities, as well as, where available, next year's tuition fees. Fees are shown per year and per full-time student.

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3 Kerr 2001: 64.
4 Kerr 2001: 64-68.
5 Kennedy 2008: 99.
6 Müller and Kogan 2009: 230-240.
7 Slancheva and Levy 2007: 105-118.
8 Slancheva and Levy 2007: 105-118.

University	2010-2011 Tuition and Fees	2011-2012 Tuition and Fees
Central European University, Budapest (Master programmes)	€11,000	
University of Wroclaw (Bachelor programmes)	€3,500 (Non-EU): €2,000 (EU)	
University of Łodź	€2,000 to €4,000	
Gdańsk University	€3,200	
England (Statutory maximum rates for undergraduate programmes)	£9,000	
Eötvös Loránd University	€2,500 to €4,200	

Table 1: Comparison of Tuition Fees across University Systems

Additional costs can be estimated for Hungary using Eötvös Loránd University's figures, which indicate that additional costs could include €60 per month for health insurance, €400 to €800 per year for books, €200 to €500 per month for a flat, and €200 per month for utilities. This indicates that the annual cost of attendance at a Hungarian university could be as much as €14,120, before the student purchases food or other necessities. This clearly represents a significant burden for students from lower socio-economic backgrounds. Hungary does have a student loan system which can offset many of these costs, and this is characterised by universal access and private funding[9]. This is a significant move towards increasing the equality of educational access, and so far the programme has a relatively low drop-out rate of under two per cent. However, this does not address the underlying issue of university access and equality.

It must be considered whether equality of opportunity (a common point of argument for those who advocate not using social support to improve conditions for poor university students) truly exists. Evidence indicates that it does not – one study found that students segregated by race and socio-economic level are less likely to gain access to the university system in the first place[10]. This finding supports the idea that there is no way to ensure equality of opportunity in the university, because it is far too late to do so; students already have had their skills, abilities, and resources shaped by previous inequalities. The growing segment of adult students also changes the resources available to students and the ways in which they may be equal or unequal on entry[11]. This research found that students who entered university 'non-traditionally' had a slight disadvantage when compared to 'traditional' students. These students were also more likely to have suffered from poverty, either currently or in the past, which had been a major factor in their non-traditional university entry.

The exploitation of poverty in the university does not only extend to the undergraduate population. In fact, poverty is exploited by the system of academic contingent labour that allows for tenure to be withdrawn in favour of lower-cost junior faculty members, a transition that is taking place across the educational systems of many countries[12]. According to Gulli's argument, the system allows for the exploitation of junior faculty members, substantially underpaying them in comparison with their more senior colleagues, depriving them of benefits in exchange for teaching or research experience in order to get a better job. Although this is often defended under the guise of cost reduction, this has not yet been reflected in any reduction of cost to students. The overall effects, therefore, are to return increased funding to the university itself, which is then redistributed only partially to students. This is not the case everywhere and, in fact, many universities do not use this system; however, it is a worrying trend in terms of the expanding role of poverty in the university beyond the student population and the lower staff members - the most common locations of poverty in the university.

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9   Berlinger 2009: 259-269
10 Orfield and Lee 2005.
11 Cantwell, Archer, and Bourke 2001: 221.
12   Gulli 2009: 1-30.

Public Scholarship

One framework for analysing poverty in the university is *public scholarship*, or "scholarly activity generating new knowledge through academic reflection on issues of community engagement[13]". 'Public scholarship' has been used to promote the awareness of poverty issues in the university, and has also been used to help students become more aware of poverty and other economic issues related to women, which is a stream of research related to this area[14]. Public scholarship is generally directed to conditions outside the university, and poverty is one of the major focuses of public scholarship. In fact, public scholarship efforts such as the Philadelphia Field School have provided useful understandings of poverty through realisation that the discourse of the study of poverty is loaded with assumptions regarding poverty itself, rather than the academic study of poverty being free from general social assumptions[15]. This theory is valuable because it requires researchers to reflect on their own ingrained assumptions regarding poverty and the study of poverty, and to identify ways in which this can be studied. However, the role of public scholarship as a means of levying research power *outside* the institution may limit the application of its use *inside* the university itself due to a potential conflict of interest. The choice of public scholarship, although it is a useful descriptor for the research that must take place, *must* be made with the intention of reducing the potential for conflict of interest or maintaining the status quo if it is to be successful.

Case Studies in Poverty at University Level

Some informal case studies demonstrate the impact which family and individual poverty has on the university setting and experience in the university for students who are affected. These case studies have been collected through informal conversations with students in the classroom and in a collegiate setting. Although names have been changed, the conditions and experiences have not been modified. Although many more discussions have focused on this area, these three studies represent students who have consented to having their words disseminated in order to demonstrate the importance of poverty in their lives.

> *"Marta, 21, is an engineering student from a small rural town. She has two twin sisters who will be entering university in three years time, but at the moment she is the only member of her family in university. Both her mother and father are unemployed and depend on social support and informal work, including day labour and home production of various types, to maintain their budget. In order to cover the living expenses that are not covered by her student grant, Marta works as a waitress in a café, sometimes up to 40 hours per week, in addition to her studies. She lives in a small apartment with three other students. Marta says, "Living like this is very hard. My friends and I share what we have, but sometimes our diet gets pretty grim anyway. We spend most of the money we have to spare on food, and a little bit on beer or on having fun, but not too much. Our books are getting more expensive too – when I started university, I had money left in my student grant after buying books and supplies and I didn't have to work as hard. Now, I usually have to spend more than my grant just to get my books. It can be very hard sometimes."*

Marta's testimony demonstrates one of the most basic facts - that the cost of education in Europe is not as high as it is in the United States, particularly to students attending university in their home countries (Kretovics & Michael, 2009). However, the increasing cost of living and increasing cost of goods that are often not covered by student grants or loans creates upward pressure on attendance costs, *even* in cases where a government attempts to maintain equality of access through the use of subsidies (Kretovics & Michael, 2009). This means that students such as Marta, who begin their education with little

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13   Yapa 2006: 73.
14   McGoldrick and Peterson 2009: 229-30.
15   Yapa 2006: 73-75.

or no home support but are given an appropriate grant for the first year, may start under illusions of financial adequacy that will not be sustained throughout the educational process. By the end of Marta's education, she will be working almost full-time in order to finance the increasing cost of her education, a rate of growth that will not be matched by the growth rate of her student grant. This places pressure on her final years in education, a critical period for gaining advanced knowledge and technical skill.

> *James, 18, is a first-year student in the Sociology programme. He is an urban only child. His mother is unemployed and his father works as a shop assistant. He says, "My parents put pressure on me to study something else, something they thought would start making money right away. They thought I should not study something they called 'ridiculous'. I tried to tell them about the career opportunities I would have, and that I could work for an NGO or I could teach, but they didn't want to hear it. It was only when I told them I would not go at all that they say how important it was to me.*

James has not yet begun to experience the rising cost of education that Marta has encountered. However, He has already encountered one of the other facets of commercialisation of education – the focus on practical, career or professional-oriented programmes rather than the academic or theory-based Social Sciences and Humanities. This was an element that was seen in many of the students' discussions – they felt pressured to learn something 'practical', and, if they resisted this, they would often express guilt that they were studying something so 'useless'. This dichotomy is directly related to the perceived economic value of the degrees in question.

> *"Anna is a 24 year old graduate student who has no family support. She works at weekends in order to pay for the excess expenses related to her education. She says, "It can be very difficult, because I don't have the money to socialise with some of the other students in my course. I don't have the time, and I definitely don't have the money. I am trying to finish my degree so I can go to work, but I already work! This has been the case since my undergraduate years, and I don't think it is likely to get any better."*

Anna talks about the social impact of poverty - simply, she does not have the financial means to socialise in the way she feels is appropriate. Of course, perceptions of appropriate social interactions and priorities can often be distorted for university students. For example, Carr[16] found that university students in the United Kingdom routinely chose to take an average of two vacations a year totalling an average of 16.7 days, despite living in poverty and often financing these vacations (as well as their daily expenses) from student loans and grants. Therefore, conspicuous consumption may distort the perception of socialising demands, and so socialisation should be looked at somewhat sceptically before being accepted; nonetheless, if student socialisation is such that it requires substantial conspicuous consumption in order to engage with other students, this presents a problem within the university setting for students who cannot afford to participate.

A Preliminary Survey

In order to expand the findings of the case study and to begin to build information about poverty and its effects on the student population at the researcher's university, a small-scale survey was carried out. This survey was not intended to provide definitive information, but instead to offer insight into trends and current experience from a wider sample than from the existing research.

This questionnaire was given to and completed by a sample of 120 full-time students between the ages of 20-23, along with a sample of 93 extramural students aged 23-38. The sample was selected from students at the Pontifical University of John Paul II, Cracow, a graduate university that is primarily

16 Carr 2006: 800-805.

theological in nature. The majority of degrees at the university are taken in Philosophy, History of the Roman Catholic Church and Theology. Although the university was only instituted as the Pontifical University in 2009, its history dates to the Jagiellonian University, established in 1364. The university currently has approximately 3,500 students, and so the sample was approximately 6% of the university population.

The Pontifical University has a generous scholarship programme which encourages students from all socio-economic backgrounds to attend, including both need-based and merit-based scholarships. Single students with incomes below 602 PLN (approximately $222 USD) are eligible for a scholarship and housing allowance with a value between 50 PLN ($18.50) and 300 PLN ($111) per month depending on need. Additionally, students from Cracow with incomes below 351 PLN are eligible for housing allowance of 100 PLN and board allowance of 70 PLN. Students with families are eligible for higher monthly scholarships. Approximately 20% of students at the Pontifical University receive need-based scholarships. There are also merit-based scholarships available, with monthly stipends of up to 440 PLN available for students with an average grade of above 4.30. Students with certified disabilities are allowed up to 300 PLN per month, while Ministry scholarships of up to 1,300 over ten months are also available to students. Hence, students are able to receive assistance regardless of their personal situation.

The data collected in this survey is descriptive and reflective only of the specific university and organisational setting. While demographic information was collected according to specific categories, opinion questions regarding financial challenges faced and potential fixed for the problems were open-ended. These questions were then collapsed into categorical responses in order to allow for students to answer as broadly as possible. This was chosen as a survey approach because of the relative paucity of information in the literature, which did not afford significant guidance in this area.

Financial Situation of Students

Of 120 full-time students surveyed, 87 (72.5%) reported very good or satisfactory financial situations, whilst 33 (27.5%) reported unsatisfactory or poor situations. Similarly, 92 (76.7%) students reported good or very good family backgrounds, whilst 28 (23.3%) reported unsatisfactory or poor backgrounds. 75 (62.5%) students reported that their family financed their studies, while 41 reported that their studies were funded through a combination of family support and scholarships. Four students reported that their education was entirely self-funded, 40.8% received a need-based scholarship, whilst 40% did not. 19.2% of students did not answer this question. 84.2% of students agreed that students in general face financial problems, whilst 10% did not agree with this statement. 5.8% of students offered no opinion.

Of the 93 extramural students surveyed, 54 (58%) reported good or satisfactory financial conditions, while 39 (42%) reported unsatisfactory or poor conditions. 15 students (16%) reported that they were independent of their families. 45 (48.5%) reported good or very good family backgrounds, whilst 19 (20.5%) reported unsatisfactory or poor financial studies. Nine students (9.7%) reported that their family financed their studies, whilst 23 (24.7%) reported that their education was financed by a combination of family resources and scholarships. 61 students (66.7%) reported that they financed their studies from their own resources. 84.9% of extramural students agreed that students face financial problems in general, while 11.8% of students did not agree with this statement. 3.2% of extramural students did not answer this question.

Financial Challenges

One of the questions asked of the students was the financial challenges that were faced. There was a considerable degree of difference between challenges identified by full-time and extramural students. Table 1 shows the relative rankings of full-time and extramural students, and this shows that the causes of financial difficulty were different. While the largest number of full-time students indicated they did not face any financial difficulty, the high cost of tuition fees was the major difficulty for extramural students. The top three factors for full-time students included commuting costs, the cost of running their

flat and the rent, and the cost of photocopying and books. In contrast, the top three financial difficulties for extramural students included high tuition fees, commuting costs, and the costs of photocopying and books. There were also a number of categories that did not overlap. No extramural students referred to the cost of food, exam re-take fees, the lack of a computer, gym fees, or the need to economise as a significant financial difficulty. In contrast, no full-time students indicated that high tuition fees, work-life balance issues such as the bad timing of courses, frequent course sessions, a lack of free time or balancing work and school, or the cost of private lessons were significant problems. This shows the very different concerns between the full-time students, the majority of whom still receive support from their families, and the extramural students, who are primarily self-financing.

Source of Financial Difficulties	Full-time Students	Extramural Students
None	26.7%	11.8%
Commuting Costs	24.2%	9.7%
Cost of Flat	22.5%	2.2%
Cost of Photocopying and Books	15.8%	8.6%
Cost of Food	10.8%	
Exam re-take fees	3.3%	
No Computer	1.7%	
Gym Fees	1.7%	
Need to Economise	1.7%	
High tuition fees		25.8%
Work-school problems		2.2%
Cost of private lessons		2.2%
Free time, giving up leisure		4.3%
Bad timing of classes		6.5%
Too frequent course sessions		6.5%

Table 1: Sources of financial difficulties for full-time and extramural students

Opinions Regarding Financial Challenges

In addition to identifying sources of financial challenge for students, a second question asked what students thought could be useful approaches to reducing these financial difficulties. Table 2 summarises the outcomes of this question. This showed once again the significant differences between groups. Full-time students saw increasing the value of need-based scholarships, offering scholarships for all students, and decreasing the scholarship threshold as the most effective approaches. In contrast, extramural students saw reducing tuition fees, increasing values of need-based scholarships, and decreasing scholarship thresholds as the most significant.

Potential Solution for Resolving Financial Difficulties	Full-time Students	Extramural Students
Increase value of a need-based scholarship	36.7%	8.6%
Scholarship for all students regardless of income	19.2%	6.5%
Decrease Scholarship Threshold	13.3%	7.5%
Let students work after classes	7.5%	
No Answer	5.8%	3.2%
Additional scholarship for the poorest	4.2%	
Improve the library	4.2%	

Increase value of scientific scholarships	2.5%	
Incentive Scholarships	1.7%	
Free accommodation	1.7%	
Pay students for Learning	1.7%	
Reduced 'bus fares	0.8%	
Better studies (increase chance of scientific scholarship)	0.8%	7.5%
Free dinners	0.8%	
Reduced tuition fees		50.5%
Paid internship		2.2%
Free photocopying		4.3%
Free extramural studies		7.5%
Job placement assistance		2.2%

Table 2: Suggested improvements for financial conditions of students

A Call for Research

Although there has been some research in the area of poverty and its effects on university outcomes, this research is primarily small-scale and is oriented toward a specific university or university system, or is conducted in the context of a larger study of poverty and its effects. Given this, it can often be difficult to determine from the research how the issue of poverty may affect the student experience. Although, of course, there are anecdotal discussions, such as the one in this paper, it is often difficult to generalise the role of poverty in the individual university experience to a more systemic view that demands change. Policies are rarely changed on one case, or even a small number of cases, as these cases may be seen to be the exception, rather than the rule. Given this bias in the system, it is essential that, if poverty in the university is to be addressed, there must be a systematic study at country level in order to determine the immediate and long-term effects of poverty during the university experience. This could be performed using a longitudinal interview and outcomes-based survey and could be conducted individually by country or could be coordinated across countries in order to provide insights into different economic structures and policy regimes. This research could be used to quantify the scope of the problem and identify ways in which it could be addressed. This research is highly recommended in order to drive recognition of the need for change and to motivate policy changes.

A Call to Action

The university is rapidly changing as an institution, due to increasing pressures of globalisation and commoditisation of education. Given that the value of education is increasingly measured in economic terms, the continued marginalisation of poor students at university presents serious concern for the reduction or elimination of poverty and the growth of developing nations. Clearly, there is a need for further research on the effects of poverty in educational outcomes. However, the situation of students who are currently struggling to balance poverty and the demands of education should not be ignored whilst waiting for further research to be performed. The exposure of students to conditions of poverty which negatively affect their learning experience and ability to learn in the university setting will eventually affect their ability to use the lessons that would have been learned for the betterment of society. In order to overcome this problem and provide a more free and just society for all – not only for the students that will benefit from the improvement in their personal circumstances, but for those whom they will affect throughout their lives – policy changes must be made in order to support the elimination of poverty in the university.

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A SPECIAL ANDRAGOGICAL STRATEGY AGAINST POVERTY AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION – THE USE OF THE DRAMA PEDAGOGICAL METHOD IN THE TRAINING OF CULTURAL PROJECT MANAGERS

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In the training of cultural project managers, during communications training we can obtain extremely valuable feedback on the behaviour which defines future professional success. In this paper we discuss a training structure which will greatly help cultural professionals in the future to develop the attitude to battle poverty and social exclusion

We wish to explore the secrets of a training method, during which, *inter alia*, with the aide of communication acts examined in roles, we can, with the participants, examine real communicative situations and conflicts (1). The attitude system of the group unfolds, and, as a result of controlled process management, those present will have the discipline and understanding of their needs to take part in such exercises which generate tension. It is possible to unveil the sources of problems, propose their solutions, or, indirectly, generate the need to change in the participants. As a consequence, communication skills can develop optimally, and a significant improvement in the choice of communication strategies aimed at combating poverty and social exclusion is projected. These situations will be usable in future work as a tool for reflection.

Challenges of our time

Today, when learning in new ways is possible, new methods should also be taught. In the era of the IT revolution we are faced with a challenge in terms of speed: anyone who slows down will be left behind, will be boring and will be ignored. Intense experiences are demanded by students. There is a quantitative challenge in that everyone can have access to everything, if they are lucky, or if they want, but that is why students need quality experiences. There is a democratic challenge also: students require a democratic atmosphere and publicity. Finally, there is a global challenge: everyone is in competition and, at the same time, is at risk. Therefore, we, as teachers, are expected to develop community responsibility competences and competitiveness. If we wish to respond to these challenges, then an educational paradigm shift is required (2), and also methods which offer lively alternatives, which give experiences preserved in the long-term memory to participants in the learning process. Today's Hungarian drama pedagogy promises to be one way to such a paradigm shift, and offers an excellent opportunity for undertaking different kinds of educational training.

Drama pedagogy, today's Hungarian version of which bears the marks of constructivist pedagogy, especially the so-called "school drama" (3), is considered to be a pedagogy which can evoke significant learning experiences. Indeed, the essence of its mechanisms of action can be recognised by learning that occurs at deeper meanings subjectively understood by the level of experience of the effect that occurs in the discovery, which personalizes their problems through the study of a fictitious medium. At the same time constructive drama operates this with deliberately planned but high-level-of-autonomy collective learning systems, thus developing a strong degree of openness, empathy and the ability to understand others in the community due to synergistic collaboration experienced by participants. All these experiences will be vital for the cultural project manager in his future work.

The developmental opportunities of communication training

The training, tested at the Institute of Culture of the University of Pécs Faculty of Adult Education and Human Resources Development, which is used in the training of cultural project managers have the

overall aim of improving participants' communication skills and raising awareness of interaction. This learning process, compared with normal school processes, happens in a much more intensive way, by providing extra energy in practice, the "novelty" of the tasks performed, playfulness and team spirit. The role of the trainer is quite unique as well - neither located above the group not taking on a teaching role – he is rather a moderator, keeping the process in hand, adapting the follow-up tasks to the group's "state", describing the rules, but no making judgement. The "work" progresses within the framework of shared goals, expectations, rules, rather than directed "from above", as the trainer is rather helping participants in joint planning. The group members are equal, forming a circle; no one is cast out, forming a closed shape, so theoretically everyone can be in constant contact with each other.

Much depends on the trainer's competence and professional experience to get the group to an appropriate level of confidence, which is the key to all training, but at the same time we must proceed with caution, since the occurrence of rather intimate questions too early can lead to alienation of some members of the group and can lead to the failure of the group. Learning, itself, is based upon continuous activity, and active participation. Members participate in a series of role-playing tasks, developed through event discussions.

It increases the effectiveness of training that, by means of practice and situations, participants experience strong mental and emotional effects, effects deeply entrenched through the experiences, the experiences of individuals. Continuous, active participation puts group members into continuous interaction, which, on the one hand, develops cooperation skills (perhaps improving communication skills) whilst, on the other hand, may affect their personal self-esteem, and identity development. Such improvement of skills can also promote more conscious, flexible thinking.

All depends on realising individual participation and the success of the training. Working together (togetherness usually strengthens relationships between group members) may affect the individual's openness towards others, increase tolerance, the level of trust, the participant can learn about consensus-building strategies through appropriate exercises. He can obtain feedback on capabilities and on the strengths and weaknesses of working together with people. He may find answers to questions as to how he can affect other human beings, whilst others can show to what extent he has organizational abilities, and in what areas he needs to increase his effectiveness. By increasing his 'people skills', judging people by the first impression can be avoided (4). This will also be an important condition for successful and exclusion-free cultural broker-work.

The tasks solved together and individually, help identify the harmony between group and individual performance. Team members learn how they are usually regarded, what the others - and outsiders - say about them, and, through participation in training situations, their self-image expands into a new dimension. Thus their self-knowledge increases, their personal constraints and opportunities also become more conscious. Through these exercises, participants develop communication skills, become more aware of verbal and nonverbal communication in different applications (the ability to recognise different meanings of voice, look, facial expression and posture), and, via this, acquire a better understanding of others.

Success or failure during interesting and specific tasks, practices, the participants can get to know the other members in different ways, encouraging them to think more flexibly. A good atmosphere, well-executed training using deep impressions, not only improves the individual's communication skills, but the participants go through the development of personal skills and self-perception, thereby improving human relations by mutually shaping each other.

The special features of constructive drama pedagogy training

The communication training based on drama pedagogy features comes from, especially, the developed professional backgrounds of the "drama" and these are linked to conscious applications. According to one of the most notable Hungarian drama pedagogues, Erik Szauder, the main element of the use of drama in pedagogy is the examination of individual and social values and of cultural content, the analy-

sis of Foucault's (5) by "the problemisation of the idea "In other words: drama increases the personal knowledge of critical behaviour. This is, obviously, in a fictional situation but otherwise contains all the elements of reality (6).

The main features of this method come, in fact, from its being, by nature, what we might term art-pedagogy, since it can operate with the developed methods of theatre and drama. Although, as Erik Szauder puts it: "The application of drama in education, the situation is slightly different, because the participants in the process created are both" actors "and" audience ". The dramatic happening does not have, unlike written drama, a pre-recorded text, regardless of the intentions of the participants (i.e., text, action, and relation-system). Participants in the drama happening at the same time are "forced" into cognitive and social activity, because the situations only manifest themselves, i.e. only become 'experienceable' and so understandable, if they themselves have actively summoned them. The jointly created situations, beside events and social, emotional content, of course, may also convey much factual information also. They are, however, unlike the "textbook-tasting", alienated, decontextualized way of conveying, appear in the contextual framework "(7). That is, contrast to the situation often happening during traditional situational training exercises, role-playing taking place in the dramatic context does not mean taking-off from reality and cannot give room to irresponsible "playing" either. On the contrary, it makes the continuous correlation of the laws of reality and the reality of fiction vital, since, despite the fact that fiction in some respects may terminate the framework of reality (e.g. linear timeliness or spatial constraints), internal logic must align with real-life experiences (8).

Laszló Kaposi, president of the Hungarian Drama Society and one of creators the Hungarian "drama pedagogy school", believes that educational drama differs from other dramatic processes in that the determining elements of created situations, (space, time, characters, relationships, etc..) are knowingly regulated to serve educational purposes. Contrary to the generally more loosely structured, and so less controllable, dramatic games, "situational practices" and the theatre, uncertain in its effects, where all these elements are much more restricted, meaning that their educational administration is more difficult (9).

From all this comes the key to the effectiveness of communications training inspired by drama, aside from the practicality of the educational benefits of traditional training with the help of the internal laws of drama through the use of their conscious mobilization and management of the artistic experience; all of this is located in a verifiable, protected context. In this way, it does not expose the participant to the doubtful experience of "fooling around" and with offered "openness" - ideally - does not abuse situations left uncontrolled as a result.

The best training, however, spontaneously develops according to features of those present, their composition and mood - and also to the teacher's empathy. Even the most thorough planning may not be good enough, if we are not ready to improvise. Consequently, there is constant variation and no two drama lessons can be the same. Because of this and the invariably stimulating opportunities for new contacts and experiences make communications training exciting and add opportunities for catharsis.

If, during training, we consciously use these methods of drama pedagogy, taking advantage of the educational benefits examined, building on the professional bulwarks of "drama", we can achieve a very efficient development of communication. For these reasons, in the training of cultural project managers, drama-pedagogy-inspired communications training plays an important role.

The dramaturgy of the learning process

If we wish to know how the learning process, during training, works at deeper levels, what the secret to the effect mechanism of drama pedagogical training is, then we need to study the "internal dramaturgy" of training. By this we mean those truly dynamically active ingredients which carry the potential to create meaning. Deriving from classical terminology, we have here both dramatic action and diction, in teaching drama the so-called "convention" that operates and regulates the whole dramatic structure, creating the 'motivic' network of a constructive (learning and teaching) drama and of training, and, finally, the cathartic effect of their theatrical means by which training can really influence the arts and experiential education.

Two types of action of dramatic manifestation should be considered, and exploring their relational system provides an explanation for the "special" nature of the opportunities of drama learning (10). One is the so-called "external action", which is created by the collision of two specific worlds. By this, the situational actions of the players are, at the same time, both concrete actions and actions of "another world", the objects are specific objects, but also carry symbolic meaning. The quality of the dramatic action is determined by the mode of connectivity between the two contexts. Depending on the extent to which a participant perceives and understands the role played, the fictional world unfolds its real meaning to him. Training seems only an action, but, in reality, it is thinking embedded in the action aimed at meaning creation, with the interaction of two contexts as a mediator (11). The two types of meaning originating from external action are a person practising skill exercises, bringing those skills to the surface which are needed to achieve that specific role. This knowledge can evolve and develop during the game; as an effect of experiences morals can be identified and filtered out. This is, therefore, an inductive process which is taking place. During external actions, on the basis of actual experiences, the general logic contents can be manifested in the personality.

However, the training of the learning process is more relevant in terms of what happens during the "internal action". During the presentation, that is the result of reference to each other in two contexts: the underlying content that may be produced and become adaptive in the perspective of learning, and which can only materialize in the action, although, in fact there is no new knowledge, but rather a mobilisation of prior knowledge. In other words, the game provides opportunities for the use of such knowledge which has not yet been activated by the personality. The "internal action" moves from the general towards the specific, from the theme toward the action, which is precisely the opposite of the "external action" moving from the specific towards the general (12). On this basis, we can say that in training drama-based principle, both in the field of skills and knowledge there is a great deal of learning potential, but the biggest change yet can occur in the deeper meanings, the meanings subjectively understood.

The subjective meanings are created by those emotional attitudes which participants themselves manifest in their name and express during situations created (13). The requirements of this learning process are (14): joint participation, the emotional experiences used in a new quality, overshadowing "raw emotion" and the content of personal appearance and common content appropriate to the training situations. The stages of change in understanding, resembling the typically constructivist model of learning: confirmation, clarification and change. These occur variably, often merging during training sessions.

The essence of "internal action" is that new experiences are incorporated into the existing experience and knowledge structure; if participants are given the opportunity to build bridges between known and unknown content, by means of the discovery of new meanings and processing experiences (15). Partly due to this, the task of the trainer is to find a way to mobilize the existing knowledge; and to establish a direct connection to the material examined. This can be achieved by giving a "a sort of a focusing lens" into the hands of the participants (16). This image well symbolises the essence of the training mode of action that generates a situational learning process, in which the learning experiences become intensely experienceable and interpretable; by means of the consciously controlled adaptively operation of a dynamic impact by artistic means.

Obviously, due to their artistic character, action and diction should complement each other. "Speeches" within training have a dual function. On the one hand, in connection with "external actions" they develop communication skills; on the other, during "internal action" by experiencing the joy of expression, they will become active parts of creation as learning. However, behind the scenes there are discussions which are at least as important, as they deal with coordination, questions, possible arguments and work by means of evaluation. The "language" of the training is clearly characterised by constructive communication, as the trainer continuously operates in his "vocalizing" role and does not do so in a reckoning tone, but in the spirit of linguistic construction based on reciprocity. This example may have a strong effect on group dynamic processes, since the learning processes, especially the long-term educational process, develop a synergistic network of communication (17). Moreover, the reflective nature of drama has a special role, during which language will be advanced by meta-cognitive aspects.

Summary

The constructive mode of action in drama pedagogy training is used in the training of cultural project managers, and so can be grasped in the respect that the teaching and learning processes used in a dramatic process training are linked to the theatrical form. This relationship is based on a unique paradox. Namely, the training would like to assert both its intellectual and emotional influence, much as the theatre. At the same time it strives to maintain an equilibrium in which the teacher-trainer's preconceived plans and strategies operate, whilst it retains the possibility of spontaneity, the creative role of the participants as if they were the "writers," dramaturges "or even" the director "(18). However, the biggest contradiction is between the artistic impact and understanding the tension between the need for change. Since the training does not want to "dazzle" (19), or "manipulate" the participants, but actually wants to ensure that they be responsibly aware of what is happening to them, observe themselves from the outside, but not in order to meet someone else's requirements, but because this is not for the viewers to play, not even the trainer, but in order for a deeper understanding to develop. Despite this understanding, such theatrical forms should be offered during the training which can be cathartic in character, as Dorothy Heathcote puts it, "acting at the level of the cardia, drama deals with what people digging deep in themselves want to know about what it means being human" (20). This will require dramatic theatrical skills.

The theatre, "wishes to explore, since ancient times, the nature of the social phenomena what it means to exist as human beings" (21). The history of modern drama pedagogy carries the same lesson, namely how educational drama managed to find just that in itself. How could it distance itself from this very strong base that the past of the theatrical drama meant (22), creating its own identity in the world of pedagogy, and then return to the same place, now with an entirely new autonomous identity, *inter alia*, in the form of the training as analysed above, and show the participants of the learning process the opportunities of "the experiences of being human".

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CULTURAL AND CREATIVE INDUSTRIES IN THE PURE PROJECT

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Introduction

We represent the PASCAL International Observatory Pascal. PASCAL is an organisation with many regional and university members, and a strong panel of expert Associates from around the world.

PASCAL grew out of OECD's work in Regional Development from the late nineties, and was created at the International OECD Conference convened in Melbourne with the State of Victoria and RMIT University in 2002. Its work has expanded through Europe where it has a European base at the University of Glasgow, a US base at Northern Illinois University, an African base at the University of South Africa in Pretoria and an Australian administrative HQ at RMIT University, Melbourne.

PASCAL is involved in a number of international projects, and, for the purpose of this paper, we are making reference to the project entitled the 'PASCAL Universities Regional Engagement' (PURE) project, which is working with 17 regions around the world, many in the European domain, and including South Transdanubia in Hungary. There, with the aid of Professor Balazs Nemeth of the University of Pécs, who runs the Central and Eastern European sub-node of Pascal, and his colleagues both at his own university and the University of Kaposvar, we have already worked for some 2 years (supported by the Ministry of Education in Hungary) on studying the regional contribution of universities in this region.

In summary our aim has been:

- to monitor and compare approaches to the innovation system and human capacity-building work of Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) across all strands of balanced social development – cultural, civil society, health and welfare, environmental as well as economic;
- to identify barriers and ways of overcoming them, where appropriate, trying approaches new to partnership and organization, but successful in other regions;
- to interrogate and use existing data more effectively and to study the impact of Higher Education partnership on regional development, with realistic tasks and targets for HE partnership-based regional development (metrics and impact evaluation) - including 'soft' social, cultural, health and sustainability dimensions;
- to offer tools to benchmark these activities;
- to explore the impact on regions of global warming and other ecological questions such as transportation, waste management and disposal, and the contribution of HEIs where science and social science can be applied e.g. to the intelligent energy agenda;
- to analyse and compare trends towards and away from greater devolution;
- to compare different intermediary models for university engagement;
- to exchange approaches to advocating engagement nationally and rolling out regional engagement elsewhere in their countries.

Clearly not all regions involve themselves in all activities, and PASCAL agrees with regions as to which one or more of the eight areas they wish to focus on. Thereafter PASCAL agrees a work plan with regions. This includes two visits from an international review group assembled from its associates, and the teams include both academics and regional planners.

Many review methodologies require regions to undertake a detailed status self-review, using a common general template, before there is any outside involvement from a review group. PURE differs in several ways from such approaches. It seeks to be tailored to the unique circumstances of change in each region. Rather than offering just evaluative and judgemental reviews, PURE seeks to bring to each region a consultative and developmental approach (hence the term for its review team of a Consultative Development Group (CDG)). There is an explicit focus from the outset on changing and improving the quality of partnership, and on beneficial outcomes in terms of regional development, which will also benefit the HE sector.

Direct exchange with other regions sharing similar ambitions and challenges assists practical learning, and the adoption of good practice. CDGs reinforce the PURE networking approach, drawing members where possible from other participating regions, and 'twinning' regions so that 'reciprocal reviewers' between regions share common interests. This is what we term 'peer reviewing'.

In the review process it is essential to be able to learn from past and present experience, and to be able to make best use of data available from all sources to inform regional governance and the management of productive partnership. In order to do so, we work with regions via a dedicated Link Partner and local representative Regional Co-ordinating Group, and we use well-validated benchmarking tools within the HEI system and regions.

The central purpose of PURE is to improve what happens in the region, and to work for the continuation and sustainability of good practices. It is action-oriented.

Culture

This brings us to the issue of culture. Cultural and creative industries are important to many regions, especially in the growing global knowledge economy. However, there are great variations in how prominent a role it takes in the various regions across the world and even within countries. The regions, which are already in a cluster that we have set up (Jamtland and Varmland in Sweden, Buskerud in Norway, Gaborone City in Botswana, Kent In England and Flanders in Belgium), all emphasise that culture and creativity are important to them.

For example, in Botswana culture and creative industries are very much present in different regional plans and goals. There is an awareness of the contribution culture and cultural institutions can make to regional development. There is an ambition to make the capital city, Gaborone, a "city of arts and culture". In Glasgow, the Scottish Government has identified seven key sectors for economic development and among them are the cultural and creative industries. This is also an important factor for Kent as part of its regeneration strategy.

In other regions culture and creative industries have a more limited role. In some regions such as Darling Downs in Australia or Illinois In the US, recognition of any potential of the role of universities in culture and creativity almost hardly exists at present.

Regions can have different ways of talking about culture and creative industries and this may be resulting in less activity being identified than is actually taking place and its role being under-valued in relation to its value to regions socially, educationally and economically. Within the wide area of cultural and creative industries, we have identified five sub-themes, which are important to several regions.

Heritage and cultural tourism

Tourism, of course, is something that falls into this broad cluster and this is an area which is very important to Botswana, Jamtland, Buskerud, Devon and Cornwall (in the UK) and Kent. Preserving the heritage, cultural tourism and presenting tourists with a scenic environment of high quality all seem to be issues, on which all these regions focus. Thus, the preservation

of cultural environments, and making cultural heritage into visitor attractions, are seen as important for regional development and growth. Another region in which cultural and historical heritage is important, as well as tourism, is Puglia in Italy. In the city of pécs in South Transdanubia which was the Cultural Capital of Europe during 2010, cultural tourism of course has been highlighted there, which has led to a qualitative development of the infrastructure and cultural and tourism services. An important issue addressed in both Botswana and in Kent is the preservation of heritage sites in a growing city and thus increased urbanisation.

Innovation and entrepreneurship

Innovation and entrepreneurship within tourism are also important features which are mentioned in connection with all regions already in the cluster, but also in some other reports from regions such as Puglia. The importance of establishing ways for people to turn their creative ideas into successful and sustainable businesses is emphasised. Here universities can and do play an immensely important part in providing knowledge and education for potential entrepreneurs. The universities in South Transdanubia seem to have developed strong partnerships in development and innovation with respect to Culture and Creativity (C&C) in general which could be useful in cultural development also.

Art and design

In the Helsinki Metropolitan Area there is a long tradition of arts, crafts and design, some of which have developed into world famous brands. In Flanders there is also a tradition of processing and manufacturing products, such as textiles, fashion and diamonds and the recent international Columbus conference shows that, within this pioneering region, its regional university colleges are taking a lead in culture and creative industries. In Devon and Cornwall, fine art is an important development in the region's character, particularly in Cornwall which has historically been the location of artists of world repute such as Barbara Hepworth and which hosts a part of the Tate Gallery in St Ives.

Eco-tourism, crafts, food and drink

Another trait which many regions have in common is eco-tourism or tourism focusing on crafts, food and drink. Here Jamtland and Flanders explicitly state that local food is important, but it is also mentioned in connection with other regions, for example South Transdanubia. These food industries can not only provide people with good food, but also play an important part as tourist attractions. Many food producers who work on a small scale also have a strong connection with eco-friendly production and sustainable development. On a general level, Melbourne in Australia focuses on green jobs and the development and strengthening of skills for sustainable development. Thames Gateway wants to follow a possible connection between creativity and culture and the implementing aspirations to become an eco/environmental region. Essex is following the same direction. In Cornwall, the Eden Project is an eco-attraction of world renown, although initial observations indicate that connections with the university sector are not developed fully.

Ethnic groups and languages

Promoting the traditions, culture and languages of various ethnic groups is a prominent part of the work with culture in Botswana and Flanders. Working with a multicultural society

is important to several other regions as well, but is mainly seen in connection with higher education and the labour market – that it is important to attract different ethnic groups to universities. There are, however, possibilities to work more directly with the cultural sector in order to create a socially inclusive society.

Conclusion

Cultural and creative industries are rarely the main focus of the activities of universities within the regions we have worked with PURE project, although we find pockets of excellent practice. This may well change in future. Few regions seem to regard this area as an important factor in regional development. Nevertheless, we have identified four issues that most of the regions have in common:

1) Preserving the cultural environment and heritage sites in order make the region attractive for people to live in and for tourists to visit.
2) Help entrepreneurs develop tourist attractions within this field.
3) Connect culture and creativity to sustainable development.
4) Create social inclusion through the use of culture and creativity.

This means that there are many connections between the field of cultural and creative industries and other interest clusters for regions that we have identified in PURE, such as green skills or social inclusion.

We are grateful for the input of Anna Hansen, Henrik Zipsane and Christina Wistman, Jamtli Museum, Ostersund, Sweden and James Powell, University of Salford within this short paper. We hope that many other universities and regions will wish to be involved in the work of Pascal and its PURE project.

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POVERTY OF EXPERIENCE
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When the EU designated 2010 as the year in which "to combat social exclusion and poverty", there was some hope that, finally, a huge problem linked to unemployment (but not only) would be tackled in earnest (for figures outlining the situation see Appendix I). However, due to the mounting financial crisis which started with an implosion in the banking sector in 2008 and continued at a higher level once it became known that European member states would be forced to seek bail-outs due their rising state deficits (Greece, Ireland and Portugal, but also Spain and Italy etc.), all hopes of finding immediate remedies were dashed.

More so, at risk are by now all the major achievements of the EU, including the Euro as the common currency, open borders and social and economic cohesion throughout Europe. Instead, austerity measures evoke more social injustice as the gap between rich and poor threatens to widen still further. This is mainly because ill-conceived economic policy is about to drive many to accept a lower income, even if bankruptcy and unemployment can be avoided, and so into poverty. Altogether, the future of Europe seems bleak as the prospects for a long, but miserable,life lengthen like the shadow when the sun goes down.

Usually both poverty and social exclusion are seen by experts advising the EU Commission as outcomes of an impoverished childhood and lack of education. Consequently the EU Commission proposes a number of measures to deal especially with those who have been deprived since childhood of a chance to enjoy a decent life. However, as the economist Louis Baeck points out, these measures have led to no more than meagre economic growth rates which are not enough to generate real employment opportunities. In addition, the most recent state deficit crisis has revealed the shortcomings of having introduced a common currency without common economic governance. Europe is simply failing to find satisfactory solutions to off-set all these negative developments[1]

Not surprisingly, widespread agreement existed at the latest by 2008 that the ambitious goal of the Lisbon agenda, namely to make Europe into a highly competitive knowledge economy, could not be fulfilled by 2010. Realising this, the new buzz-word in Brussels has become instead 'smart growth', along with such catchy but highly problematic terms as 'sustainable development' and 'economic governance''.

Moreover, when turning to 'cultural and creative industries to see how best to unlock their potential, reference is made in the EU 2020 vision to an 'economy of experience. Presumably the EU Commission means by this the enrichment possibilities of experiences as offered by modern technology. Consequently the European Commission gives greater priority to more 'intangible' than 'tangible' experiences [2]. In addition, the EU Commission refers to demands for new kinds of social experience made possible through networking. Both kinds of experiences are deemed to be the new factors of competitiveness in an economy.

Still, what an 'economy of (a certain) experience' means, has to be clarified. The term 'experience' itself has many ramifications and implications. For one, such a term cannot be easily adapted by all member states, as they have vastly different cultural backgrounds (as revealed not only in their daily language but in what philosophical approaches they have developed over time to 'experience' as a validation base for knowledge). Further, epistemological clarification can indicate that, although in the

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1   Louis Baeck, Standpunt, at: http://poieinkaiprattein.org/economy/position-papers-2/standpunt-by-louis-baeck-2010/

2   In the Green paper on 'Unlocking the potential of cultural and creative industries' published by the EU Commission in 2010, it is argued that "in this new digital economy, immaterial value increasingly determines material value, as consumers are looking for new and enriching 'experiences'. The ability to create social experiences and networking is now a factor of competitiveness." Source: http://ec.europa.eu/culture/our-policy-development/doc2577_en.htm

English language there is only one word for experience, the German language makes a distinction between 'Erlebnis' (the sensual experience made in a moment of happening) and 'Erfahrung' (experience acquired over time by having discovered a lawful and therefore valid way of doing things).

It follows that, in a man-made world shaped by science, 'Erfahrung' predominates. Hence it is scientific knowledge and, therefore, technology that preconditions the making of an experience. And experience resulting out of an experiment presupposes a learning hypothesis, otherwise no experience can be made. Kant's philosophy was to reflect the time and space configurations which can limit the possibilities of making a particular experience (observation) happen. Needless to say such confinement of possibilities adds to the already sufficiently complicated issue of what can be understood by the term 'experience'.

It goes without saying that 'enrichment possibilities of experiences' as envisioned by the EU Commission leads to still further questions as to what is intended. Experiences can vary from highly suggestive ones to unbearable ones due to their degrees of artificiality. Above all this trend would lead to live in a confined world since bolstered by a commercial value system preferring only experiences which can be made if paid for. It can start with paying a prostitute in order to have a sexual experience. In a more intangible way, anything passes as experience, as long as it is paid for, and so a dip in a swimming pool as part of a paid hotel stay would be preferred to swimming in the open sea. If, however, swimming in the sea was to be called for, then along some artificial beach built extra for such purpose. Such tourist and hotel developments take place on many Greek islands, and not only. They are build up without heeding the consequences of having damaged the delta spreading across the area where the river enters the sea. In other words, the artificial experiences on a lovely beach preclude the destruction of wetlands - despite these providing natural filtration of the fresh water before it enters the sea and despite the fact that this would have formed natural beaches. It goes without saying that such confinement comes with what Michael Moore has characterised as 'business with fear' (as involved in the intrusion into the wetlands as places infested with insects) with the result that people flock into expensive hotel rooms and use pools rather than camp outside and swim in the open sea.

Since recourse to such kind of paid-for 'experiences' has far-reaching implications for culture, something more needs to be said. For once the direction of development is based on an 'economy of experience', such a society will deprive itself of many invaluable experiences, and whilst it is common to assume that a lack of experience is a problem for those seeking jobs, what is not seen is that this development deprives almost everyone of having the necessary experience when it comes, for instance, to protecting and preserving nature. Instead, a fear of nature has driven societies in the wrong direction.

This then leads to a question of methodology. Above all, when taking a second look at the indicators which the EU Commission uses to establish social exclusion and poverty, and whilst trying to understand what the EU means by an 'economy of experience', it becomes apparent that the problems of poverty and social exclusion are not merely materially rooted - that they are only the results of a lack of money to be gained through a job. Rather these problems are due to much deeper cultural factors linked to how experiences are told and valorized.

A cultural understanding of poverty and social exclusion in the twenty-first century can depart from anthropological and ethnological assumptions about experiences required by society.. Naturally in a hunting society other experiences were asked for in comparison to an agricultural or industrial society,. Nowadays, it is said a knowledge society prevails, but it remains quite unclear what experiences are needed, in order to cope with all the new demands within this new form of existence. Hence any clarification thereof would require a cultural adaptation process based on extrapolation (Piaget) so as to relate to the needs of others, in particular of those who lack experience. Important would be to do so in a humane way. Yet in a communication and information society, anyone participating needs to have already an economic base prior to being able to communicate within such a system. This 'literacy' requirement stipulates experiences made outside the system do not count. Hence an already all exclusive system defines which experiences are of relevance. If that is the case, then only such experiences can be made which confirm to this one sided and equally over dependency from such a communication and information system.

While a Capitalist system with smoking chimneys was still very real, a virtual economy based on information systems working with such terms as 'real time' when incoming information counts, is much more difficult to grasp, never mind to resist. Any attempt to bring about a change will also have to take into consideration what people are willing to undertake. Indeed. Marx cautioned that 'people are only then willing to recognize problems, when they see a solution to them'. Whilst refusing to see the problems but also the opportunities which exist outside and beyond their own self-understanding, by not stepping outside their 'normal life', they remain automatically locked in with the system. Like the slaves who prefer the whip of the master to the unknown because that creates fear, they do not step outside as it requires making new experiences and dealing with the unknown. It goes without saying that this blocks out of their consciousness a world only to be really experienced once free of this inner fear. Instead they prefer to stay with the familiar and to lead a ritualized or habitual life.

The routine and ritual behaviour to which people often cling out of a desire for at least some certainty in a world full of uncertainties, has a conservative if not reactionary bent to it i.e. when aborting possibilities to change. Already Hume recognized that 'habits can make people become sovereign'. It is an economy of governance once people rule themselves almost unconsciously by merely following habits. Here the Conservatives are only too happy if they would restrict their life to the bare essentials of having a job, schools for their children and a secure, equally comfortable life, whilst leaving the rest of governance to an elite. Such a ritualized life would diminish greatly the political experiences of people.. They are made only if they participate in the decision-making process itself. As is the case, 'freedom to decide' is reduced within such a system of habits and Conservative governance to people having mere 'consumer choice' - while no one notices this 'poverty of experience' as expressed in a general anti-political attitude. The latter is due to an apolitical adaptation to a system of conformity in a society lacking in human solidarity.

The problems of poverty and social exclusion cannot be resolved within such a system. It lacks a cultural policy to give space for open discussions and to encourage participation. But to discuss problems thereof, the precondition to know the solution beforehand would have to be dropped. Also a learning out of experience would require a clear ethical basis and a 'public-ness', as defined by Jürgen Habermas, if practical discourse is to show a way out of 'poverty of experience' [3] The philosopher Bart Verschaffel would add that in such a case 'public truth and public space' have to be interlinked. It would allow for a cultural development, in which one's own opinion can be questioned in public by others as part of the democratic process never self-understood. [4]

Since public debate has to be linked to the making of law to give power to the decision to be implemented, it should be experienced not as an imposing, but as a highly creative process. That depends on how the practical agenda is shaped. It starts with mediating between future goals and past experiences, in order to know what can be done in the present. Being present is a prime condition which needs to be met, if the making of experiences – Jean Paul Sartre refers here to 'le vécu', or the experiences lived-through – is to become an integral part of active memory work. The latter is a precondition to remain differentiated in judgement and to go beyond all kinds of Reductionism (over simplification by means of overt images or too simple categorizations).

S. Freud, in describing the memory track, mentions that the emotional self can only be experienced by stepping outside the system and into the feelings as they come up e.g. very much like making sure one remembers how to get back to the railway station from which one started out to explore a new city. The memory track is needed, as only experiences made over time can validate practical knowledge about what works. It leads on to knowing how social and political demands can be made whilst being at all times accountable and capable of doing responsible work. Consequently, this cultural dimension has to

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3   See especially the third chapter 'Zur Vernunft der Öffentlichkeit' ('To the reason of publicness'') in: Jürgen Habermas, Ach, Europa, p. 131 - 191

4   Bart Verschaffel, 'Public Truth and Public Space'. Source: http://poieinkaiprattein.org/philosophy/public-truth-and-public-space-by-bart-verschaffel/

be based on ethics, in order to give content to political experiences i.e. related to real needs of people. As a woman wrote after March 11th in Japan, real happiness can only be shared with real people – not corporations. The latter have been made by the system as if real persons and thus they falsify interests..

Unfortunately 'learning by experience' is not implied by the EU vision for 2020 with its orientation towards an 'economy of experience'. Even the advice given by KEA to take more into account the link between creativity and cultural diversity is not followed up. Instead, the EU Commission reinforces technically induced experiences and follows up what Bertrand Russell observed already during First World War. Then, the experience was made that technology means power over people. The technological factor of power has been refined ever since. Insofar as the EU Commission does not take culture into consideration to narrate human experiences, and prefers technologically enriched experiences, then not people but corporations are empowered for the sake of profits. [5]

Given that the cultural aspect of poverty is so important, it explains why an abstract economic model working with indicators cannot offer any solutions to poverty and social exclusion. The latter is an outcome of an inbuilt injustice in the system. Only by entering a truly cultural process to make it home in Europe, practical solutions could be found at all levels. It would let contradictions be worked out within a European society seeking justice i.e. economic, social, political and cultural cohesion.

Yet before getting involved in an endless dispute about values, it should be noted that there exists, besides the poverty resulting from material deprivation, this wide-spread 'poverty of experience'. It is a short-coming of the system for it deprives people to link their experiences with a political process needed to sustain democratic practices in all walks of life..

Already observations about someone constantly playing games can explain how deprivation from real experiences can be brought about. Playing games without taking any commitment seriously drains the persons involved of any real experiences. This loss leaves the person without any orientation towards reality and, even more seriously, in having in the end few, if any, friends or human relations on whom to rely. Without such a qualitative certainty in life itself, no experience counts and none can be made to go on further. The person is simply trapped in a kind of social vacuum and will only be able to interact with others in a ritual, equally systematic and logical way.

A negative culture prevails in a society, if empty of human and social experiences; life shall be marked not primarily by poverty as such, but mostly by a 'poverty of experience'. It entails five different levels:

1. Lack of experiences creates clusters of people with a similar background; together they prevent each other from finding suitable jobs and rather than overcoming exclusion, they pull each other down to end up in ghetto-like circumstances. Unable to bridge the gap between what they seem to know and what society seems to need or seek in terms of jobs provided, experiences demanded as a precondition to get the job seem out of reach. Hence experience becomes a both a barrier and a paradox for job seekers or for the unemployed - but how to have the experience, if the chance to do the job is never given?

2. In terms of cultural link, experiences gained through a job are needed to make all kinds of social contacts. Above all, reaffirmation of the self *vis-à-vis* others is needed, in order to have a minimum of self-confidence. Altogether a new 'literacy' is demanded, in order to cope within such a digitalized system. Without it, the person cannot connect with others. Moreover, any job can only be kept, if ever more social and personal experiences are made. It allows to face new challenges, criticisms and even aggressions of others. Often those without experience to defend themselves, i.e. without self esteem, lose out in social conflicts; either they quit or are fired. Since this literacy relies as well on being able to talk about problems with others, experiences of such openness is required, otherwise it creates but fear. Also, further going experiences (e.g. further studies, but also travel) are essential, and only acquired when time is not wasted but learning is continued. Too often all those who do not make any

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5   Philippe Kern, „Cultural Diversity and EU 2020" - Presentation Philippe Kern
     at EU Observer Conference 26.01.2011.Source: www.keanet.eu

'valuable' experiences end up in self-isolation and despair. They are like the unemployed depicted by Vincent Van Gogh, namely as those who stare into half-empty glasses whilst the waiter, dressed in white, appears at their tables as if a butcher of time. They are forgotten as no one makes any further cultural investments in them.

3. 'Poverty of experience' pertains not merely to poor people. Very rich people – but also of the middle and lower class - can equally suffer under the same phenomenon as the 'poor folk' and, even worse, end with all kinds of unspoken of pain due to a lack of human experiences. They end up living in a 'poverty of experience' revealed by becoming disinterested in other people. This is indicated above all on how they comment about others – mostly negative despite not knowing them. Out of a lack of social contact and direct experience, they judge others according to only symbols and images. By not wishing to question their presumptions – the making of prejudices and their transformations into absolute convictions – they also take recourse to stereotypical images, in order to diminish the value of others. Due to this they alienate themselves from life and remain without experiences. More and more they feel to be both winners and victims of the system. Due to a lack in basic human experience, they mistrust others. Also they risk falling by the wayside of society as developments speed up. By not participating in activities with others, they become increasingly unable to keep up with all the changes.

4. Not experiences but mainly fear guides many lives, in particular the fear to end up as a failure. That sense is sharpened by the 'cutting edge' of success. As an add for the New York University in Athens, Greece suggests 'the world is full of challenges and only few shall survive!' Subsequently many end up in a particular silence – one which should silence their fears but instead leaves the few experiences they make without language, or means to tell to others. In their fear to become a failure, they tend to reinforce their failures and loose out in empathy for others. They have lost above all the ability to make experiences out of fear to make mistakes. This can explain why those silenced by their own fears end up becoming at times most dangerous to society. The 'radical losers' - as described by Hans Magnus Enzensberger – end up like the one shooting in Norway 68 youth out of a hate-fear of society no longer being purely Norwegian -an act of absolute desperation. These awesome actions are meant to take down with them as many lives as possible just to prove that not only they are losers, but the whole of society – one which could not safeguard these lives. Thus 'poverty of experience' relates to loss of human and social relationships with others. Social exclusion begins, and is above all, cemented by the loss of a meaningful love relationship. Many young men who end by going on a shooting spree feel the 'last straw' has been for them when the girl they like rejects them.

5. At societal level, new experiences with others are only to be made if a friendly attitude towards the world prevails (E. Cassirer) and if basic trust in other people exists. Without that society would be determined solely by a 'poverty of experience', and be deprived of the cultural development everyone needs so badly, if to bring about literacy by linking creativity with productivity, and this within a human language allowing for human self-consciousness to prevail. Only when communication is open to others, then deeper cultural experiences can be made. Yet the very absence of the narrative, or as Michael D. Higgins would say the missing out on multiple stories, indicates this lack of experiences. Like rivers drying out, human communication will then be reduced to transmitting mere images and symbols. But without real experiences of the others, and without openness to new ideas, such a society would shut itself off from the world. Instead of friendliness towards others, xenophobic forces would reinforce the exclusion of others. As to the kinds of experiences still to be made in a closed society, they would not be deep enough to further substantial human contacts with others. Instead, a 'pseudo' kind of commonality would prevail such as rallying around the national flag or else just attending football matches. It can be classified as a kind of mass conformity and uniformity reproduced by all kinds of distraction, but with no substantial experiences being made to counter-balancing the loss of human reality. There will be lost the crucial access to the stream of humanity – a river feeding the deeper self-understanding of mankind.

The consequences of failing to invest in culture can be deduced from 'poverty of experience' existing. It is an outcome of a culture of deprivation. Altogether it means that the 'human voice' is not heard. A humane culture begins to exist once everyone is capable of addressing the self of the other(s) in a language recognizing the other as human being. It enriches the self-understanding, allows culture to be shared and the 'voice of reason' to be heard. The latter is crucial for making political decisions as it has far reaching consequences for what lies ahead, i.e. whether to go to war or not.

Living in 'poverty of experience' means to risk listening everyday only to bad advice or, even worse, to accept blindly 'public lies' used to justify bad decisions. This is because no one would be able to question the proposed decision in time. Moreover, it would be impossible to question the false reason given to justify the decision. Such was the case when Colin Powell, the Secretary of State under President Bush, testified to the Security Council of the United Nations. He claimed at that time to have absolute proof that Saddam Hussein was in possession of 'weapons of mass destruction'. That was a crucial testimony since it became the reason to justify the invasion of Iraq in March 2003. It turned out to be a lie, and Colin Powell admitted it himself once out of office, but by then it was too late to stop the invasion. The war in Iraq has become by now another fateful case in history. It serves as a negative example that mankind fails repeatedly when it comes to prevent the going to war. It underlines the failure to learn out of experience made throughout history even though wars serve no purpose and can never be justified.

This example illustrates yet a further point. 'Poverty of experience' means that people have yet to find effective counter-measures to the repeated use of the public lie, otherwise known as public diplomacy or out rightly just another from of propaganda. In the age of the Internet and other media, it could be expected that people are much better informed, but instead a world dominated by images and manipulated information prevails. It has replaced validated knowledge, while political experiences no longer counts. Manipulation of information as practised by modern media (Murdoch, Fox News, Berlusconi) leads according to Jürgen Habermas to a pathology of communication.

In policy terms, the European Commission must overcome still another variation of 'poverty of experience'. Unfortunately economic policy has been reduced to mere fiscal and monetary measures. Everything possible is done to safeguard the value of money, and, more importantly, to retain its purchasing power. In normal times, it was a simple aim to let just money circulate, in order to keep the economy going. For that to happen, the consumption level would need to stay high enough to spur further economic growth. Due to having adopted such a policy, no more experiences were made in other policy endeavours as had been advised, for example, by John Maynard Keynes. By following the Milton Friedman theory that only life-time income counts for consumers to spend their money, the consequence has been a disaster in terms of economic policy. For no political experiences with other policy tools have been made since adoption of such an approach. Relying solely on interests rates to affect life incomes, it played into the hands of financial markets and furthered only speculations with hedge funds and the like – while not touching off-shore companies and other areas used for money laundering nor how pension funds were misused to spur the housing market not in the UK, but in Spain. Only making money counted.

By diminishing responsible governance to mere formal procedures, the need for political conceptualization as related to 'contents' of relevant work is marginalized. That amounts to an overall failure to materialise cultural forms for working together. Competition between workers, not companies negates freedom to work together with pay. Since that is linked to recognitions on how to exist together, it says a lot if no concepts are articulated to identify tasks in need to be done. Moreover work is not merely an economic, but also a cultural matter. By leaving out the latter, the European Commission fails to make proper allocation of resources and misses out on vital experiences. Even more critical is that the EU Commission and member states do not recognize the overall cultural adaptation needs of European society – leaving Merkel to chide the Greeks for being too lazy i.e. not working enough, and thus an example of a gross misunderstanding of the other(s) within the European Union.

While EU projects emphasize 'exchange of experiences' in order to bring member states together, at political level two developments off-set this. For one, decision by means of the open method of co-

operation has no real binding power. Secondly, most of its programmes have been re-nationalised while many more intermediate management and technical coordination authorities have been installed to ensure a kind of pseudo-control of finances - independent and divorced completely from the real project. Learning in progress no longer counts, only measurable outcomes. In the end, such an administrative system deprives the European Commission from chances to stay in dialogue with the projects as they unfold. Rather a kind of privatisation or externalisation of bureaucracy has come into existence to overcome possible obstacles. With everyone involved in such a complex process, no wonder when main experiences are reduced to writing just reports. It comes down to a pseudo-engagement for the sake of getting EU funds.

Louis Baeck pointed out that, for every economy, culture matters. He made this explicit when considering the difference between the Mediterranean and Atlantic traditions. Whilst the former integrates the economy into culture and lets the 'household' decide what is best, the Atlantic tradition separates the economy from culture[6] and lets the private sector, irrespective of all cultural implications, decide what is in the best for the company and not for society. Due to such separation the EU follows an ill-conceived and unfair policy and programme direction. By favouring only economic, equal private interests, the European Union misses out on real experiences since they are communicated through culture(s). But without a viable link between economy and culture, life will be determined negatively – a life marked by 'poverty of experience'..

Altogether 'poverty of experience' seems to determine European development as no real discourse takes place. Instead recent European debates reveal themselves as fake public consultation processes. This was the case when the future of European Capitals of Culture was to be discussed in Brussels March 2011. Participants were reduced by the moderator of the Commission to school children who would be admonished by him if trying to respond to others or touch upon real issues. Instead mere symbolic declarations were preferred. It seems that a post Socialist propaganda like style, as advocated by Wim Wender, in order to make the image of Europe look good, is at work.

As to European Capitals of Culture, Bob Palmer warned at the 25 year celebration of this European project initiated by Melina Mercouri, that they risked succumbing to spin doctors when delivering their final reports. It indicates a dependency on a pseudo-success when, in fact, real experience speaks quite another language. Therefore, it should be made clear that not just any activity in the name of culture will do! For only once a culture is based on thoughtful openness needed for evaluation of what has been achieved, what not, only then there can emerge out of cultural experiences made something to go on!

'Poverty of experience' as a cultural problem has yet to be recognised. So far it has not been adopted as a major programme point by any of the newer European Capitals of Culture. Consequently, only few contributions to culture as a 'lived-through' experience have been made e.g. Antwerp '93 treatment of culture as doubt or Cork 2005 giving people self confidence to face greater challenges. However, with regards to Linz 2009, no worthwhile experience seems to remain on which to base future cultural development. As to Liverpool 2008, the mega projects left hardly any imprint. More authentic experiences were had in a theatre not funded by the official programme and where the audiences created themselves - a transformed audience joining in when the actors on stage started to sing their songs. Indeed, only when experiences remembered by the arts become multiple stories, then Europe lives on through its diverse cultures.

It is well known that European Capitals of Culture have the means and potential to enhance cultural experiences. Yet there is a tendency not to invest in culture but rather to use culture to make long-waited types of urban intervention. It may restore cultural heritage and beautify certain areas, but can lead to gentrification – negative urban experiences, as the case with Istanbul 2010. It pits the rich interested in new art venues against the poor who had been living in neglected places under quite different conditions. Equally cultural industries have yet to become the driving force for a new economy - able to pro-

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6   Louis Baeck, (1994), „Mediterranean Economic Thought and Altlantic Economics". See: http://poieinkaiprattein. org/economy/position-papers-2/mediterranean-economic-thought-and-atlantic-economics-by-louis-baeck-1994/

vide people with new jobs and the means to integrate themselves into the society in the making. But the real test for European Capitals of Culture is to overcome neglect of culture by economic forces. Only if that succeeds, then there will be a chance to give not only a city and its people space to breathe and to experience life, but also - to Europe - another, more optimistic outlook as to what lies ahead.

Conclusion

There is, of course, another way of explaining 'poverty of experience'. Once corruption is involved and, therefore, no honest effort possible, then experiences made by the arts and culture do not count. And without ethics, no creative process shall emerge to take human experiences further. Instead cultural events shall be reduced to mere fake performances or artificially induced experiences, but which last only as long as fireworks light up the night sky

Athens 2.7.2011

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Appendix I: Some facts about poverty and social exclusion in 2010

Following facts were cited by the EU Commission to justify why 2010 was designated as year in which to combat 'poverty and social exclusion':

- 79 million people live below the poverty line (set at 60% of their country's median income). That represents 16% of Europe's population.
- One European in ten lives in a household where nobody works. Even so, work does not always guard effectively against the risk of poverty.
- For 8% of Europeans, having a job is not enough to work one's way out of poverty.
- In most Member States, children are more exposed to this scourge than the rest of the population: 19% of children live under the threat of poverty; 19 million children are affected.

Source: http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?langId=en&catId=637

The risk factor

The risk factor is used to measure poverty by a set of common indicators; people are judged to be at risk if their income is below 60% of the national median level. In absolutes terms, average incomes vary

widely from one Member State to another, as does the proportion of the population at risk of poverty. It reveals EU economic divergence.

Source: http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?langId=en&catId=637

In a city such as Leipzig, up to 25% of the city's population, that is one in every four people, is at risk of ending up poor.

Eurozone unemployment in 2011

"The May increase in unemployment pushed the numbers out of work up to 15.51 million, the European Union's statistics office Eurostat said. However, the jobless rate remained unchanged at a near two-year low of 9.9 per cent.

After Greece, Ireland, Portugal, Spain entered the eurozone debt crisis.

Ireland's unemployment rate came in unchanged at 14 per cent in May, the jobless rate in Portugal stood at 12.4 per cent.

In Greece unemployment stood at 15 % and a youth unemployment at 40 tp 45%

Source: 1 July 2011 http://www.iol.co.za/business/international/eurozone-unemployment-rises-1.1092195

Long term unemployment

In the UK, long-term unemployment is up by 8% in 2011. It is said that every month out of work will increase the likelihood of not finding any job at all, so creating a vicious cycle.

Source: http://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/local-national/uk/fears-over-longterm-unemploy-ment-16018722.html

THE ASSESSMENT
OF THE EUROPEAN CAPITALS
OF CULTURE PROGRAMME

URBAN DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AND CULTURE: CONDITIONS FOR OSMOSIS

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Abstract

The paper explores the relationship between strategic urban planning and cultural policy over recent years. It outlines how culture emerged at urban agenda level. At the beginning (in the 1980s) it was used by certain cities in the context of urban restructuring, but later it became a recognised component of urban regeneration strategies, notably at the level of the EU - which had, by then, (the mid-'90s) elaborated a well articulated Urban Agenda.

In tracing the institution of European Cultural Capitals, the paper highlights the fact that lessons drawn from the experiences of implemented ECoC programmes show a high degree of symmetry between the elements of a potentially successful ECoC programme and the current idea of Cooperative Strategic Urban planning.

It is, therefore, argued that the experiences of ECoC organisers in elaborating how to encapsulate the vision of the city in defining objectives, how to mould innovative forms of urban action through artistic inspiration, how to resolve dilemmas between 'Culture' and 'culture' and how to experiment on 'smart' forms of governance (ensuring efficiency and inclusion) provide sufficient reasons to use ECoC programmes as "demonstration projects" of possible osmoses between Strategic Urban Planning and Cultural Policy, as an example of so-called Cultural Planning.

Note:

A previous version of this paper was presented at the ECOCM Conference "The Productivity of Culture", in Athens, October 2007

Urban Development Planning and Culture

"Modern urbanity means an all encompassing policy. Consequently city planning, city development and city culture are to be perceived as a unity..."

(«Cultural Development Plan for the city of Linz» 2000),

The '80's: cultural policy as an emerging component of urban development policies

1. Analyses conducted at the beginning of the '90's among urban development experts (16) show that, already during the '80's, several European city authorities 'use' or, rather, integrate cultural components into their policies to instigate their city's development.

More specifically, after the economic crisis of the early seventies (i.e., the oil crisis of 1973) and in the midst of post-fordist economic restructuring, the following trends emerged:

Cities became the field of intense physical, social and economic transformation, which, on one hand, make them attractive to investment, whilst, on the other, provoking serious social tension and exclusion.

At the same time Cultural policy, faced by budgetary restrictions, was removed from the social objective category of the first two decades of the postwar era and given a more 'economically oriented' position.

In other words, whilst the goal of cultural policy in the '50s was to promote art and make it more accessible, and in the '60s-'70s to empower the community and marginal social groups, by contrast, cultural policies in the '80s tended to align themselves with broader efforts made by cities to face the new eco-

nomic challenges. During this period, the notion of "subsidising" the cultural sector started to give way to the notion of "investing" in the cultural sector.

2. In 1994, however, in a well-received book by Parkinson – Biankini (16), there was an extensive presentation of European cities which managed to use culture in various forms in the context of a broader restructuring of their economy and/or international profile.

Frankfurt was mentioned as a typical example of a metropolis of great distinction in the financial field, but a very poor performer in terms of culture. According to the study, the city managed to counter pre-existing images (expressed as nicknames such as Bankfurt or Krankfurt) and create its new profile by prestigious cultural interventions, made possible by collaboration between the Mayor and the city's Cultural Officer.

Barcelona is among the cities which applied a sustained cultural policy combined with broader economic restructuring, so energising a city brimful of modernity and innovation. The process depicted the way the city authority prepared for the 1992 Olympics, in which urban design and innovative planning (e.g., the well-known creation of 160 new squares) were not an isolated effort, but, rather, the cornerstones and physical symbols of urban regeneration.

Glasgow, struggling, along with cities such as Bilbao and Sheffield, in the turmoil of de-industrialisation, attempted to catalyse its economic restructuring by cultural initiatives and to find a new place in the international division of labour. Their efforts culminated in the successful implementation of the ECoC programme in 1990. This, despite the usual criticisms, is credited with providing valuable cultural infrastructure, promoting a different image of the city and its cultural institutions and, above all, unifying the citizens under a new vision for the future ("urban unification").

3. The Parkinson–Biankini work makes it clear that success in conceiving and implementing a strategic cultural policy linked to the development of a city stems mainly from enlightened and dynamic local leadership.

Naturally, in the case of metropolises of international significance, the engine for such bold cultural concepts can also be the national government, as was the case with Paris in the Mitterand era : there, high profile cultural initiatives, apart from promoting the image of the city, aimed also at leaving a legacy of a whole generation or rather a "cultural cycle".

By way of contrast to Paris, the book deals with London, which, during the same period, lacked both a 'culturally minded' national government (the Thatcher era) and a metropolitan local authority (given the dissolution of the GLC) able to promote and refresh the image of London as an international metropolis of economic and cultural innovation.

The '90s: culture as an accepted ingredient of urban regeneration; EU urban agendas and the institution of European Cultural Capital

4. At the turn of the '90s, whilst budgetary pressure on the cultural sector continued, the sector increasingly permeated and shaped activity within the tertiary sector, notably in tourism, leisure, promotion and design.

Policies such as those of Glasgow and Barcelona, symbolise the emerging realisation that, the more the cultural sector is organically and heuristically integrated into strategic urban policies, the better it can help these policies to achieve their objectives.

Therefore, cultural policy during the '90s became a recognised parameter of urban regeneration, encompassing a wide variety of goals (far removed from simplistic notions of immediate economic benefit) such as improving the quality of life, fighting social exclusion and strengthening community morale etc.

5. This is the period when cities also came into focus at European level, due to the opportunities and challenges which they represented.

In this context, the Commission tried to forge a common understanding of the 'new geography of Europe' and of 'where cities were going'. One product of this process has been an agenda of common theses and policies (the "Urban Agenda").

In the same spirit, the then DG 16 (Regional Development and Cohesion) launched a package of innovative programmes (Art.10 ERDF) such as Urban Pilots and the "Culture and Economy Programme". Likewise, the then DG 12 tried to encourage innovative thinking about cities through Research and Development Programmes (ACTVILLE).

6. In 1994, in the context of the International Seminar "Culture, building stone of Europe 2002" organized in Athens by Dr H. Fischer on behalf of the Flemish community of Belgium, there was included a thematic Workshop on "Urban and Regional Development and Culture", for which the author was responsible. (1)

The participants comprised recognised academic figures in the domain of Urban and Regional Development, such as Andre Loeucx, Frank Moulaert, Pavlos Delladetsimas, Araxta Rodrigues and Michael Parkinson. The latter had been advising the Commissioon on how to introduce an integrated approach to urban issues, one outcome of which was the URBAN initiative, launched that year.

Professor Parkinson gave an outline of the main problems of cities and drew a parallel between the dilemmas of urban policies and those of cultural policy. In fact, at that time urban policies had to choose between:
• promoting economic development and competitiveness
• fighting social exclusion

whilst the dilemma of cultural policy had always been between:
• supporting high prestige projects (usually in the centres) addressing mainly urban elites
• promoting decentralised cultural activity in order to integrate low income, marginalised social groups more effectively.

To overcome these dilemmas, Parkinson considered an EU response necessary - even obligatory - since the achievement of competitiveness by cities contributes to EU competitiveness, whereas, by contrast,, the neglect of social tension in cities could undermine the EU edifice itself.

An added reason for the EU to assume responsibility for these matters was that, since local (even central) government can easily be tempted to prioritise narrow economic success and overlook the need for social and cultural activity, the EU could intervene and restore balance.

It has to be remembered that the EU, during the Jacques Delors era, was credited, even by non-EU-minded academics, with the fact that its urban initiatives tended to be far more inclusive and 'non-economistic' than most of the relevant initiatives at national level (3).

The institution of European Cultural Capitals (ECOC)

7. The ECoC concept was initiated in 1985 by a charismatic politician of national and international appeal, Melina, in order – as Spyros Mercouris puts it (12) – to draw attention not only to the city of Athens and to culture as the 'national industry of Greece' (as Melina believed), but also to culture as a neglected component of European integration.

This is an important reminder, given that, since then, the European dimension of ECoC programmes has shrunk (see 13), giving way to so-called "competition" among cities.

In a very informative, comparative analysis of the ECoC institution, mainly covering the period 1995-2004 (13) , there appears a whole panorama of cities selected as ECoCs, whose programmes have been analysed according to various criteria:

- content (objectives, cultural programme, technical programme, European dimension)
- results and impacts (immediate: economic, social and long-term)
- management-governance (organisational structure, communication-media, evaluation-monitoring)

8. For the purpose of this paper, the main conclusions (and lessons) from this study can be summarized as follows:

In terms of objectives: The most commonly referred to objective of the ECoC programmes was to "promote the international image of the city"

The main suggestions made by respondents in interviews concerning the study were: the avoidance of both too many objectives and too much rhetoric about the objectives.

Basic advice included: "Start from what is important for the city" and "Develop and implement your actions with and not for the citizens; if you convince your own people, tourists will come.."

In terms of the cultural programme: "The cultural and artistic programme is the heart of the ECOC programme: artistic autonomy is vital", "Do something creative, something new: no imitations", "The ECoC programme is a vehicle for change: be bold in your themes and vision"

The dilemma, however, persisted: to what extent to concentrate on high profile commercial events and major cultural institutions - or how much to opt the for the decentralised participation of grass-roots institutions and the local population.

In terms of the technical programme: The dilemma was how far to decentralise the investment in the cultural infrastructures. ECoC cities had left a very solid legacy, since even Athens, with a low budget and a short planning horizon, attempted a bold decentralisation of the cultural infrastructure, which later created the basi for cultural activity in the municipalities in the metropolitan area.

The technical programme was not usually the epicentre of the ECoC, understandably so given the budgetary and managerial requirements of a complex construction programme in the short planning horizon of the ECoCs.

Physical cultural infrastructures, whether new or by renovation, were more pronounced in the first cycle of the ECoC institution and in special cases of cities characterized by either a serious lack of infrastructure (Thessaloniki) or b the bad conditions of the existing one (Weimar).

In all cases however, the technical programme of the ECoCs, even in cases of extensive criticism in terms of its basic choices and adequate implementation, constitutes a concrete 'acquis' for the city, something that only exemplary cultural programmes of the ECoC can achieve.

In terms of the organisational structure - governance: Here, according to all respondents to the study, demands are very high.

Efficiency, leadership, international experience and dedication to culture are some of the requirements for the director, whilst for the basic team they are professional competence, ambition and creativity.

The basic advice: "Good organisation is better than a lot of money!"

The situation today: the broader recognition of culture as a pre-requisite for creative and innovative environments. The notion of "Cultural Planning"

9. Until recently, the problems of urban and regional planning had little to do with those of culture, with the exception of the cultural heritage: very often in the past, when dealing with 'classical' spatial studies, one could easily forget that the territories are places inhabited by people (let alone people who think and behave according to values…). Even worse, in the case of regional development, studies can make one forget not only about people, but also about the territory…

Looking at the recent (2006) 3d Synthetic Report of the European Spatial Planning Observatory Network (ESPON), we see that this paradigm of thought belongs to the past, given that:

Today, the conditions for local and regional development do not depend upon a solid infrastructure but on a soft infrastructure, among which culture occupies a privileged position.

Today, the engines of competitiveness and sustainable development are parameters such as the quality of life, natural environment, social solidarity, cultural activity and services and broad participation in these by social groups, the protection and innovative valorisation of the cultural heritage, the creation of 'cultural clusters' – which should be developed around cultural heritage resources.

Likewise, the importance of spatial planning in preserving all these resources is stressed by the Report.

Finally, the prime role of 'smart' public administration (local or national) cannot be overstressed, as well as the creation of inclusive partnerships. At this point, the contribution of culture is considered a key factor in mobilising local structures and building social consensus.

10. The shift in the approach of local development so as to transform governance into an objective of policy instead of its initiator, should not surprise us, given the deep transformations in society and the economy, under which altogether new types of economic activities are taking shape, eg in tourism :

In a very interesting article on 'new tourism', P. Skayannis and Stamboulis (17) describe the shift in the content of touristic services: today what is offered to (or rather demanded by) the tourist is no longer simply accommodation and related facilities, but the realisation of a 'whole new experience'. For the creation of the parameters of this 'experience', the individual business is not enough: in the emerging new model, the part of the classical business has to be played by the place -the touristic destination.

In order that an 'experience' does materialise and live, the creation of a 'myth', a narrative about the place is necessary. Something which is not material production and also not an individual one: the participants have to be many, including tourist agencies, intermediaries, local bodies and various local associations.

The key role of culture in developing and sustaining such a model of tourism is evident.

Also evident are the pressures exercised on local authorities by activities based on knowledge, supported by new technologies.

11. Art and culture enhance the creative abilities of people - from which all other aspects of life gradually benefit: creativity, imagination, intuition are skills of te utmost importance for the future. There culture not only enriches the quality of life, but increases the potential of a person to create or find a job.

Therefore, the promotion of culture by cities, regions and entire countries, as a public policy serving both social and development targets, has become an imperative of our times -- how to link development (particularly local development) with culture, this is what Cultural Planning is about.

Specifically about the cities, as the city of Linz declares in its Cultural Development Plan, (18) "modern urbanity means an all encompassing policy. Consequently city planning, city development and city culture are to be perceived as a unity….."

Likewise, Lia Ghilardi (7) stresses that " cultural planning has to be part of a broader strategy of local development and to create linkages with urban planning, economic policy, industrial policy etc.

She even clarifies that cultural planning is not about planning culture, but about planning a territory having culture in mind.

There are, according to Ghilardin two basic ingredients of a cultural planning operation:
• The mapping of the cultural resources of the place
• Strategy-building

Both require joint thinking, cutting across disciplines, administrative departments, sectoral logics.

The need to overcome these traditional dividing lines led Guilardi, along with F. Biankini, in an important report to the Council of Europe, to talk about "the need to experiment with new, more 'open', more creative forms of governance" (7)

Conclusions or lessons for planners

12. From what was outlined above, we can draw specific conclusions about the conditions for possible osmosis between the domain of urban planning and that of culture:

When the strategic plan of a city is being elaborated, then is the most suitable moment to introduce the issue of culture : that is the moment when the vision for the city is being moulded, and, if culture and people of culture cannot help to shape a vision, than who can? (Culture helps planning)

If a strategic plan for the city already exists, then it can most certainly help culture by providing an umbrella for specific initiatives or by integrating in its programmatic context a cultural programme of ECOC scale, especially at infrastructure level. (Planning helps culture)

If Cultural Planning is adopted by a city, then urban and cultural planning have to go hand in hand in a joint effort under the guidance of local administrative structures.

For this to happen:
- urban and spatial planning have to go beyond their traditional administrative and thinking borders: they have to forget old-fashioned top-down methodologies and adopt more open, collaborative models of governance.
- Likewise, Cultural policy has to overcome sectoral logics and dominance by central governing bodies, so that horizontal and vertical interactions can take place.
- Cross-ertilisation between the two domains cannot happen without the actual participation of people of culture and artists, either in the context of particular urban projects or in the planning process itself :
- ECoC programmes, in which people of mixed origins sit and plan together, can be seen as a 'demonstration project' for joint thinking and acting strategically for the city.

F. Postscript on recent developments in the ECoC arena

As mentioned earlier, already by 2006, recommendations at EU level about Local Development and Spatial Planning (4) stressed the importance of 'soft' infrastructures, among which culture occupies a privileged position, and that the engines of competitiveness are parameters such as "social solidarity, cultural activities and broad participation in these by social groups, the innovative valorisation of the heritage, the creation of cultural clusters …"

This is understood by cities such as Kingston in Canada, when they stress that "cultural vitality improves and enriches the experience of a place.." (B.6) and we know now that experience is in the heart of the "new economy", transforming whole economic sectors such as tourism and leisure (17)

However, we should here remind ourselves that experience cannot be 'served' through planned events or environments (eg malls): it has to unfold and 'be discovered' in unpredictable ways by the visitor or user of an area, place, facility.

Therefore, the lesson par excellence for urban planners is to look at soft factors of development, which are not deterministically planned: what you can do as a planner is to create the framework conditions for the cultural vitality of a city to flourish, either through long-term strategic plans or short-term projects.

Lia Gilardi calls this lesson: "Plan, having culture in mind!"

Since several of us (planners) have this in mind, we look at the European Capitals of Culture and believe that, with the vibrancy which the institution has acquired through the years, it will increasingly become a topic of debate and a practical example of the osmosis between Urban (Regeneration) policy and Culture.

However, a word of caution is also needed: from recent literature and evaluations of the trend of ECoC programmes, these appear to be increasingly geared towards competitiveness (city competition, image-making etc). This is somewhat troubling:

- If the ECoC institution succumbs to the temptation to promote image at the expense of social and cultural inclusion,
- if it facilitates "the displacement of planning by marketing in our cities" (B.7),
- if (through an annual programme of increasing budgets) does not serve the decentralised forces which create living and mutating cultures, able to 'feed' the experience of a city,

Then, what message should be given to planners?...

If either of the policies, Urban or Cultural, opts for symbolic, major, centralised investments and neglects social and cultural diversities, then they will be both rejected - or resisted - by the excluded or under-privileged of our present-day societies.

In that case, we all stand to lose….

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EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE – BRANDING AND BELONGING STRATEGY

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Introduction

In 2009 I undertook a research project on Vilnius as a European Capital of Culture for 2009 (now referred to as VECC). After a few short visits in 2008 I lived continuously in Lithuania from late-December 2008 until May 2010.

I prepared my research project in 2008 by starting to collect information about Vilnius as European Capital of Culture through the official website (www.culturelive.lt). The first time I visited the website, on the upper left-hand side of the screen, the logo designed for the European project in Lithuania was clearly visible. The logo is made up of a green molecule of seven atoms with, in each atom, one letter of the word "culture".

Context

The logo reappeared at different points in my preparation: when I registered for the Vilnius ambassadors programmes, when I received a 'spin' explaining the logo, when boarding the Lithuanian airlines flight to Vilnius (painted on the body of the aircraft) and when, after arriving at Vilnius airport, advertising hoardings with the green logo of Vilnius as ECoC along the airport road. At that time I did not regard it as particularly important: it was part of a marketing strategy, and nowadays everyone is used to this. I started to change my view of the importance of the green logo when noticing that all of the points of entry into Vilnius were marked by the VECC logo - the airport, the railway station and the main road as it came into the city. Even along the main streets in the Old Town and on the main bridges that cross the river (the Neris), the neon lights displaying the logo could be seen. The importance of the logo was also underlined by the use which the VECC management team was making of it. Very often during interviews, representatives of Vilnius had the logo as their background: it was simply routine to underline the connection with VECC.

TV, newspapers and online news portals showed the VECC logo every time that Vilnius as European Capital of Culture was the topic of discussion. These examples, important to define the marketing strategy applied by VECC management, have a deeper meaning if we consider the particular structure of this EU project and its implementation in Lithuania. As is well-known, the project (Vilnius as European Capital of Culture) as others before, is not one single cultural event but a programme of several. The organisation in charge of implementing the programme, the VECC Institution, does not, of course, organise every single event: It selects and coordinates the different cultural projects proposed by different actors during the years of preparation. The whole programme comprises distinct and separate elements – it might even appear fragmented. If someone attempts to analyse it by its implementation and not in the documents which describe it (as I tried to do) he can lose himself among thousands of larger or smaller events, different approaches and different forms of the arts. Not only this, but also the fact that the different events are organised by different actors influences the meanings and the messages sent through those events. This is in total contrast to the idea of National Culture, which was the intention as a whole as conceived by official public institutions, the Ministry of Culture, museums etc. In this veritable labyrinth of culture the only *trait d'union,* the sole link, among the different events was the logo on the hoardings or on the brochures and posters. While it was possible to identify only a few events unequivocally and directly as VECC events, it was possible to recognise the majority of them by their use of the logo; otherwise they could have been seen as normal events in the cultural life

of Vilnius. A final point, but no less important, is that people recognised the European project Vilnius as European Capital of Culture 2009 through the graphic sign, this logo, designed for this purpose. I remember how, during a dinner in Vilnius at my friends' home, I started a conversation about my research topic, Vilnius as European Capital of culture. I was surprised to hear that they, citizens of Vilnius, knew nothing of the event beyond, as they told me, the limited news concerning corruption in the VECC organisation which had recently been reported by TV and the press. They also knew the molecule with seven atoms, the symbol of VECC. They told me that the town was full of the symbol, in advertising, leaflets and lights along the roads and on the bridges. However, what was going on in the project or what cultural events were planned was totally unknown to them. Even my future wife knew nothing before I introduced her to my project.

They explained that, due to their jobs, they have little to do with the cultural life of the city. They have an apartment in the edge of Vilnius and work 20 km away from the city. When they reach home, they have neither the time nor the desire to go to the centre or to participate in City life. Our conversation continued about work, married life etc and I have no space to report other examples, although I did have the chance to register different conversations where the other parties showed that they knew of the VECC project through the logo. Strategy included direct merchandising of its logo and during 2009 it was possible to buy different VECC products: pens, USB memory sticks, scarves, badges, linen bags and the like. Walking along Pilies Gatve (Castle St), visiting souvenir shops, the green products with the molecule were prominent in shop-windows.

VECC was also responsible for producing conference kits for those conferences which wanted to be connected to VECC as a European project. Naturally, this raises other question: What kind of marketing strategy? What kind of knowledge does this strategy disseminate?

Marketing strategy

The marketing strategy of VECC followed the structure that marketers use for promoting products: to create, to diffuse, to promote goods, services or ideas[1]. The VECC Institution created its brand made by its graphic logo and the slogan "Culture Live", an official website where all the news appears, an advertising campaign on hoardings over the whole of Lithuania, in the main European capitals and in a series of branded gadgets. It is better at this point to define precisely what I mean by marketing strategy, brand and logo. Referring to a manual of marketing science, I would define marketing as a process focused to create, distribute, promote and to price good, services or ideas, to facilitate a two-way relationship with customers (or audience) in a dynamic context[2]. Marketing strategy is the identification and analysis of a market target and the action to satisfy the request of the audience. Marketing is not the simple advertising of something; it includes the whole process of creating a product or, in the case of VECC, of an idea. This is done by means of a dynamic process that considers also feedback from the audience. Brand is a product or the service or the organization, considered in combination with its name, identity and reputation[3]. When I talk about the VECC brand, I do not mean only the programme and the events included; I mean also all the rhetoric of all those involved with VECC as a European project; it means politicians, VECC organisers, project directors and audience. A further factor is the branding process which is the entire action of designing, planning and communicating the name and the identity, in order to build or manage the reputation[4]. The logo is the graphic symbol which, together with the slogan, represents the brand. I often use 'brand' and 'logo' as synonyms because, when speaking of VECC, there is no single material "product" but thousands of different cultural events, managed by different cultural operators, where VECC brand is represented only by its logo. The diffusion of a brand is knowledge. This reaches a first level when I know that it exists. It does not answer the questions: What is it? What does it mean?

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1   (Pride and Ferrell 2005:30)
2   (Pride e Ferrell 2005:5)
3   (Anholt 2007:4)
4   (Anholt 2007:4)

As I shall try to show, this knowledge of existence, this creation step in peoples' minds is not without meaning. The brand, with its logo and slogan, is the fastest and easiest element to be diffused through a marketing campaign. The meaning, together with the official one as affirmed by the official channel of the VECC institution (I mean the website, the original proposal to the EU and press conferences) is created by the audience or other means of communication (e.g., TV or newspapers). As some official stamp or seal , the logo accords to some object or event a particular status, as in this case where it gives a cultural event the status of a European cultural event. Whether the status assumes a positive, negative or even neutral meaning depends on the specific personal experiences of people. Despite what is declared officially, it seems that there is no attempt to emphasise the meaning of VECC as a European project. To direct our analysis towards the marketing strategy may seem irrelevant, in that it might seem to focus on a minor detail of a more important topic, the cultural project. Already, the examples which I presented show how this minor detail is the first thing which reaches the whole audience – that is that one is informed about VECC but that one knows nothing about the European project. This is not a minor element in a public event where communication is made from a distance and where there is an obvious need to reach the widest audience very rapidly.

Lithuanian Branding strategy

To have a total picture of the situation as I have tried to show it and to understand my attention to marketing strategy, it is necessary to look at the broader Lithuanian context. During my interview with a representative of the EU in Lithuania srlier and a Lithuanian cultural operator later, they referred to a Lithuanian branding strategy, meaning a strategy to create a positive image to represent Lithuania abroad and to manage this image through marketing strategy. The image of Lithuania will comprise a logo, a slogan and a series of other instruments such as videos or internet portals, to disseminate - quickly and world-wide - knowledge of Lithuania. This kind of branding strategy has been already defined and analysed by other scholars and has become known as Nation-Branding. From the anthropological perspective, this attention to branding adds new elements to the study of Nation and Nationalism. From this comes the need to integrate the classical terms of 'identity', 'national symbol' and 'belonging' with new terms borrowed from marketing strategy such as 'brand', 'logo' and 'customer loyalty'. This brings us to the concept of 'belonging'. How is the concept of belonging influenced by this new approach? Is static belonging founded on the concept of a father/mother land, culture, history or language or religion? As I wrote earlier, the nation-branding approach is something that adds elements to previous analyses of nation and nationalism; it eliminates nothing. Before continuing, however, I would like to consider an example that brings us back to the project Vilnius as European Capital of Culture and which may be useful to explain this new way of belonging. The marketing campaign reached, at least in its first part, other countries also. An advertising campaign was planned in the main cities of Europe. One of my Lithuanian friends living in Liverpool was enthusiastic about having the chance to present Vilnius and her country, Lithuania, to her friends. I experienced personally, in my private life, the problem of explaining where Lithuania is and what kind of country it is and I can imagine how, for who also have a feeling of attachment to it as a Fatherland (as Lithuania is defined in its national anthem), it is important when abroad to have the possibility to introduce people to Lithuania through a worthwhile presentation (as it is, in general) with the title of European Capital of Culture. In this last example, VECC brand was used by my friend to represent her own national identity with people who do not know too much about her country of origin. The brand, with its logo and slogan, is the fastest and easier way to do it. Despite the fact that her personal, intimate belonging is still grounded on her origins place of birth and mother tongue, she shows her belonging through the image of her country wide-spread through the European project "Vilnius as European Capital of Culture", through the logo and the slogan. Her friends in the UK acquire information not about Lithuania, her geographical position and border, her flag, her national hymn, classic elements of national identity, since these elements cannot be communicated quickly and briefly. A logo, a slogan have a better chance to be communicated, if Lithuania and, in this case, Vilnius are successful in creating a positive image of themselves, even

through the ECoC project. It easier to "sell" the "product" Lithuania in the global market, to increase national pride abroad and to attract foreign investors. These are some of the goals indicated in the Lithuanian branding strategy.

Conclusion

B way of conclusion, I would like to suggest that Nation-branding or marketing strategy are not really new topics from the EU's point of view. In 1992, the then President of the Commission, Jacques Delors commissioned a study on the European Community's communications policy and image implementation. In 1993 it was published as "Reflections on he Information and Communications Policy of the European Community", better known as the DeClercq Report (1993). I have no space time to detail the analysis made in that report, but the conclusions were:

The main reason for this critical situation is that the Commission and some of the Member States are trying to 'sell' the wrong 'product'. The product that has to be 'sold' to the public is not the Maastricht Treaty". The report suggests that European Union must be presented and promoted to the public as a 'good product'. Its flag should be in banner form<…>European Union should be positioned in the minds of the people<…>'Positioning' is the name given to the process whereby branded products are clearly described and placed in relationship to their competitors in people's minds.

As is clear from these declarations, and as other authors have already stated, the report affirms that the European Union should be treated as the brand product[5]. Considering Vilnius as a European Capital of Culture, the European Union, as I wrote above, independently from the specific implementation of the project, can use the logo for its own purpose. For example, in 2010 there occurs the 25th anniversary of the "European Capital of Culture" project. The EU celebrated the event with the publication of a book that retraces the history of the 39 cities/capitals of culture (2009). Independently from the activities in each city/capital of culture, the recurrence of the project during the period since 1985 and, in recent years, the creation of logos and websites, allowed the EU, the starter institution, to create a representation of a successful cultural project that contributes to the formation of a European identity. If we adjust the level of analysis, the logo changes its function. At VECC level the brand is strictly tied to the cultural events undertaken and this provokes criticism and discussion. At national level, VECC branding strategy is incorporated into the more general Lithuanian strategy. At EU level, VECC becomes another piece which builds the mosaic of European cultural policy

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5   (Shore 2000; Niedermüller e Stoklund 2001)

ECONOMIC MULTIPLIERS OF EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE PROJECTS: GENERAL PRODUCT MODEL

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to research the economic effects of achieving long-term and short-term economic results and the economic benefits of culture, which are more difficult to measure, as we believe that they are the relevant performance data of the European Capital of Culture (ECoC), which is the oldest EU initiative in the field of culture. In fact, a growing number of experts on cultural policy hold that cultural policy is not worth the name unless it intends to take an active role in the economic and social development of European society, regions and local communities. The effective policy is expected to achieve a successful balance between its traditional role - the promotion of art and culture - and a contribution to economic and social development. In this respect, the ECoC initiative can serve as a model example of the EU's approach to culture.

In the paper, the ECoC's economic effects are analysed on the basis of the multiplicative effects which result from defining cultural creativity as a 'general product'. The methodologycal framework of the general product model is presented in a separate section, which is then used to identify different levels of the general product in past European Capitals of Culture. In the third part of the paper, the macroeconomic aspects of the ECoC are presented using input-output analysis and the components of aggregate demand (investment, personal and public). The opportunity presented is used in the Appendix to explain (very briefly) the interest of the city of Split in being the Croatian candidate for 'European Capital of Culture 2020'.

Key words: ECoC, economic effects, general product, multiplier

Opening Remarks

The basic problem of old city centres is to take advantage of their market potential and at the same time preserve their cultural heritage as a type of cultural tourism. The problem is much greater if the country is small and if public and private redevelopment funds are limited. The gap between the reconstruction needs (costs) and investment funds (money) can be bridged by making a radical inversion: protecting the cultural heritage as a tourist attraction without physical renovation and reconstruction. Although the physical renovation is usually a prerequisite for cultural revitalisation (the Dresden model) and tourist supply, an opposite model has been tested in Ljubljana[1] and in Split[2]. The point is that simple culture tourism contributing to entrepreneurial development and afterwards to the economic development of the old city come before the renovation of buildings. Europe needs a new approach in this field that will involve the cultural heritage of European cities in the overall commercial development of the old city centres.

Cultural Revival	▶	Cultural entrepreneurship	▶	Urban renewal

It is on the basis of this approach to cultural policy that we are pondering over economic effects of the project 'The European Capital of Culture' (ECoC), the oldest EU initiative in the field of culture. The

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2   Filipić, P. (2005) Inicijativa 'Umjetnost u Gradu', HULU Split i DAS Split, str. 8.

focus is on Cultural Activity, as this is the starting point for everything. All other interests which were sometimes highlighted in cities which had already been a European Capital of Culture are ranked lower.

Such a concept of cultural policy is largely consistent with the concept of the EcoC, which focuses on a content framework, within which a varied and attractive cultural programme with a highlighted European dimension should be developed, and which should, at the same time, provide them with the operational space which is stimulating for defining different aims and objectives, depending on the development policies of the city and the region. What has happened in previous ECoCs? According to the outstanding Palmer/Rae[3] report (and other analyses also), the highest priority objectives of the title-holders usually refer to the needs to raise the international profile of the city and its region, promote long-term cultural development, increase the number of visitors from he home country and from abroad, increase the interest in cultural activities by local audiences, raise self-awareness in the citizens and change their perceptions of their city. Other medium priority objectives included: making improvements to the cultural infrastructure, establishing cooperation with other European cities and regions, and promoting creativity in local artists. The objectives most frequently considered to be of lower priority were: the economic development of the community and its social cohesion (although respondents at the same time ranked very highly the tasks such as the development of national, international and cultural tourism in particular) renewing the city's image, urban revitalisation, expansion of creative industry and jobs through infrastructure development, expanding markets for cultural events and general cultural environment, changing the perceptions of the city or just a bigger number of visitors to cultural events - they are all assets directly related to the economic development of the city.

However, in practice, the realisation of the project has not always been consistent with the EcoC concept - which becomes clear if the objectives of the candidate cities for the title of capital of culture are analysed. The key priority for cities with a rich cultural history, such as Krakow or Bruges, was to show the unique role of the city and its share in the cultural heritage of Europe to an international audience. Bergen, Brussels, Reykjavik, Prague, Graz and Avignon wanted to reinforce their position on the cultural map of Europe and promote cultural tourism using their cultural and infra input-output programme; Luxembourg and Copenhagen used the programme of culture as a means of regional and even national cohesion; economic recovery was the fundamental objective of Helsinki that, through its cultural programmes, hired as many as 100,000 people. Nearly a third of the cities wanted to redefine the city's identity or to enrich it with a new dimension of cultural events, such as the administrative centre of Weimar, the pilgrimage destination of Santiago de Compostela, or Glasgow and Genoa, previously recognisable only as industrial centres. However, the infra input-output development was the priority objective for Porto and Thessaloniki, holding it even more important than the cultural contribution of the programme and attendance at artistic events.

The aim of this paper is not to research different cultural policies or aims and objectives of the European cities of culture. The purpose of these earlier paragraphs is to explain the authors' research position regarding the economic effects of the ECoC which will be presented in this paper which sees the Cultural Activity as the focal point of all activities, and only then of the economic ones in the city, region and country as a whole. In this sense, the economic effects of the ECoC are analysed on two bases in the following sections. In the first part, which is also the central part of this paper, the cultural activities are given the importance of a 'general product' and on this basis gross multiplicative effects are indicate. The categories of long-term and short-term impacts of culture, as well as those which are difficult to measure, are stressed. Finally, the two possible macroeconomic approaches (input-output analysis and the analysis of multiplicative effects of the components of aggregate consumption) are highlighted as possible methodological frameworks for the analysis of the ECoC's economic effects.

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3   Palmer/Rae Associates (2004) ECOC Study, Part I&PartII, Brussels, and Myerscough, J. (1994) European Cities of Culture and Cultural Months: Research Study, University of Glasgow.

Economic effects of the ECoC initiative

General product model

Speaking in terms of a modern model approach to the economic development, which asserts that certain regions, and even smaller countries, incline toward the model of development based on the 'general product'[4] instead of towards the whole economic structure model, we could define the typical general product of a city (region) as 'Cultural Activity'. The general product is a synthetic expression for services (or manufacturing and product) around which gather direct (production) services and, indirectly, many other activities that are built into those services (products) in their entirety or only partially.

The first and direct level of the 'general product' consists of cultural events:
- Institutions in culture,
- Amateurism,
- Visiting programmes, etc.

The second level of the general product consists of tourism:
- Hotel industry,
- Hospitality industry,
- Trade,
- Traffic.

The third level consists of:
- Food-processing industry,
- Construction industry,
- Many small manufacturing industries

The fourth level consists of a variety of services:
- Agency services,
- Banking services,
- Intellectual services,
- Craft services, etc.

The fifth level consists of various government and quasi-governmental institutions and agencies as well as other supporting institutions:
- Administrative and governing bodies,
- Tourist Boards, Chamber of Commerce and Chamber of Trades and Crafts, and the like,
- Expert and professional associations,
- Expert advisory services,
- Institutes and institutions for the development and quality control,
- Educational and scientific institutions,
- Citizens' associations, etc.

This is just a sample of possible structures that are associated with the general product 'Cultural Activity'. It should be noted that the model implies that these activities at each of the levels can incorporate a part of their production into the general product 'Cultural Activity', whilst the remainder can be directed toward the general market outside the general product.

The model of economic development, based on the pattern of the general product 'Cultural Activity' can be the backbone of the cultural and economic strategy. In the final shaping of the economic structure and its implementation, this implies a set of political and economic measures by which this structure is promoted and protected as a long-term orientation and an element of economic revival of the area - and 'Cultural Activity' becomes its identity, its trademark.

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4   Sometimes referred to as 'natural product'

This pattern does not limit the freedom to create a (future) market economy, nor does it limit in any way the freedom to develop other activities, but emphasizes the necessity to protect and improve the general product 'Cultural Activity' as evidence of historical value, as a stable support for long-term sustainable development of the 'cultural city' and the entire surrounding area which can achieve international competitiveness. In this sense, 'Cultural Activity' is used here symbolically to highlight the entire service and manufacturing sectors that can develop in the 'Cultural City' area and its wider gravitation. In fact, 'Cultural Activity' represents only a small segment of this supply - and dominant only in the year in which the analysed city was a European Capital of Culture.

It is for this reason that the structure of the general product 'Cultural Activity' system can be represented as a star, concentrated around the elements of the supply. In such a structure, it becomes a point that attracts and connects a part of the supply of other general products that will be defined and constructed within broader development strategies. The key element of the supply is that part of the input that has a local stamp - either as one existing in space (historical-cultural monuments, urban space in itself, natural heritage), or as a product of human activity. Therefore, when encouraging and guiding the future development of this general product, it is very important to preserve the environment, not only in the physical sense, but also in terms of preserving local identity.

As the previous review shows, the subjects that appear in the system of the general product 'Cultural Activity' are distributed on five levels that represent five steps in the formation of the multiplier of 'cultural city's' economic activity. All these activities are 'provoked' by the first level, cultural creativity. The activities range from hotels to family households where the tourist and hospitality activities provide supporting or additional income through small businesses with one or more activities in this domain being their main activity, followed by small and medium-sized companies specialising in manufacturing and services and tourist and other agencies (local and those located outside the region and beyond). Supporting organisations are of special importance because they are entwined with activities over a much wider area (tourism in the region, country, Europe, world) and because they do business with a very large number of scattered individual consumers. In addition to traditional institutions of support, other important institutions include the National Tourist Board and a number of associations that bring together (or can bring together) both those who provide services (either general or specialised in certain segments: hoteliers, restaurateurs, private accommodation providers, travel agencies, tourist guides ...) as well as those that are focused on protecting and promoting the original values (environmental associations, cultural associations, etc.).

Translated into macroeconomic terms, the general product 'Cultural Activity' could be analysed in terms of supply. The analysis of supply puts the primary emphasis on assessing the effects on employment growth and the primary economic effect is in tourism activities. Therefore, it is a primary effect that produces further induced effects on the domestic product. The multiplicative effect of the project is realised in several steps and spreads through the production structure and the ever-expanding territory. The next step is employing the capacity of building operations, construction and building materials industry, employing the capacity of many other manufacturing and service-providing SMEs, the production of healthy food, cattle-breeding, the fishing industry, engaging a wide range of intellectual services, etc. The financial side of that effect significantly exceeds the primary cultural one, which is generally on the side of consumption. Still, the primary effect and the multiplicative effect on the offer at first produce additional effects that spread throughout the entire economic structure of the region and the country as a whole. On the basis of a hypothetical case, they are not assessed in this paper, but some similar projects[5] show that the multiplier of economic benefits of a well thought out and implemented

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5   Based on the analysis of business entities in the Port of Split conducted in 1997 within the project 'Economic opportunities of the City Port' carried out by the Faculty of Economics in Split, a change of the cultural definition of the port was recommended including the removal of all commercial facilities from the port. New cultural-historical and tourist facilities have produced very high multiplicative effects that are compared with the most propulsive activities.

project, which includes a cultural transformation, can reach the value of four, i.e. one euro invested in the whole economic system is multiplied up to four euros in income.

A General Product model can be displayed in the matrix (input-output) form that allows not only the analysis of the interdependence of certain levels of the general product, but also the supply and demand generated by this product.[6]

If the delivery (and at the same time consumption) of products and services is marked with A_{ij}, the level i of the level j of the general product and if the sum of those deliveries, i.e. consumptions is marked with $\sum_i A_{ij}$ and $\sum_j A_{ij}$, if B denotes investments, we can identify the power relationship of individual levels within the general product, as well as the multiplier economic effect that each level has on the overall project of ECoC.

If the sum $\sum_i A_{ij}$ is marked by v_j, or $v_j = \sum_{i=1}^{n} A_j$

we obtain the measure of (direct) vertical interconnectedness of the level j which shows to which extent that level can be realised by realisation of the level i (i = 1,...,n) or how much the realisation of the level j depends on the realisation of the level i (i = 1,...,n), i.e. what the measure of their vertical interconnectedness is and whether from that aspect it is necessary to plan and realise them together.

Analogously, $h_i = \sum_{j=1}^{n} A_j$ represents the measure of (direct) horizontal interconnectedness of levels for which everything stated for the measure v_j is valid, the only difference being that instead of the column data now the row data are interpreted in the influence matrix. Consequently, the coefficient h_i shows how much the level i is realised by the realisation of the level j (j = 1,...,n) or how much the realisation of the level i depends on the realisation of the level j (j = 1,...,n), i.e. what the measure of their horizontal interconnectedness is and whether from that aspect it is necessary to plan and realise them together.

We should now include investments B into the analysis, and add them to business effects $\sum_{i=1}^{5} A_j = \sum_{j=1}^{5} A_i$

. The sum $\sum_{i=1}^{5} M_j = \sum_{j=1}^{5} M_i$ shows the total economic effects of ECoC including mutual delivery of individual levels and their capital expenditures. And that indicator was the goal of this part of the paper!

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6 Filipić, P. (2008) Analysis of the interconnectedness of goals in development documents at local and regional level, ERSA 2008: Culture, Cohesion and Competitiveness – Regional Perspectives, Liverpool, pp. 1-22.

ECoC activity		Input Levels					Bussiness activity - Revenues	Capital investment (i)	Total
		Cultural activity	Tourism	Production	Services	Governmental and Social organizations			
Output Levels	Cultural activity		A_{12}	A_{13}	A_{14}	A_{15}	$\sum_{j=1}^{5} A_{1j}$	B_1	MC_1
	Tourism	A_{21}		A_{23}	A_{24}	A_{25}	$\sum_{j=1}^{5} A_{2j}$	B_2	MC_2
	Production	A_{31}	A_{32}		A_{34}	A_{35}	$\sum_{j=1}^{5} A_{3j}$	B_3	MC_3
	Services	A_{41}	A_{42}	A_{43}		A_{45}	$\sum_{j=1}^{5} A_{4j}$	B_4	MC_4
	Governmental and Social organizations	A_{51}	A_{52}	A_{53}	A_{54}		$\sum_{j=1}^{5} A_{5j}$	B_5	MC_5
Bussiness activity - Expanditure		$\sum_{i=1}^{5} A_{i1}$	$\sum_{i=1}^{5} A_{i2}$	$\sum_{i=1}^{5} A_{i3}$	$\sum_{i=1}^{5} A_{i4}$	$\sum_{i=1}^{5} A_{i5}$	$\sum_{i=1}^{5} A_i = \sum_{j=1}^{5} A_j$		
Capital Investment (j)		B_1	B_2	B_3	B_4	B_5		$\sum_{i=1}^{5} B_i = \sum_{j=1}^{5} B_j$	
Total		MS_1	MS_2	MS_3	MS_4	MS_5			$\sum_{i=1}^{5} MC = \sum_{j=1}^{5} MS$

Table 1: ECoC – horizontal and vertical activity

Economic facts of the ECoC initiative

Level 1: Cultural Activity

The Cities of Culture during the year generally realise approximately 300 to 500 projects in different cultural sectors - from theatre and visual arts, classical concerts, popular music, to open-air festivals. A wide anthropological definition of culture was often used in the attempt to bridge the gap between high and popular art and to target their programmes at different sections of the population – children, young people, ethnic minorities....Hence, conceived cultural events realised within the ECoC attract thousands of visitors and participants and most of the cities are able to further mobilise the audience by creating a special atmosphere over the course of the year or by establishing a balance between big 'blockbuster' events and small-scale local initiatives often aimed at specific target groups.

Estimating the number of visitors to ECoC programmes is a difficult task, since many events are free open-air events. However, the number of tickets sold, apart from being the income that is a part of programme resources, potentially has long-term effects and may indicate an increased interest of the audience to visit cultural events and institutions, especially the so-called high art. The number of tickets sold in the ECoC year ranges from 1.1 million in Luxembourg to 6.92 million in Copenhagen. Glasgow and Antwerp (Palmer / Rae, p. 149) are often considered to be the most successful cities of culture in the first phase of the initiative, as they recorded a significant 40% increase in visits to theatres, concerts, museums and galleries; to be precise, it went from 4.7 million in 1989 to 6.6 million in the ECoC year (1990). The number of visits to Genoese museums, excluding periods during which they held an ECoC exhibition from the ECoC programme, doubled as compared to the previous year.[7] The number of visitors to the Weimar Klassik Museum rose from 370,500 in 1998 to 796,000 in 1999, and in the following years it was between 500,000 and 550,000 visits a year. The Central Library in Bologna when the new edifice Sala Borsa was opened recorded an increase from 541,000 visits in 2001 to 1,545,000 in 2002. In Luxembourg, the number of visits to museums and exhibitions increased by 50% and to the museums and sights by 3%. Generally, the number of visitors to exhibitions increases significantly and that to

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7 Il sito ufficiale di Genova 2004 capitale europe della Cultura, p. 3.

museums and historical sites, that is to permanent city sites only slightly. The most important point is the general one that, in all the cities of culture in the ECoC year, there was an increase of between 20% and 50% in the number of visits to cultural institutions and historical sites and this continued over the next few years. ECoC programmes were responsible for creating a new audience. It was recorded that, among the inhabitants of Glasgow, there were 32% who visited a museum or a gallery for the first time and 18% went to the theatre or to a music concert for the first time.[8]

Using the study carried out by Palmer / Rae, in which the data from individual reports of ECoC cities from 1995 to 2004 is systematised, it can be noted that there are large variations in financial investments between cities (pp. 85-92). When it comes to operating expenditure designated for the implementation of cultural programmes, marketing (press, advertising, and promotion) and the management expenditure (wages/salaries of the co-ordination and operational team), it varied from €7.9 million (Reykjavik) to €73.7 million (Lille). The largest number of cities spent less than €40 million on operating expenditure. To be more precise, their average operating budget from 1995 to date, including the city of Patras (2006) amounted to €28.8 million, of which between 44.1% and 79.5% were spent on cultural programmes, or, to be still more precise, €5.48m were spent in Reykjavik and €58.6m in Lille, i.e. on average 62.6% of the total operational expenditure. On marketing, i.e. promotion, press, and advertising, the cities spent between 7.2 % (Bergen) and 23.9% (Graz) of total expenditure or an average of 14.3% of the total expenditure, and on wages of all staff employed by the ECoC organisations they spent on average 15.1% of the total operating expenditure, Helsinki 5.4% i.e. the least and Bergen 48.8% i.e. the most.

Level 2: Tourism

A year full of cultural events brought to the cities of culture a marked increase in both day visits and overnight stays in the ECoC year. During the period from 1989 to 1994, the 'Cities of Culture' reported an average increase of 11.6% and a drop of -5.7% in the following years, whilst in the period from 1995 to 2004, the average growth was 12.7% and the average fall was 3.9%. However, the average reduction in tourist visits measured in the year after the ECoC year is still much smaller than the growth in the year of cultural initiative.

Data on the structure of visitors suggest that the ECoC mostly attracts a cultural audience - people professionally interested in the specific cultural content and a highly educated population, which is an additional advantage for cities which intend to create an image of a cultural centre and develop a segment of cultural tourism activities for the future.

An increase in visitors brings additional income in the sectors of transport, trade, hospitality industry, i.e. it has positive economic impacts and increases the inflow of money into the treasury. Rotterdam and Bruges with 2.3 and 1.6 million visitors respectively recorded a higher number of daily visits of domestic tourists and therefore less additional revenue, as opposed to Porto or Salamanca which attracted overnight stays. The additional spending of visitors that can be directly attributed to the impact of ECoC ranges from €10m in Bruges to €37.5m in Salamanca.

Level 3: Production activities

The impacts of the ECoC certainly last longer than the programme itself. The long-term economic impacts are infra input-output projects and urban regeneration. Construction, manufacturing industry and many small businesses find their place in this segment of activity.

Namely, in addition to their cultural programmes, all ECoC cities regularly invested in infrastructure projects. Investments in the renovation of public spaces, squares and streets of the historical city centre, as well as restoration and conservation works on historic monuments were considered to be almost mandatory. The purpose and the location of construction generally met the driving force of the cities.

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8   Myerscough, J. (1991) Monitoring Glasgow Report, p. 94.

Many of the renovation and construction programmes mentioned had already been planned and the ECoC initiative had a catalytic effect.

Certainly many of the cultural buildings will serve their purpose when the ECoC annual programme ends, creating new cultural hardware that will ensure higher standards of cultural projects in the future, stimulate the activity of the local art scene, create jobs in the cultural sector, as well as in associated services. Numerous programmes, festivals, institutions and international cooperative networks established as a part of this initiative, as is the case in Avignon or Glasgow, will contribute to the long-term cultural development, and recognition of individual cities as cultural centres.

Level 4: Services
Positive effects are recorded in the sector of cultural industries (publishing, art market, design services...). Unfortunately, only a few cities have measured income and counted new jobs such as Glasgow where in 1990 there was a 7.8% increase in employment in cultural industries compared to 1986 and the total annual income from these activities was £304m (Myerscough, 1991, p. 157).

There is no available information on the revenue from agency, banking and intellectual services resulting from the ECoC. However, it is possible to make an indirect assessment using the increase in the number of tourists, but this is not important for this paper whose primary aim is to show the method of the general product.

Level 5: State and community organisations and associations
Of all the previously listed costs/income, those classified as organisational costs (operating expenditure) of cultural activities and investments in infrastructure were mostly covered by public revenues from the state, the city, regional authorities and the EU, and the remaining smaller portion of the funds was obtained through sponsorship and donations. The share of the public sector represents an average of 77.5%, ranging from 31% of Santiago's budget to 99% of Thessaloniki's. The average contribution of the national government amounted to 56.84%, of the city authorities to 19.59%, of the regions to 10.97%, and of the EU to 1.53%, or, more accurately, from 0.3% to 16%.

Certainly the biggest expenditure by the state, city or region was spent on improving the existing cultural infrastructure (museums, galleries, theatres ...), urban revitalisation, renovation of squares, parks, streets, public lighting and on new infrastructure investments (new buildings, roads). The total expenditure ranged from €7.8m in Bologna to €232.6m in Thessaloniki and as much as €411m in Weimar - which included major work on building the city clinic and constructing the new building for the Bauhaus University, whilst an estimated €220m (of €411m) were spent on the capital infrastructure projects related to culture, transport and public space. Of course, big differences in expenditure reveal differences in priorities. In fact, only a few cities approached the ECoC initiative primarily as a cultural celebration - or it was a matter of cities which had a previously built cultural infrastructure such as Stockholm or Helsinki. The number of cities that spent more than €50m (Porto, Genoa, Patras, Avignon ...) on infrastructure investment is by far bigger.

Finally, it should be noted that the financial costs of the ECoC programme implementation are high and generally demanding, whilst funding from the EU are quite modest - which is certainly intriguing information bearing in mind the popularity of the initiatives among candidates.

Towards a future calculation of the ECoC's economic effects
As already stated, this section has no pretensions to calculate the revenue and expenses of an individual or a 'perfect' ECoC. Its primary intention is to show the method of the general product and the possibility of its application on the 'cultural city'. Reviewing the reports of all the European Capitals of Culture we found that only Glasgow provided elements for calculating the economic effects using the

general product method.[9] However, the assumption that an appropriate method exists could encourage the organisers of the ECoC to calculate the data and present it in accordance with the requirements of the method. Higher interdependence of the levels of the general product means there are greater overall economic effects of the project. Therefore, every scientific method which can identify this interdependence is appreciated. Previous sections prove that the method of the general product can provide quality results.

(Un)measurable benefits of the ECoC initiative

There are many difficulties in finding adequate indicators of the results achieved. Many values, namely, are the unmeasurable aspects of culture, although they can be of economic importance and an incentive for future business investments, such as redefining the image of the city and enhancing the (self-) confidence of the local business community.

Redefining or enhancing the image of the city and its perception for domestic tourists and foreign visitors were on the list of objectives of many capitals of culture. The effectiveness of such changes is in direct connection with infra input-output investment, as well as the content frame and the attractiveness of specific ECoC programmes.

The traditional industrial and port centres such as Genoa, Glasgow, Rotterdam and Liverpool have undergone the biggest transformation. Glasgow, which as an example of successful urban regeneration through arts activity probably contributed to the strong interest, and a large number of registered cities in Great Britain at the last competition, managed to experience a dramatic transformation from a 'depressed' post-industrial city into a dynamic and creative cultural centre and a major regional tourist centre through the use of long-term benefits of the initiative. Infrastructure investments were mainly intended for culture. While the cultural life in the city and its surroundings was being enriched, tourist resorts and shopping centres were being built. Once known only as the gateway to Scotland's hills and natural resources, Glasgow is today a city known for cultural and business tourism. Post-project studies also reveal that only 5% of respondents still perceive Genoa as an industrial centre, while the rest of the respondents perceive it as the city of art and tourism. Research into the attractiveness of cultural destinations in Europe which was carried out five times between 1992 and 2004 by the Association for Tourism and Leisure Education, confirmed the achievements of Rotterdam, whilst Porto and Weimar remained, however, poorly accepted among foreign visitors as seats of cultural events just as they were before the ECoC year. A recent ECoC which underwent a positive transformation is Liverpool.

Macroeconomic effects of the ECoC

Analysis of the ECoC's economic effects using the national input-output table

The input-output model[10] can help us to facilitate the decision or prediction whether the general product ECoC will be successful or not after its completion and to analyse its results. Anyone who is familiar with this model can easily transform the information offered by the general product into items that are the content of the input-output tables. Namely, the analytical scheme of the input-output model of the national economy is designed so that using a relatively simple procedure a new 'product' which will be realised during a determined (planned) time can be incorporated, if the value structure of a new product is determined based on project data with the corresponding parsing of the structure of material costs. In fact, the general product can be structured into an input-output table of the national economy

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9   Since this method has already been applied several times at the Faculty of Economics in Split (the effects of restructuring the city's port, the effects of hosting big sporting events such as the Mediterranean Games, etc.), if Split one day were to become a European Capital of Culture, this method will certainly be applied. Until then we are at the service of anyone who sees this methodology as appropriate

10 Filipić, P. (1985): Primjena strukturnih modela u planiranju OUR-a (Input-Output in a Firm), Logos, Split, p. 215.

as a separate row and column and then using different assumptions its profitability in a defined time period can be measured.

First, we should consider the column of the input-output table, i.e. the value structure of the general product. In the process of planning the general product, its economic assessment is carried out several times under which, in addition to assessing market opportunities, several estimates of the prices are calculated. In the process, the costs for different levels of the general product that would be realised by alternative prices are analysed. The problem as far as input-output analysis is concerned essentially boils down to disintegrating the elements when calculating the general product the same way it already exists in the input-output table of the national economy. Therefore, it is necessary in the calculation, based on project data, to parse the input-output costs by level (sector) and external costs per supplier, as is usually done in input-output tables, whilst income is disintegrated into its individual components. Business expenses, investments and the interest rate to ensure the funds needed for the realisation of general products should also be included in the calculation. Finally, the disintegrated structure of the general product is introduced in a separate column of the input-output table of the national economy.

When information on demand, i.e. on the possible extent of the realisation, is available, a line for a new product is introduced into the input-output table. The designated distribution of the activity of the general product is shown in a line of the input-output table. This means that, in this particular case, on the basis of the estimated realisation of every level of the general product, it is necessary to determine the distribution on the components of aggregate demand either in indices or by percentage. Entering the necessary information in the previously described way for $n+1$ row and $n+1$ column, i.e. for the row and the column of the general product, the input-output model is translated into a reduced form and various analyses are conducted that will show whether the general product meets the pre-established criteria, i.e. whether it is economically opportune.

Accepting the assumption that the general product is a homogeneous product, the stated procedure also defines the situation in which a new economic sector is introduced into the composition of the national economy. Hence emege the very broad possibilities of testing different effects on both the size and the structure of economic effects of this new sector which come from other parts of the national economy. It is clear that the opposite is true as well, i.e. we can quantify the interdependence and the influences that are caused in the business of the national economy as a whole by forming a new general product.

Input	Output					Total production	Final consumption expenditure	Total economy
	Intermediate consumption							
Sektor	1	2	...	ECoC	...	n	X_{ij}	Y_i	X_i
1 (Agriculture)	A_{11}	A_{12}	...	A_{1ECoC}	...	A_{1n}	$\sum x_{1j}$	Y_1	X_1
2 (Electricity)	A_{21}	x_{22}	...	A_{2ECoC}	...	x_{2n}	$\sum x_{2j}$	Y_2	X_2
	:	:		:		:	:	:	:
ECoC	A_{ECoC1}	A_{ECoC2}	...	$ECoC_{ij}$	...	$A_{ECoC\,n}$	$\sum x_{ECoCj}$	Y_{ECoC}	X_{ECoC}
	:	:		:		:	:	:	:
n (Public administration)	x_{n1}	x_{n2}	...	A_{nECoC}	...	x_{nn}	$\sum x_{nj}$	Y_n	X_n
Total domestic production	$\sum x_{i1}^d$	$\sum x_{i2}^d$	...	$\sum x_{iECoC}^d$	...	$\sum x_{in}^d$	$\sum\sum x_{ij}^d$	$\sum Y_i^d$	$\sum X_i^d$
Imports	M_1	M_2	...	M_{ECoC}	...	M_n	$\sum M_j$	$\sum Y_i^u$	$\sum U_i$
Total production	$\sum x_{i1}$	$\sum x_{i2}$	...	$\sum x_{iECoC}$	...	$\sum x_{i1}$	$\sum\sum x_{ij}$	$\sum Y_i + \sum Y_i^u$	$\sum (X_i + \sum U_i)$
GDP	D_1	D_2	...	D_{ECoC}	...	D_n	$\sum D_j$		
Total economy	X_1	X_2	...	X_{ECoC}	...	X_n	$\sum X_j$		

Table 2: National input-output table with the ECoC as separate sector

Macroeconomic multiplier ECoC

The idea of a general product has its origin in business economics, in the knowledge that businesses recognise the horizontal and vertical business relationships. The synergy effect of the integration (of activities), whether it is only a 'loose' one or one 'solid' enough to result in a physical merger, still exists. Ultimately, however, GDP is the resultant of success. If the analysed project is large enough to affect the GDP then it is worth investing the effort to calculate the macroeconomic effects of such a project, especially when the project is realised in a small country.

As the ECoC by definition has a stronger influence on consumption, far more significant multiplier effects are those on aggregate demand rather than on supply. We structure aggregate demand in the usual way of calculating domestic product, i.e. personal investment and budget spending. The effects on exports can be ignored, but it is important to note that, even the effect on the foreign trade balance is not negligible. The main conclusions of this segment of the analysis are:

A) The biggest importance is the personal consumption sector. From the levels previously analysed, it covers the first and the second: cultural activities and tourism. The third and fourth levels of general product will benefit the most from this consumption.

$$\frac{\Delta C}{\Delta ECoC} = \frac{C_{ECoC}}{1 - \beta + \beta t}$$ If personal consumption is marked with C, the marginal propensity

of consumption with β, and the average tax burden with t, the multiplier of personal consumption of ECoC is then defined and shows for how many units personal consumption will increase, if the ECoC spends one unit (e.g. one euro).

$$\frac{\Delta G}{\Delta ECoC} = \frac{G_{ECoC}}{1 - \beta + \beta t}$$ B) Significant resources generated by the ECoC, will flow into the budget

at all levels (city, county and state) during the realisation of the ECoC. These funds are a source of funding general consumption. It must be noted that the budget multiplier in Croatia was 3.24 in 2009 which means that these funds would significantly multiply and further increase the GDP. What causes special attention is the structure of the budget. In 2009, 19.9% of the budget went into the budget of the City of Split, a further 5.5% into the budget of Split-Dalmatia County, whilst the remaining 74.6% went into the state budget. Without, at this point entering into the budgetary policy of the state, it is still necessary to emphasise that significant resources that go into the central budget should not only be a right

but also an obligation of central government. Expressed through the budget multiplier, if G is public spending, which now shows for how many units budgetary spending will increase, if the ECoC spends one unit (e.g. one euro).

$$\frac{\Delta I}{\Delta ECoC} = \frac{I_{ECoC}}{1 - \beta + \beta t}$$ C) The effects in the sector of investment spending should not be small

because the project does not stop after the initial investment. The ECoC's investment multiplier is the largest of all the multipliers, and investments in infrastructure and economic capacities within the ECoC are the most substantial. If investment spending I is encouraged by the ECoC project, then the investment multiplier is

$$\frac{\Delta GDP}{ECoC} = \frac{1}{1 - \beta + \beta t} \left(\Delta C_{ECoC} + \Delta I_{ECoC} + \Delta G_{ECoC} \right)$$ Finally, the three partial ECoC multipli-

ers need to be summarised. The expression $\frac{\Delta GDP}{ECoC}$ shows for how many units personal consumption will increase if the ECoC spends one unit (e.g. one euro).

Concluding Remarks

The ECoC Initiative, in line with the Maastricht treaty, is directly focused on fostering cultural diversity and strengthening the European integration process. The name of the Initiative itself is a proof that its fundamental purpose is not to emphasise the existing ways of presenting the specific cultural characteristics of cities but rather to encourage them, by the meaning of the title and a demanding year-round programme, to develop their own innovations in the field of culture that they will be able to use to win a more visible position on the cultural map of Europe. However, in addition to its traditional role - the promotion of culture, the cultural strategy of the EU undertakes other tasks as well. It should be emphasised that the ECoC initiative explicitly requires the participants to incorporate long-term cultural and development policy of the city into their programme. The principle of instrumentalisation and the concept that culture is imbued with many aspects of urban social life is, however, clearly present in the cultural strategy of the EU. Depending on these given factors, culture is considered to be a factor of cohesion, a means of urban regeneration or a strong impetus for the economic driving force for the development of the city, region and the country as a whole, especially when it comes to smaller European countries.

Formulating precise economic objectives as well as the ways they will be achieved is left to the participating cities/countries. Judging by the provided information, the ECoC initiative achieves multiple economic results. The ECoC is a mega-project with the capacity to attract many visitors which requires considerable cash investment that can be returned to the national/regional treasury through the market for cultural tourism and also services of the creative cluster. Infrastructure investments are the most important long-term economic benefit, whether they are subordinate to the task of urban revitalisation or to the construction of a new cultural industry and institutions, depending on the priorities of the city. In addition, culture is an impetus to redefining the image of the city and the region - which is confirmed by the indicators of altered perception of the city, as well as of new qualities of urban life. Culture is, obviously, viewed as a sector of the economy that can contribute to a positive business and the economic recovery of the city/region, encourage entrepreneurship and attract new business investment.

In this paper, the cultural creative cluster gathered around the ECoC is subjected to an analysis of economic effects. For this purpose, three economic analytical tools were presented: the model of the general product, input-output analysis and a macroeconomic model. All of these models, as the paper shows, have a logical analytical sequence and each of them further enriches the economic planning and analysis of ECoC. Whilst the model of the general product has its source in business economics, the other two models are primarily the instruments of macroeconomic analysis. For some, it might seem that the macroeconomic apparatus is not appropriate for an analysis of an ECoC. However, if, in some cases, especially in smaller countries, the total volume of economic activities of an ECoC reaches as much as several percent of GDP, it is certainly worth using any analytical method, including that of the macro domain.

Appendix: the Croatian city of Split as candidate for European Capital of Culture 2020

We are witnessing the birth of a creative age. More than ever before, creativity is the engine of economic development. It is made out of a highly critical and mobile creative class that prefers an attractive, stimulating and vibrant environment to live and work in. In recent years, people with creative abilities have been able to find cities - and the cities find them and want to attract them in any possible way.

Creative cities are recognised by their ability to combine tolerance, trust, talent, and technology. Creativity is brought to them by scientists, inventors, artists, designers, writers, media people, and entrepreneurs who have one thing in common: earn your money by thinking, designing, and producing creatively. Creativity, in turn, often results in 'creative destruction' which is the main driver of economic growth.

In everyday life, the competitive position of cities is becoming apparent through the function of hubs of transport and communications networks of the highest level, the existence of clusters of highly innovative companies, through the activities intended to attract major conferences, conventions, festivals, and sports games. Some cities exercise their creativity by investing in cultural projects, architectural masterpieces, and leisure centres.

On the other hand, there is the creative vanguard. They favour those cities that match their tastes and interests. They do not follow their jobs slavishly but rather seek attractive urban attractions. In addition, there is no copying. They do not want what is generally accepted. They want something authentic where they can add something of their own. Here appears an opportunity: new ideas often find an old town.

In accordance with quite modern world, and especially European, trends, there is a desire in Split to activate the existing critical mass of people, especially prominent individuals including artists, cultural workers, education professionals, publishers, librarians, and representatives of other professions (e.g. managers, economists, lawyers), who could contribute to confirming the contemporary nature of the city once again.

Croatia, a country of many small regions, has every possibility to present itself attractively, as much with its natural assets as with its cultural heritage and everyday cultural programmes. The riches of the cultural heritage, existing cultural events and everyday life are, by definition, endless and the most important question is how to change all that distinctive cultural diversity into tourist attraction(s). On the other hand, Croatia is a small country with limited resources. The only way to bridge the gap between those two opposite statements is to link the wealth of the natural and cultural heritages with different events of living cultures and the cultural, business and urban solutions of cultural tourism. The basic rules in Croatian cultural space are to encourage complete business renovation, to link high quality cultural events with cultural heritage and simultaneously to integrate Croatian culture into the European space by developing cultural tourism. What we are doing in the City of Split is a relatively new approach, very comfortable for small countries on a lower level of economic development. Nevertheless, the economic and social bases of these changes were successfully created by the 'City of Split Model' of cultural tourism:

Author of image is Branimir Vukorepa, photo is taken in 2011.

There are three different systems in the global interconnection of the cultural tourism in the post-modern sense (culture, business and tourism).

There are three levels of cultural revitalisation: cultural revival (events, festivals…), cultural entrepreneurship, and building renovation.

There is the specific rank of cultural policy: first – cultural revivals, second – tourism development, third – renovation of the cultural heritage.

The idea of Split as a European Cultural Capital is recorded in the City documents. Namely, the city master plan, made in 2005, included the following definition in the Article 107: the City of Split - The European Capital of Culture. Preparations for candidacy have been going on since then and the operating committee called ‚Article 107 - Split - European Capital of Culture' has been established. This institutionalised the idea and gathered many experts who, with their knowledge and preferences, can ‚put pressure' on the city and other structures to *seriously tackle the task* of candidacy.

Split as a 1,704 year-old city, the centre of cultural and historical heritage and numerous international cultural projects, starts its candidacy from a very high starting point. In the past forty years, many international events of world and European importance were organised in Split. Experience is not lacking. 'It is only the question of our ambition what and how much we want to do for next ten years, what kind of city we want, and this should be achieved through meaningful projects,' says the current mayor, adding that incentives are coming from all sides, and that the City will also set up a project board and formally begin preparations.

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THE IMPACT OF HUMAN CAPITAL ON THE ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE OF THE CULTURAL SECTOR OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

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Introduction

Over the last five decades the effects of globalisation have brought changes to economies as a whole and to the individual cultural sector also. The phenomenon has been visible not only globally, but in the European Union's Member States also. In the 1960s a shift in the definition and the role of culture emerged, with the new trend branded as the democratisation of culture. The main aim of this new approach is to give the opportunity for everyone to have access to culture. The former elitist cultural approach, which believed that culture is only the privilege of the elite, was abandoned. The new democratisation-oriented approach made changes in the institutional environment, to which all EU Member States have to adapt their cultural policy and culture-funding systems. One of the most significant factors of this transition appears in the rethinking of the role of the State. The main aim of this paper is to analyse this process among EU Member States and to examine the role of human capital in the economic growth of the cultural sector.

The paper bases its analytical method on duality, since conflicting features appear in the culture-financing models of EU Member States, such as the coordinated and the liberal approaches. Another example of duality lies in the legal systems of Member States. The common law- and civil law-based features had very important roles in the communitarisation process of the cultural policy of the European Union. The economic and aesthetic oriented views of cultural policy also demonstrate two different approaches, and, finally, the extent of decentralisation of cultural policy and funding is a further symbol of duality, which continuously changes our life.

The economic growth rate of the European Union's cultural sector is increasing rapidly[1]. There are more and more efficiently functioning privately- and publicly-owned cultural institutions and an increase in the employment, the investment and the importance of human capital in the cultural sector. Member States do recognise the importance of preserving the cultural heritage and of cultural diversity, factors which have a strong influence on national economies. Although the foundation of the European Union was based mainly on economic reasons, since the middle of the 1980s there has been increasing attention paid to the role of culture in economic growth, social capital and human capital also. The communitarisation process of the various cultural policies and financing systems is, however, very slow, and, if we analyse the EU laws on culture or the size of EU subsidies for culture, we understand that this process is only in its infancy. This is supported by the European Cultural Parliament's study entitled "Culture, the Heart of a Knowledge-based Economy". The study reminds the Commission that culture and its role in economic development are still not recognised and embedded in EU strategy as deeply as needed.

Another example of low EU activity in the field of culture is the amount of money spent on culture at supranational level. The European Union allocated €400 million for culture in the 2007–2013 budget, which is some 0.03% of the total budget[2]. The structural funds also take part in the financing of the EU level cultural projects, but the main role is at national level.

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1   (KEA/2007)
2   (Eurostat/2007)

The European Union as a supranational institution engaged itself to the liberalization of the cultural sector in the Maastricht Treaty. There are some general pieces of advice and laws on culture in the Amsterdam Treaty (Article 151) based on Article 128 of the Maastricht Treaty. The Lisbon Treaty made changes in the content of these earlier articles and also in numbering (Article 167). The first common cultural policy topics emerged in the field of national heritage, the audio visual sector, the book sector and copyright. In the last three areas the liberalisation of the market was accepted. This action has a strong influence on the topic of this paper as our assumption is that the liberal aspect of cultural policy and financing is more effective in the long-term than the coordinated one. Although these regulations have a strong influence on national cultural policies, the most important decision-making is still at national level. The EU uses its coercive power when national governments are unable or unwilling to follow the rules and use protectionism. As in the above three main cultural industry areas, the EU has the right to control.

The paper's main aim is to introduce the main characteristics of the European Union Member States' cultural policies to the reader. The second chapter focuses on the methodology used in the research, whilst the third is introduces the different cultural financing models of the member states, with a comparative analysis. In the main chapter an examination of the similarities and differences of these models is featured through a multi-variant regression analysis, focusing on the importance of human capital in the economic growth of the cultural sector.

The assumption is that those countries which base their cultural financing system on the importance of human capital achieve a higher level of efficiency in the cultural sector.

The methodology used in the article

Throsby defines the meaning of culture in two different ways. The first definition puts collectivism in the centre.

> "Culture is in a broadly anthropological or sociological framework to describe a set of attitudes, beliefs, mores, customs, values and practices which are common to or shared by any group."[3].

This definition is heavily dependent on anthropological and social scientific factors. I does not emphasize the role of the actor, and so it is not possible to examine culture from an economic point of view. As we do not accept this definition for economic reasons, an alternative is needed.

To be able to analyse culture in economic terms, we need to focus on the individual actor. Throsby's second definition does precisely this.

> "Culture relates to activities drawing upon the enlightenment and education of the mind rather than the acquisition of purely technical and vocational skills."[4]

As an individual's preferences, decisions, expectations and actions are the main elements of this definition, and an economic analysis must also focus on these variables, it is possible to examine culture and the cultural sector from economic aspects.

These two definitions do not exist in real life separated from each other: they supplement each other. Sometimes collective and sometimes individual characteristics have the stronger influence on actions. As the paper's main aim is to examine the European Union's Member States' cultural sector from an economic angle, instead of focusing on analysing definitions of culture, we concentrate on the economic characteristics of the cultural goods.

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3   (Throsby/2001/4)
4   (Throsby/2001/4)

The methodology used is based on comparative economics, which puts institutions into the focus of its analysis. Simonin[5] in his article shows how the democratisation of culture became widely accepted in the United States and in France. This work has had a strong influence on our categorization system, as we also argue that the elitist aspect of cultural financing no longer exists in contemporary cultural policies. As the EU is a supranational-level democratic institution, it is also the symbol of the democratisation of culture. All the Member States of the EU accept this view, although not in the same way, but all try to build the democratisation of culture into their cultural policy and cultural financing systems. Based on this scientific view, we also ignore the elitist view of culture, and simply focus on the democratic approach. In our categorisation the main factors are the size, form and quality of State intervention. As the State and its role are in the centre, we have created two groups, which are named following the terminology used in comparative political economics: Member States belong either to the coordinated or to the liberal cultural financing models.

The Member States examined are: Austria, Belgium, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, the Netherlands and the UK[6].

In grouping the Member States the focus is on how the 'arm's-length' factor appears in the various cultural financing models:
1. The existence of independent arts councils,
2. The role of the private sector in the financing of culture,
3. The existence of competition for government subsidies,
4. The development and the efficiency of the taxation system on culture,
5. The development and the role of the non-profit sector.

The Compendium country reports were compared and examined concentrating on the criteria previously mentioned. According to Hall–Soskice[7], there are two main capitalist systems. One is coordinated capitalism and the other is liberal capitalism.

Coordinated Cultural Financing Model	Liberal Cultural Financing Model
Austria	Denmark
Belgium	Finland
Czech Republic	Ireland
France	Sweden
Germany	The Netherlands
Hungary	The United Kingdom
Italy	
Poland	
Portugal	
Spain	
Slovakia	
Slovenia	

Table 1: The categorization of 0EU Member States based on the role of the market mechanisms and the State[8]

The countries compared can be categorized into two groups [Table 1], which can be referred to as coordinated or liberal cultural financing approaches. It is important to emphasize that, although the names

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5 (Simonin/2003)
6 There are comparable data available on these countries in the databases.
7 (Hall-Soskice/2001)
8 Own Grouping

of the approaches are similar to the names of the Hall–Soskice capitalist systems, their characteristics are not so. It is not automatic that, in any one country, the cultural financing and economic systems should be the same.

Not only cultural democratisation, but also the info-communication revolution modified the grouping of cultural goods and services. Nowadays many of the creative industry's goods and services are part of the cultural sector, from which the so-called cultural industry emerged. The analyses and the statistical data used in the paper refer to these four levels. Throsby's concentric circles model demonstrates the levels of the cultural industry[9]:

1. Core creative arts: Literature; Music; Performing arts; Visual arts.
2. Other core cultural industries: Film; Museums and Libraries.
3. Wider cultural industries: Heritage services; Publishing; Sound recording; Television and Radio; Video and computer games.
4. Related industries: Advertising; Architecture; Design; Fashion.

There are various types of analytical methods to examine collectivism and individualism in the cultural sector. These are[10]:

1. "Cross-national" or functionalist approach,
2. "Cross-cultural" or cultural approach,
3. "Societal approach" or "inter-national" comparison.

In the case of the "cross-national" approach, the comparison is based on the principle of "rationality", which asserts continuity between the phenomena compared "term by term" or "item by item". In the view of rationality and the related principle of continuity of phenomena, various economic or social indicators (e.g. the rate of unemployment) are comparable by country and such social-institutional contexts as the labour relations system, training and education, labour market institutions etc. playing only a residual role. The notion of "functional equivalence" often used in this type of comparative work, indicates that the categories compared (e.g. "on-the-job" training) has the same meaning in different countries participating in the comparative research. There is little possibility to analyse the macro- and micro- levels at the same time with this method.

In the article the focus is on a comparative analysis of the EU Member States' cultural financing systems, and the "cross-national" approach will be used as the main analytical method.

The comparative analysis of the cultural financing models used by the European Union's member states

The liberal cultural financing model

The model's major motto is:

"At arm's length where possible, but involved where necessary."[11]

The United Kingdom, The Netherlands, Finland, Sweden, Denmark and Ireland are using this financing strategy. As fiscal and political decentralization is the main characteristic of this model, the non-profit sector has a very important role in this system. The model focuses on the liberalization of 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 the arts. The government focuses on the indirect way of fiscal support for culture. The two basic motivation methods are tax incentives

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9 (Throsby/2010/92)
10 (Makó and Csizmadia and Illésy/2005/3)
11 (The Netherlands Compendium country profile/2006/5)

and an accountable, credible, predictable and transparent institutional system. Decentralization and liberalisation are the key determinants in this model, as consumer demands are satisfied in the free market where needed. This model shows the same characteristics in many ways as the American one[12].

The coordinated cultural financing model

This type of cultural financing is the opposite of the liberal method. Decision-making is centralized, and direct government support for culture is high. The focus is on using non-market-oriented incentives to achieve high quality cultural products. In the countries in which this model is used, productivity and efficiency are the incentives. The government delegates its officials to the artistic committees to help in managing central policy. The officials have direct influence on the cultural policy of the country and also of the regions. This strategy is used in France, Spain, Italy, Greece and most of the post-socialist countries to make the cultural sphere more efficient. The aim is to try to implement their cultural policy at supranational EU level and to protect their national culture with a so-called proactive strategy.[13]

The countries using the coordinated cultural financing model believe in the non-market-driven development of the creative sector. The main aim is to create an efficient cultural sector with high direct governmental support and political centralization.

These models show that the EU has a wide range of cultural financing models, which help the EU to be flexible and customize changes. This, however, can also be a constraint, as this cultural and fiscal diversity makes the communitarisation of the cultural sector more difficult.

The role of human capital in the growth of the cultural sector

The data of [Table 2] demonstrate that the value added to GDP by the cultural sector is higher in those Member States which use the liberal approach in their cultural policy. The only exception is Ireland, where the liberal approach is combined with fiscal centralisation and so a hybrid model is used. The highest level of value added to GDP is generated in France, which uses the coordinated cultural financing approach in the most homogenous and efficient way. All the other Member States using the coordinated model have a lower level of growth in the cultural sector. The lowest results are produced by Hungary and Poland.

The Human Capital Index is much higher in the liberal countries than in the coordinated ones. The main strategy of the liberal countries is to increase the level of human capital as, the more educated are the people, the more cultural goods and services are consumed. This philosophy is reflected in Bourdieu's thesis:

> *"The strongest correlation between performance and educational capital qua cultural capital recognized and guaranteed by the educational system."[14]*

As the results of the regression later demonstrate, there is strong correlation between human capital and household expenditure on culture and household expenditure on culture and value added to GDP of the cultural sector. Indirectly, therefore, human capital influences the growth of the cultural sector.

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12 (Tóth/2008)
13 (Littoz-Monnet/2003)
14 (Bourdieu/1984/13)

Country	Cultural sector value added GDP	H'sehold spend on culture	HDI index	GDP) per capita (USD)	HCI index[1]	Direct gov'ment spend on culture as % of GDP
Denmark	3.10	5.30	0.86	35217	14.00	1.60
Finland	3.10	5.70	0.86	32736	29.00	1.20
N'lands	2.70	4.80	0.88	36548	21.00	1.40
Ireland	1.70	3.10	0.89	40716	30.00	0.50
UK	3.00	7.70	0.84	32990	19.00	0.90
Sweden	2.40	5.30	0.88	34870	8.00	1.10
Average	2.67	5.32	0.87	35513)	20.1	1.12
Austria	1.80	6.60	0.84	35695	23.00	0.90
Belgium	2.60	4.70	0.86	33527	31.00	1.30
Czech Rep.	2.30	5.90	0.84	22009	26.00	1.20
France	3.40	5.20	0.86	31048	30.00	1.50
Hungary	1.20	4.30	0.80	18154	30.00	1.60
Germany	2.50	5.20	0.88	31950	36.00	0.60
Poland	1.20	4.00	0.78	14541	34.00	1.00
Italy	2.30	4.10	0.84	28866	48.00	0.80
Portugal	1.40	4.20	0.78	20839	37.00	1.00
Spain	2.30	3.30	0.85	29382	38.00	1.40
Slovakia	2.00	5.00	0.80	17585	32.00	1.20
Slovenia	2.20	5.50	0.81	24837	22.00	1.10
Average	2.4	4.83	0.83	25703	32.2	1.13

Table 2: Main statistical data of EU Member States' cultural sectors

Household expenditure on culture shows the same tendency as the value added to GDP by the cultural sector. Households spend a higher amount of their budget on cultural goods and services in the liberal Member States. Ireland's result is below that of the other members of this group. Although Ireland uses almost the same strategy in cultural financing as the UK, in the latter, families consume more cultural goods and services. The coordinated countries' results achieve only the average of the liberal, the only positive exception being Austria. It is also seen in the database that household expenditure on culture is lowest in the Mediterranean and the post-socialist countries.

When analysing the direct government expenditure on culture as %f GDP it can be seen that in both groups there are countries which support culture with higher amounts of GDP, whilst others achieve almost the same economic growth in the cultural sector with less government subsidy. The average of direct government expenditure is almost the same in the two groups, and so the question arisies as to whether the size of government support for culture can increase the growth of the sector. If the answer is no; then which factors influence the economic performance of the cultural sector?

The datai also demonstrate that the Scandinavian countries use higher direct government support than do the Anglo-Saxon, but the resource allocation is very similar as it is based on the arm's-length principle. If we compare the coordinated countries, it is very clear that, if two countries use the same cultural financing model, it does not mean that they achieve the same level of efficiency. The best example of this is seen with France and Hungary, since the former has the highest level of value added to GDP, whilst the latter has the lowest - using a very similar strategy.

The data from the HDI index show very slight differences. The results are higher in the liberal countries. Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and Portugal have the lowest HDI indices - below the coordinated group's average and far below those of the liberal countries.

GDP per capita as a general economic variable is also included in the analysis as we would like to prove the assumption that it is not automatic that, the more developed a country is, the higher is direct government subsidy to culture. Ireland has one of the highest levels of GDP per capita, but government expenditure on culture is 0.5 % of GDP. The Hungarian case is a total contrast. Hungary has one of the lowest levels of GDP per capita, but the size of direct government expenditure as a % of GDP is 1.6%.

To summarise the comparative analyses, we can state that the coordinated and liberal cultural approach-using countries use different priorities to increase the economic performance of the cultural sector. The most robust result is that the size of direct government support has little or no influence on the value added to GDP of the cultural sector. To prove this thesis, a multi-variant regression is run on the database. We try to demonstrate, if direct government expenditure on culture is not significant in the GDP growth of the cultural sector, which variables do play a major role.

To support the results of the comparative analysis a multi-variant regression was run. The results are shown in [Table 3].

	HCI index	HDI index
Household expenditure on culture	0.555	0.150
Sig 2 tailed	0.017	0.553
HDI index	0.326	1
Sig 2 tailed	0.187	-
Cultural sector value added to GDP	0.343	0.646
Sig 2 tailed	0.163	0.004
Direct government expenditure on culture as % of GDP	0.279	-0.160
Sig 2 tailed	0.262	0.526

Table 3: The results of the multi-variant regression on the variables of the cultural sector of EU Member States

To obtain relevant results for the HCl, a transformation was needed.[15]

Household expenditure is closely correlated with the value added to GDP in the cultural sector. It is correlated at a 5 % significance level with the level of human capital, and so, indirectly, the level of human capital has an influence on the growth of the cultural sector.

When examining direct government expenditure on culture, we see that the size of direct government subsidy has no influence on any of the variables, since there is no significant correlation among the variables and direct government expenditure.

The human development index is correlated with the value added to GDP at a 1 % significance level. As the level of human capital is part of this index, it shows that the assumption, which emphasizes the importance of human capital on the performance of the cultural sector, has relevance.

By way of summary, we would argue that it is not the size of direct government support but the level of human capital which influences the economic performance of the cultural sector.

Conclusion

The paper's main aim was to prove that Member States in the EU use different cultural policies and financing strategies to improve the efficiency of their cultural sector. The author assumes that the role

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15 100-(HCI index x 0,49)

of human capital in cultural consumption and the increase of cultural sector efficiency are decisive. To prove the hypothesis, first the different types of cultural financing models were compared and tested with multi-variant regression analysis. Based on the results, the argument is that the Member States of the EU use different types of strategy to increase their cultural sector efficiency. Human capital and household expenditure on culture are strongly correlated - which proves that the level of education is critical in the consumption of cultural goods. Finally the assumption is demonstrated that the cultural sector's economic performance is more efficient in those countries which base their strategy on the importance of human capital.

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Footnotes

1   The lower the rate, the higher the level of Human Capital.

EUROPEANNESS IN THE MAKING:
FROM POLICY TO PRACTICE

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European cultural identity in the EU´s cultural policy

One of the main aims of the European Union has been to strengthen the unification of its member states in the areas of economics, trade and the labour market. However, similar aims can also be found in the rhetoric of the cultural policy of the European Union. During recent decades the EU has started to pay more and more attention to cultural questions and identifying its citizens. Since the 1980s the EU has launched various cultural programmes, which aim to strengthen the feeling of belonging of its citizens and produce cultural integration within the common European community. During these decades cultural political points of view have become more and more significant in the main agreements of the union and in the resolutions of the European Council. The fundamental aim in the cultural policy of the EU is to stress the obvious cultural diversity of Europe whilst, at the same time, finding underlying common elements which unify the diverse cultures of Europe. Through these common elements EU policy produces an imagined cultural community of Europe [1], which is "united in diversity" as one of the Union's proclaims.

The aim of this paper is to analyse the production of a European cultural identity in the EU's cultural policy.[2] The cultural political decision-making is practised in several institutions and bodies in the Union, and these implement various EU-funded cultural programmes and make cultural awards in various categories. Therefore, the cultural policy of the Union is composed of various separate decisions, programmes and actions, which together produce the cultural political framework of the Union. Various cultural points of view are also included to the main policy documents, such as to the principle agreements of the European Union.

The analysis in the paper is based on three cases which show the EU´s cultural policy at four different levels. These are: the Treaty of Lisbon (the principle agreement of the European Union), the European Agenda for Culture (the resolution of the European Council which encapsulates the main cultural aims of the EU), and the EU's project, the European Capital of Culture (ECoC)[3] – the longest running cultural programme of the EU taking place in each member state in turn. The main question is: How is the concept of European cultural identity produced in these cases, and what kind of cultural hierarchies and ideologies are included?

The individual cases are explored with a discursive approach, and in this article I define discourse as a particular way of representing reality. These representations, elaborated in EU documentation, assemble the notions of Europe, Europeanness, European cultural identity and the ideas, mental images, notions and expectations related to them, in a complex way. They also indicate the power positions and hierarchies intertwined in the use of language and 'meaning-making' processes. In this paper, Europeanness is understood as a discursive cultural identity[4] which is produced and narrated in various official and unofficial circumstances.

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1   Sassatelli 2002:436.
2   For a deeper analysis, see Lähdesmäki 2011.
3   The EU started to select European Cities of Culture in 1985, but since 1999 these have
    been called European Capitals of Culture. In this article, I focus particularly on the EU's
    decisions regarding the European Capitals of Culture programme since 1999.
4   Hall 1990; Hall 1992, Giesen 1991; Bhabha 1994; Bolhman 2009.

Common heritage and/or cultural plurality

Europeanness has been approached in various ways in academic, political and everyday discussion. Besides cultural aspects, the notions of Europeanness include political, moral and pragmatic meanings. Academic and political discussion on the European cultural identity is often characterised by varying emphasis on interpreted unity or diversity of European culture(s). The different emphases are explored in this article as three different discourses.

That of unity stresses the idea of common cultural roots, history and heritage as a concrete base for coherence in European cultural identity. The idea of Europe as a mentally or culturally unified continent is profoundly old – the image of a mentally unified continent was already in existence at the beginning of the modern era, in the 16th century[5]. In general, the definitions of common Europeanness have usually culminated in periods during which the continent has been under threat. Europe and Europeanness have always been formulated through negations and threats – whether from Turks, Russians, Germans, American or Asian economic powers, or Islam [6]. Throughout history, a number of other factors have been used in an attempt to characterise the unity of Europeans [7]. Still in the 20th century, the views on common identity and shared destiny have been explained as emerging, for example, from the Greek spirit, Hellenic rationality and beauty, from Roman law and administration and from the Christian religion[8]. In addition, the modernism of the 18th and 19th century has been explained both as a creation and a creator of Europe[9].

The discourse which outlines some common and shared elements as a base for European cultural identity often refers to the continuity of history, the legacy of the past and old traditions. In this the present-day is seen as emerging from the 'Great Past', which, on the one hand, has cultivated the present state of the common culture, and, on the other hand, obliges us to foster its history. From this romantic point of view, the notion of culture refers to high culture and so emphasises the preservation of old high cultural objects. Culture is seen as positive, uplifting and developing and not embracing conflict, dominance or subordination.

However, in relation to this view, various scholars and politicians have emphasised the multifaceted variety of cultures as the main character of the European identity. European cultures are considered to be characterised by their plurality, and the European cultural identity is thus seen as manifold and plural. In this discourse, the EU is given the task of protecting Europe's cultural diversity and the diffuse knowledge about cultures in Europe[10]. In respect of diversity, culture is not cast as a unifier of Europe. Common culture is not seen as a starting point for European integration or the feeling of belonging. Instead various scholars have pointed out the nature of Europeanness as a civic identity[11].

However, those views which stress the civic/political dimension of European identity have been criticised as inadequate. Culture is seen as essential for a sense of common belonging. The most abstract discourse on Europeanness stresses both unity and diversity as the key features of a European cultural identity – Europeanness is seen to be characterised by the plurality of different cultural units and features, but these cultures are also believed to be connected with certain underlying common elements. The main aim is to celebrate the differences without homogenising them. This has been criticised as a formal solution with no substance: it has been seen as a superficial motto that can easily turn into a new version of Eurocentric triumphalism[12]

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5   Mikkeli 1994:185.
6   Mikkeli 1994:188-189.
7   Mikkeli 1994:161.
8   Valéry 1924; de Rougemont 1966.
9   Heller 1992.
10 Sassatelli 2002:439.
11 Delanty 1995; Delanty 2000; Orchard 2002.
12 Sassatelli 2002:440.

Integration through fostering diversity

The discourse, which stresses both the unity and the diversity in the formation of European cultural identity, characterises the principle documents related to the EU´s cultural policy. In the documents the contents of 'diversity' are discussed in terms of national and regional cultures and multicultural societies. Unity is encapsulated in the idea of a common heritage.

The two objectives – fostering diversity and common cultural heritage – are tightly intertwined in the current grounding document of the EU, the Treaty of Lisbon. The treaty was created by "drawing inspiration from the cultural, religious and humanist inheritance of Europe, from which have developed the universal values of the inviolable and inalienable rights of the human person, freedom, democracy, equality and the rule of law"[13] and "desiring to deepen the solidarity between their peoples while respecting their history, their culture and their traditions".[14] The fundamental point of departure in the treaty is to outline 'the common mental background' of Europe and to explain it as an inheritance, which has generated various 'universal values'. In the treaty, Europe is introduced as a 'home' for various universal virtues and a sense of justice. The cultural and religious (i.e., Christian) inheritance is seen as an unquestioned source of positive influences on human life. The rhetoric developed from this kind of point of departure is both nostalgic and idealistic. In general, the concept of culture is discussed in the documents in profoundly positive terms and as a non-controversial entity, which maintains and mediates the best qualities and achievements of people.

The cultural heritage is stressed in several articles of the Treaty of Lisbon. Even though cultural diversity is seen important to foster, only the cultural heritage is seen as worthwhile to protect. As formulated in the treaty: "[the Union] shall respect its rich cultural and linguistic diversity, and shall ensure that Europe's cultural heritage is safeguarded and enhanced"[15]. Even though the protection of the cultural heritage is seen as profoundly important, the actual order of values becomes clear in later articles. The EU stresses the "aid to promote culture and heritage conservation where such aid does not affect trading conditions and competition in the Union to an extent that is contrary to the common interest".[16] Cultural values are preceded by economic value.

Similar viewpoints also characterise the European Agenda for Culture. According to the agenda, "culture and its specificity, including multilingualism are key elements of the European integration process based on common values and a common heritage – a process which recognises, respects and promotes cultural diversity and the transversal role of culture".[17] The European integration process is intertwined with 'common values and heritage'. According to the agenda, respecting cultural diversity is an essential part of the integration process. Nevertheless, the integration is seen as something generated from the common elements that unify Europe. Even though the agenda stresses cultural diversity and the importance of respecting it, these attempts could also be interpreted as instruments, or phases, in the creation of cultural coherence and a common European cultural heritage.

One of the three strategic objectives in the European Agenda for Culture is "the promotion of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue". This objective includes, in addition, the aim of "promoting cultural heritage, namely by facilitating the mobility of collections and fostering the process of digitisation, with a view to improving public access to different forms of cultural and linguistic expressions"[18]. In the rhetoric of the agenda, promoting cultural diversity and cultural heritage are even paralleled. Through circulating exhibitions and increasing the access to the cultural heritage, the diverse regional and national heritage is 'Europeanised': it is made known and recognised in Europe and, thus, represented as European. Another aim is "promoting intercultural dialogue as a sustainable process con-

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13 *Treaty of Lisbon* 2008: article 1.
14 *Treaty of Lisbon* 2008: article 1.
15 *Treaty of Lisbon* 2008: article 3.
16 *Treaty of Lisbon 2008*: article 107.
17 *Resolution 2007/C 287/01.*
18 *Resolution 2007/C 287/01.*

tributing to European identity, citizenship and social cohesion, including by the development of the intercultural competences of citizens"[19]. Intercultural dialogue and the intercultural competences of people are emphasised because of their influence on increasing social cohesion. (Positive) interaction between cultures is seen as something that will produce a common European identity. Thus the creation of a common European identity seems to form an underlying principle in the agenda. However, in the agenda, the creation of a European identity and the strengthening of social cohesion through culture are also seen as instruments for more significant purposes. The starting point in the agenda is "stressing that culture and creativity are important drivers for personal development, social cohesion, economic growth, creation of jobs, innovation and competitiveness" [20]. Economic values thus determine the cultural agenda.

The objectives of the ECoC programme follow the discursive context of EU cultural policy: unity and diversity are intertwined as fundamental principles in the celebrations of the ECoC. The objectives of the ECoC programme are described in the Guide for cities applying for the title of European Capital of Culture as follows: "Over the years, this event has evolved without losing sight of its primary objective: to highlight the richness and diversity of European cultures and the features they share, to promote greater mutual acquaintance between European citizens, and encourage a sense of belonging to the same 'European' community."[21] The rhetoric of the guide parallels the diversity and the richness, and emphasises the creation of a sense of belonging, which is obtained through highlighting the common features in cultures and a better knowledge of the cultural features of others.

This discourse, which emphasises both the unity and the diversity as the principle elements of European cultural identity, inevitably includes a strong ideological dimension. The discourse rhetorically outlines the contents and values of European cultural identity. In the discourse, the concept of diversity particularly refers to both the local, regional and national cultures and to the cultural characteristics of various minorities and immigrants in Europe. As the guide clarifies, "This diversity also refers to the cultural input from all the resident populations of migrants or new arrivals from European countries and beyond"[22] The concept of diversity is seen in this kind of rhetoric as an unproblematic and stimulating condition[23]. The common features of European cultures are mostly found in the traditions and manifestations of local, regional and national cultures. This seems to suggest fostering the cultures of 'original' Europeans as a base for creating a common European cultural identity.

The emphasis on cultural diversity as one of the main objectives of the ECoC programme is, paradoxically, producing a common European cultural identity and even fostering European (cultural) integration. The guide stresses the importance of creating a feeling of belonging to the same (European) community: "One of the key objectives of the event is to foster the knowledge which European citizens may have of one another and at the same time to create a feeling of belonging to the same community. In this respect, the overall vision of the event must be European, and the programme must have an appeal at European level."[24] The declaration of the ECoC programme is even more straightforward in its rhetoric: "this initiative is important both for strengthening local and regional identity and for fostering European integration".[25]

Conclusions

At all levels of EU cultural policy discussed, the rhetoric of European cultural identity and its "united(ness) in diversity" is intertwined with the ideas and practices of fostering the European cultural

19 *Resolution 2007/C 287/01.*
20 *Resolution 2007/C 287/01.*
21 *Guide for cities applying for the title of European Capital of Culture* 2009.
22 *Guide for cities applying for the title of European Capital of Culture* 2009.
23 Lähdesmäki 2010.
24 *Guide for cities applying for the title of European Capital of Culture* 2009.
25 *Decision 1419/1999/EC.*

heritage. Diversity is often approached in the policy rhetoric in the frame of Europe's multifaceted heritage by referring to history and legacy. In particular, architecture and the historically 'canonised' architectural sites, monuments and styles are considered to demonstrate the European cultural heritage. The heritage is not only seen as bearing the legacy of separate European nations or ethnic or regional groups, but manifesting the memory and heritage of all Europeans. Fostering diversity (and, paradoxically, commonness) in European culture(s) is expected to produce dialogue and understanding between peoples, participation in cultural events and, finally, belonging to the common 'European culture'.

In fact the emphasis on architecture and architectural heritage sites is an often used strategy in demonstrating Europeanness. The EU's search for a cultural identity is shown, for example, in the architectural designs on the Euro banknotes[26]. In the discourse that stresses cultural unity in Europe, architecture is often seen as a common identity marker [27]. Seeing the 'canonised' architectural styles as the shared heritage of Europe is, however, misleading. The canon of architectural styles follows the ideal matrix created by West European academia - by art historians. The canon recognises only the most typical, ideal and monumental buildings, which, in many cases, are only selected - and temporarily and spatially limited - examples. As Aiello and Thurlow note, Europe's cultural identity is often evoked by appeals to an ancient or classical past, which is produced by stressing certain themes and 'parts' of Europe.[28] Representing these 'parts' as common European culture, is a profoundly exclusive strategy: the heritage of a particular temporal or spatial unit is described as being shared by all Europe's contemporary citizens. In fact, this kind of emphasis on the common cultural heritage in the generation of Europeanness can be interpreted as a reflection of an earlier colonialist ideology.[29] In one sense the heritage is colonised by the EU for its political identity purposes.

Stressing architecture, monuments and heritage sites is a seemingly neutral way to draw attention to the cultural unity and diversity of Europe. However, stressing the cultural unity and diversity from this standpoint is profoundly ideological - the focus of the rhetoric is both demarcating and distinctive. The rhetoric tends to emphasise the heritage of 'original' Europeans and the leading social strata, and draws attention away from the cultural and social problems of the present day cultural diversity and status of 'European' to the variety and commonness of styles and aesthetics of the past.

The recent and the planned enlargements of the EU have created a situation in which the EU is forced to redefine itself in relation to its geographical and cultural boundaries. The governing bodies in the EU and the member states will probably continue the discussion on the criteria of the status of the label 'European'. As Aiello and Thurlow predict, the governing bodies have to manage the tension between keeping 'Europeanness' sufficiently inclusive to serve the flexibility demanded by global capital, while simultaneously sustaining the sense of exclusivity necessary for making a collective European identity meaningful to European citizens.[30] The stress on heritage sites, monuments and architecture seems to indicate that the cultural heritage is seen as sufficiently broad as well as sufficiently distinctive to suit these aims.

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26 Delanty and Jones 2002; Aeillo and Thurlow 2006:154; Bohlman 2009.
27 Delanty and Jones 2002:453-454.
28 Aiello and Thurlow 2006:158.
29 Palonen 2010.
30 Aiello and Thurlow 2006:149.

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CULTURAL TOURISM – THE PHENOMENON OF NATIONS APPROACH. WHAT MAKES LITHUANIA INTERESTING FOR EUROPEANS?

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Abstract

The article discusses the importance of tourism as a possible way to get to know other nations. The authors suppose that the cultural dimension of tourism has always been the main object of travel and also the goal of tourism. Culture and tourism regularly interact. It was noted that, in the middle of the 20th century, as tourist flows increased and tourism became huge, the awareness of each nation's true identity (language, customs, art, architecture etc.) was recognised a key factor in the development of cultural tourism. In fact, tourism encourages countries to take care of and cherish old culture, develop and protect it for future generations.

The Lithuanian cultural heritage was created over many centuries by the interaction of different cultures. Difficult and sometimes contradictory Lithuanian history formed a distinctive culture that was influenced by German, Polish, Russian and other nations' cultural heritage. One particular object of interest in Lithuania is the heritage of the Soviet occupation era. Today this period, due to the unfortunate traces left in Lithuanian culture and history, has become a serious factor in encouraging foreign tourists' to visit Lithuania.

International tourism as an economic activity has gained more significance after Lithuania's Accession to the European Union in 2004. The increasing influx of foreign tourists' witnesses that Lithuania has the potential, and so even greater efforts need to be made to develop tourism.

A significant stage in tourism development in Lithuania came in 2009 when the city of Vilnius took the title of a 'European Capital of Culture'. This project exploited the unique historical and geographical context: the cultural capital programme was featured, besides Vilnius, in all of the historic capitals of the country - Kernavė, Trakai and Kaunas. The article deals with Lithuanian institutional experience and also with apparent deficiencies in organising cultural events, and the authors present their 'Vilnius - European Capital of Culture 2009' programme evaluation from the perspective of tourism development.

Currently, the Lithuanian rural cultural environment is much different from the urban and so, when examining the situation of tourism in Lithuania, it is vital to assess the role of the villages, since these have preserved the old traditions and customs (traditional festivals - Mardi Gras, St. John's Feast Day and others, and also the old traditional crafts and folklore, etc.).

The cultural heritage of earlier centuries and the new era attracts tourists to Lithuania not only from neighbouring countries. The country has now become an object of interest from other European countries, including, for example, Spain. The authors, while studying the Spanish tourists' visits to Lithuania in 2009, found that the most frequent reasons for visiting Lithuania were: the country is still little known in the world, although it has a unique culture; tourists want to see the differences between the current independent state and the former Soviet Union republic; finally, tourists want to see the differences between the architecture and culture of Lithuanian towns and villages. Many Spanish tourists were surprised by the cleanliness of urban Lithuania and its unique aura. At the same time, according to the Spanish tourists, in Lithuania there is still an under-developed leisure service, and the service and catering sector must also be improved.

The empirical study conducted by the authors helps us to understand better the importance of the Lithuanian national culture at state level, to develop tourism policies in an appropriate way and so to enhance its competitiveness.

Key words: cultural tourism, cultural heritage, cultural tourism development.

Introduction

Lithuania in the context of international tourism is a relatively new player and for most foreign visitors it is as yet little known. This situation was caused by a complicated history, in which the main problem was that since WW II Lithuania was occupied by a foreign state and its name as an independent state disappeared from the world map. This had difficult consequences that still can be felt because, until today, in some European countries (such as Italy, Spain, France and others) a considerable number of people scarcely know where Lithuania is.

The development of international tourism is a very recent topic for Lithuania after its Accession to the European Union when, with no formal restrictions, the influx of foreign tourists who wanted to discover a little-known country started. However this foreign tourist influx reached Lithuania when it was not prepared sufficiently to receive a large number of tourists, and so many foreign visitors were disappointed in a poorly developed public tourism infrastructure[1]. Unfortunately, many factors impede the development of tourism in our country: the lack of comprehensive tourist information, entertainment, as well as unmet accommodation needs, catering services and others[2], which pose many problems in our country's image- building efforts. Although some studies are being prepared, they are mostly intended for the general situation in the context of European tourism[3]. Such findings let us draw the conclusion that a unified and systematic approach to international tourism development processes in Lithuania has not yet been formed. There is still a lack of information about what Lithuanian tourism products most attract foreign visitors, and what the main objectives of their visits to Lithuania, in fact, are.

According to Eurostat data, before the economic crisis, the influx of foreign tourists grew every year, the number of arrivals between 2004 and 2007 grew by 52.09 %[4], which is why, today, cultural tourism is seen as the prevailing type of tourism in the country. The changing situation in the Lithuanian tourism market, in our opinion, encourages examining the state of tourism and doing more serious market research. The first scientific publication on the subject is the Baltic States Cultural Tourism Document released by Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian UNESCO commissions in 2003[5]. Here were featured the most important Lithuanian cultural tourism objects, an overview of their status, as well as the main problem which at that time inhibited the development of cultural tourism. Most of the problems set out in the document have already been resolved or are being resolved (there are more tourist terms, there is more information about cultural tourism sites in Lithuania in foreign languages, the service quality is also improving, etc.). At the same time there is still a lack of scientific work that could detail the state of cultural tourism in Lithuania, and so in this article, according to the results of the empirical research in where Spanish tourists participated, we focus on the problems that are characteristic of Lithuania today.

Looking retrospectively at the history of Spain and Lithuania, it can be said that for many centuries the different historical and cultural heritages of each country formed a distinctive and unique heritage. Spanish culture is mainly linked to its southern neighbours'- the Arab - invasion and their dominance in Spain, even until the Middle Ages. Lithuania, by contrast, was influenced more by its eastern neighbours and Poland.

The cultural tourism development opportunities in Lithuania: from historical background to today's current affairs

1 National Tourism Development Programmes of 2007-2010, the feasibility
   Study. http://www.tourism.lt/informacija/ntp_programa.php.
2 Ibid.
3 Lehtimäki, M. ' Cultural Tourism and Heritage: Opportunities, Impact, Cooperation
   and Administration. – 2009. – p 151. Tourism in the New Europe: The Challenges and
   Opportunities of EU Enlargement, composed by D. Hall, M. Smith, et al. 2006, etc.
4 Available at http://www.tourism.lt/turizmo_statistika/apzvalgos.php. Baltic Cultural Tourism Policy Paper.
   2003, http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/files/23640/11033006043bct_short1.pdf/bct_short1.pdf.
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Currently, in Lithuania as in other countries, cultural tourism is developing most rapidly[6], which is why, in a growing competitive environment, the systematic approach to the country's cultural heritage relationship with tourism development becomes one of competitive advantage[7].

Cultural heritage became of great interest after archaeological discoveries in Egypt, Greece and other places at the beginning of the nineteenth century. These discoveries became the basis for the cultural heritage being examined as a new phenomenon which later became the main object of travel. The cultural peculiarity of different countries encouraged representatives of one culture to be interested in foreign cultures. A country's cultural heritage is born together with the state, ad so a culture which gives birth to tourism always interacts with it. Hence, tourism encourages the promotion of an ancient culture, its development and preservation for future generations.

In the literature the concept of cultural tourism in general is interpreted as a trip, the goal of which is to become acquainted with the cultural environment that links the landscape, visual and performing arts, local lifestyles, values, traditions, knowledge, participation in events related to the creative process and the development of intercultural exchanges[8]. The relationship of the cultural heritage and cultural tourism is interpreted differently by a large number of scientists, and this causes considerable confusion. Some authors (Zeppel, Hall[9], Sharpley[10]) tend to talk about cultural tourism, adding to that concept also heritage tourism as its key segment. Lately, however, these two concepts started to diverge and now they are used separately[11]. Cultural tourism is linked to cultural activities: accessing different types of event: concerts, museums, various forms of art and others. The proponents of cultural tourism interpret this as satisfying human cultural needs[12], which is why it is associated with such a variety of . The heritage tourism proponents (Zeppel, Hall, Sharpley, Ashworth, Goodall[13] et al.) stress that the main function of this kind of tourism is a return to the past, and so this tourism is associated with nostalgia and a willingness to try to find new forms of cultural landscape. In general, heritage tourism is associated with what is passed on from generation to generation: the traditions, natural landscape, buildings, artefacts, cultural traditions and others. The review of the concepts of interpretation associated with tourism does not constitute a good reason to use cultural and heritage tourism terms in a separate way. We believe that the heritage is a key attribute of cultural tourism.

Lithuania's cultural heritage consists of what was formed at the crossroads of different cultures. Difficult and contradictory Lithuanian history created a unique culture that was influenced by German, Polish, Russian and other national cultures, and so the source of differences and commonalities is hidden in history. The last century's Lithuanian occupation and other influences of foreign countries left some traces in the cultural life of the country. These circumstances mean that the Lithuanian cultural heritage is preserved till now thanks to the villages, which were less influenced by foreign cultures. The Lithuanian village has always been a source of the Lithuanian nation's community, ethnicity, cultural

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6 National Tourism Development Program's of 2007-2010, the feasibility
   Study. http://www.tourism.lt/informacija/ntp_programa.php .
7 The word ''culture' comes from the Latin word 'cultura'' which at that time explained worship or religious procedures. Later the word was transformed into the concept of the acquired knowledge that people use interpreting their experience and generating their social behaviour (Baltic Cultural Tourism Policy Paper, 2003, p. 14). The acquired knowledge creates values, the relationship between people, and influences their behaviour. Culture can now be seen as a set of different mental, physical, emotional and intellectual features of a community, as well as art, literature, lifestyle, living, the system of values, traditions and beliefs.
8 Baltic Cultural Tourism Policy Paper, 2003, p. 14.
9 Zeppel, H. and Hall, C. M. (1992) 'Arts and Heritage Tourism.' In B. Weiler and C. M. Hall (eds.) Special Interest Tourism. Routledge, London, pp. 47-68.
10 Sharpley, R. (1993), Tourism and Leisure in the Countryside, ELM Publications, Huntington.
11 Misiura S. Heritage Marketing. – Oxford : Elsevier. – 2006. – 280 p. ISBN 978-0-75066-3182.
12 Sigala M., Leslie D. International Cultural Tourism: Management, Implications and Cases (second edition). – Oxford: Elsevier, 2006. – 244 p. p. 6-7.
13 Ashworth, G. and Goodall, B. (1990) 'Tourist images: marketing considerations', in Goodall, B. and Ashworth, G. (Eds.): Marketing in the Tourism Industry, pp.213–233, Routledge, London.

vitality and authenticity[14]. Today's Lithuanian rural cultural environment is even more different from the urban cultural environment. Hence, an examination of the village's role is necessary because it contains live, authentic ancient tradition (Festivals such as Mardi Gras, an St. John's Day, crafts, folklore etc.). For these reasons, Lithuania has become an interesting destination for foreign tourists, including Spaniards, who have contributed to a totally new contingent of tourists in our country.

Lithuania has created a register of its cultural assets, in which 25,000 cultural heritage objects are registered, of which more than 7,000 are protected by the state. For the development of cultural tourism the old palaces, defensive works, churches and monasteries, castles and manor houses, historical parks, ethnographic villages and the industrial heritage are important. Foreign tourists are mostly interested, of course, in the UNESCO World Heritage List included tangible and intangible objects (Table 1).

Tangible objects	Vilnius Old Town (1994)
	Kernave Archaeological Site (2004)
	Struve Geodetic Arc (2005)
	The Curonian (Courland) Spit (2000)
Intangible objects	Cross craftwork and symbols of the cross (2001)
	Song Festival Traditions and Symbols (2003)

Table 1. Objects of the Lithuanian heritage recognised by UNESCO
Source: prepared by the authors of this article according to the data of the National Commission of the UNESCO[15]

The sacred heritage also makes a contribution to the development of cultural tourism in Lithuania[16]. The rich sacred heritage of Lithuania, the abundance of museums[17], ancient crafts and festivals help to reveal the uniqueness of Lithuania, the Lithuanian cultural identity As a result, curiosity and interest in other cultures grows, and so this should be incorporated into the development of cultural tourism and travel programmes. The Lithuanian cultural heritage is diverse, with Christian and European influence. Christian culture is a culture that was born in a rural environment; European culture is considered as more of an urban culture. It is an open culture, since it is influenced so much by the cultures of other nations and races.

Therefore, Christian culture can be considered as an authentic Lithuanian culture that reveals its true features. Currently, foreign tourists in Lithuania are acquainted mainly with urban culture (for example, the ethnographic open-air museum in Rumsiskes is rarely included in tourist programmes and so acquaintance with Lithuanian culture seems quite superficial. Meanwhile, as highlighted by many authors, identity is an important cultural (heritage) tourism attribute[18].

Lithuania is rich in cultural resources which are under-used or not used at all. For example, the ancient rural tradition of mushroom and berry picking, traditional methods of fishing, beekeeping, and the blacksmith's forge might be involved in rural tourism programmes. Moreover, Lithuania's culinary and ethnographic heritage is wonderfully distinctive since every region is different[19]. For the development of cultural tourism in the rural environment the more frequent cultural events should be revived, and

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14 A Sidlauskas 'Reflections of culture' (culture http://www.bernardinai.lt/straipsnis/2005-09-08-aleksandras-sidlauskas-pamastymai-apie / 10858).

15 The National Comission of the UNESCO http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/
files/23640/11033006043bct_short1.pdf/bct_short1.pdf.

16 2007-13 National Tourism Development Program. http://www3.lrs.lt/pls/inter3/
dokpaieska.showdoc_l?p_id=325084&p_query=&p_tr2.

17 In the country there are also three national museums, 15 republic museums and three district museums, 63 municipal museums (Regional and Memorial), 18 departmental museums and seven non-state museums (2007-2013 NTDP).

18 Chhabra D. et al. 'Staged authenticity and heritage tourism', 2003,Annals of tourism research, 30: 3, 702-719., p. 703.

19 Lehtimäki, M. Cultural Tourism and Heritage: Opportunities, Impact,
Cooperation and Administration. – 2009. – 151 p., p. 11.

in this way there would appear more opportunities to know better each region of Lithuania and their typical festive traditions[20].

Lithuanian cultural resources have a degree of uniqueness (especially when compared with South European countries) which can be exploited as the country's competitive advantage. Hence, in order to revitalise and develop cultural tourism better, the historic importance of the village in the cultural heritage of the country should be given back to it and more attention should be paid to the heritage - both tangible and intangible.

The development of tourism in each country is affected by the existing legal framework, and so it is necessary to discuss the current situation in Lithuania. In 2003 the Baltic Commission for UNESCO in its Cultural Heritage Tourism Country Report noted that, in Lithuania, the development of international tourism was hampered by inefficient regulation in the legal system.

One of the key problems is lack of terms defining the types of tourism[21]. Unfortunately, to date the Lithuanian Tourism Law has no definition of the term 'cultural tourism', which is why many legal Acts interpret and use this term in their own way (Lithuanian Law on Tourism, Law on Protected Areas of the Republic of Lithuania, etc.). This is recognised as one of the key problems in the development of tourism in the country. Another major problem is a lack of close cooperation between the public and private sectors. The poor co-operation between the two is seen in attempts to protect cultural values. The public sector does not allocate enough funds and pays little attention to their protection; moreover, it does not prepare the necessary legislation[22]. The private sector, using loopholes in the legislation, often seeks to profit by converting the cultural heritage objects in a 'money factory'[23]. It is the general feeling that the public authorities should encourage the private sector more to understand their mission in the social aspect and focus more on continuing, sustainable benefits for future generations.

Spanish tourist visits to Lithuania - an Evaluation

Research Methodology

The survey used an anonymous questionnaire and an in-depth interview with Spanish tourist groups (over 150 people participated). The choice of the respondent target group depended on the fact that Spain, according to the statistics, belongs to those countries from which rarely send tourists to Lithuania[24]. Therefore, such research can help to determine what Spanish tourists expect in their visits to Lithuania and what should be modified in the programmes in order to attract more tourists from the Southern countries. Although the respondents' opinions do not reflect the general opinion of all Spanish tourists who visit Lithuania, the data obtained during the investigation is important in a qualitative sense since it represents some trends in this tourism segment and helps to evaluate more objectively the current state of cultural tourism in Lithuania.

The investigation carried out by the authors allows us to draw the conclusion that the representatives of other cultures can evaluate the cultural heritage of Lithuania very reliably, and that Spanish opinion may be important in aiming to attract these tourists and others from South European countries, thereby increasing the flow of foreign visitors from relatively distant countries.

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20 National Tourism Development Program's of 2007-2010, the feasibility Study. http://www.tourism.lt/informacija/ntp_programa.php .
21 Baltic Cultural Tourism Policy Paper. 2003, http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/files/23640/11033006043bct_short1.pdf/bct_short1.pdf.
22 National Tourism Development Program's of 2007-2010 feasibility Study.
23 Baltic Cultural Tourism Policy Paper. 2003, http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/files/23640/11033006043bct_short1.pdf/bct_short1.pdf
24 Statistics on hotels, http://www.tourism.lt/turizmo_statistika/ais.php.

Research

According to the data produced, more than half (53 percent) of Spanish travellers to Lithuania are 55 years old or more. Older tourists, due to the sense of security and other emerging factors, generally prefer group travel. The second group, in terms of frequency of trips, consists of people aged from 25 to 35 - as it is the case that tourists below 35 years often wish to travel individually. Almost all age groups were dominated by women. In each, the number of women exceeded the number of men by 30 percent. The motives which encouraged these Spanish tourists to travel to Lithuania are shown in the Illustration 1 (below)
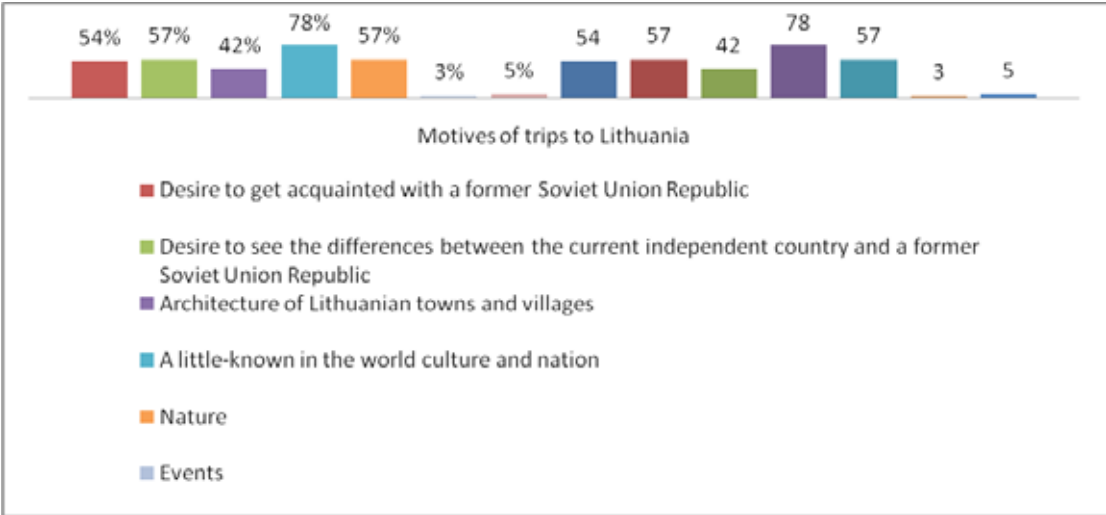
Illustration 1 Spanish Tourists' trips to Lithuania . Motives (as %)

As is clear, several motives are important for foreign tourists. More than 3/4 of the respondents (78%) gave as their main motive for their trip to Lithuania their desire to get to know the little-known heritage of a small nation and people. Another motive was also to se nature (57% of respondents). Almost the same percentage (54%) indicated a visit to a former Soviet Republic as their main motive, the desire to see what peculiarities it has. 42% of all participants responded that their trip was more motivated by a desire to be acquainted with the typical architecture of Lithuanian towns and villages. Although Vilnius was the first city of Eastern Europe to be granted the title of European Capital of Culture (in 2009), only 3% had come to Lithuania because of the cultural events of the 'Vilnius Capital of Culture

2009' programme[25]. The respondents highlighted that the organisers of the programme did not devote enough effort to present properly some concrete events of the programme outside Lithuania. It is clear that, when organising such events, a formal advertisement is not enough; it is necessary to look for other, more effective measures - for example, many tourists noted the lack of information on cultural events in Spanish.

Some tourists had other motives, for example, sex tourism, shopping etc. Only 1% of the respondents had visited Lithuania when it was a part of the Soviet Union, but this was why their trip was motivated by a desire to come back and see what had changed since then in the economic, political and cultural life of the country. As can be seen, Lithuania is not yet a well-known destination for Spanish tourists, and so it attracts them more as exotic. This, however, is only a temporary state and cannot last in the long-term. Other important motives for Spaniards are the Soviet heritage and natural surroundings very different from the Spanish landscape. So in order to attract more Spanish and foreign tourists to Lithuania it is necessary to prepare events and projects linked to the historical heritage, adding to them some features from the Soviet era and Nature. In the 2nd picture we show which cultural sites are the most attractive for Spanish tourists. As can be seen, Spanish tourists are most fond of the National and Historical Park of Trakai, in which, first of all, is Trakai Castle (91%); other great attractions are the Curonian (Courland) Spit and the old town of Vilnius. Because it is so different from Spanish nature, every fourth Spanish tourist is greatly impressed by Nature in Lithuania, by the abundance of forests

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25 2009 was very important to Lithuania also because of the millennium of the country, which is why the status of the European Capital of Culture also obtained a special significance. During the 'Vilnius - European Capital of Culture 2009' programme, more than 1,500 cultural and artistic events took place, which were visited by over half a million residents of Vilnius and foreign visitors from Germany, Russia, Poland, Latvia, Estonia, Belarus, Ireland, Italy, Spain, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Austria, the Czech Republic, France, Japan, the USA, the UK and others. To implement the programme €10m were used, the money provided by the Ministry of Culture, Vilnius City Council and the European Commission.

In the programme a good deal of attention was paid to Lithuanian cultural heritage events, and among these we should mention the Bartholomew Fair which has revitalised the old craft traditions, 'Baroque Dialogues' the arts programmee which interpreted the heritage of the European Baroque era, the International Folklore Festival 'Sound sound kankliai'. Obvious traces in the city's cultural life produced 'Art in Unusual Places', and the 'LUX Festival of Light,' the Kaddish (Requiem) for Holocaust victims, 'Street Music Day' and 'Let There Be Night!' programmes were also strong. The last two projects (which made their debut in 2007) reached a climax in 2009 attracting great crowds of spectators. They became an integral part of the capital's cultural life tradition and it is expecte that they will continue indefinitely.

Some moments in the Street Music and ''sound, sound kankliai' festivals

In the programme 'Vilnius - European Capital of Culture 2009' more than 400 foreign media representatives from Germany, Italy, France, Russia, Ireland, Great Britain, Portugal, USA and other countries were introduced - coverage whichVilniushasneverreceivedsinceitsindependence. In fulfilling the 'Vilnius - European Capital of Culture 2009' programme some difficulties became apparent and it seemed clear that Vilnius that year could have attracted many more foreign visitors if the funds allocated for the implementation of the programme had been more focused on marketing.

and lakes. In fact, supporting the preservation of Lithuanian nature, tourists stress the importance of compatibility between nature and urbanisation process.
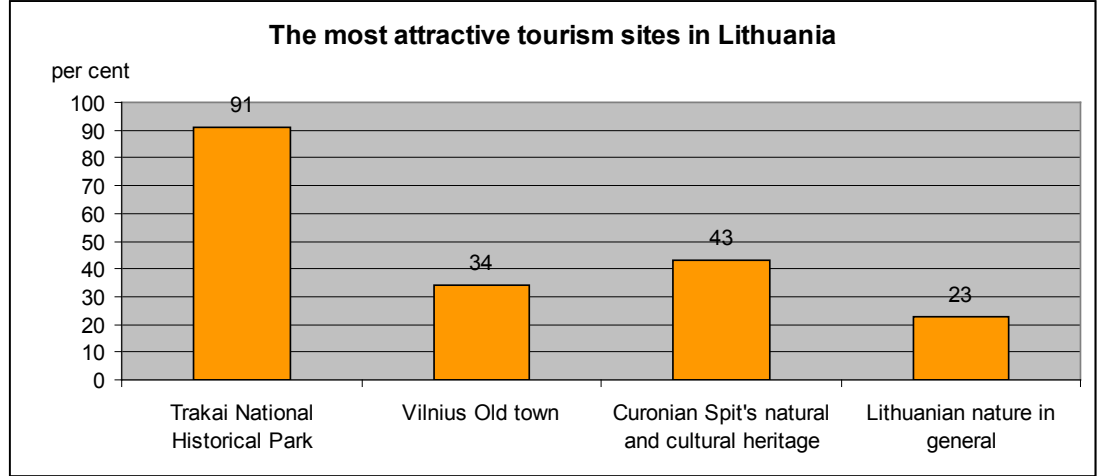

Image 2. The most attractive cultural tourism sites in Lithuania for Spanish tourists

During our research we also focused on what cultural objects and events were mostly preferred by Spanish visitors (Table 2). This helped to confirm that all the objects and events offered by travel agents seem to be interesting for Spanish tourists.

Cultural sites and exhibits	Amber Gallery in Vilnius
	Amber Museum and Botanical Garden in Palanga
	KGB museum
	The Hill of Crosses
	The Hill of Witches in Juodkrante
Cultural events	Sea Festival in Klaipeda

Table 2. Lithuanian cultural objects and events mostly appreciated by Spanish tourists

Unfortunately, it is also necessary to note that travel agents very rarely offer foreign tourists visits to other cultural tourism sites. Without doubt such cultural heritage sites as an architectural ensemble of Vilnius University, Pazaislis Monastery, the Kernave Archaeological Site, the Open-air Ethnographic Museum of Rumsiskes, the Grutas Soviet-era Statue Park and more being built into active tourism programmes would certainly have enhanced Lithuania's attraction as a tourist destination. It is also likely that, in the same way, getting to know the typical rural culinary and ethnographic heritage, traditional crafts and popular ethnic festivals would have been very successful. As a result, many foreign tourists coming to Lithuania in groups miss the opportunities to learn of other examples of Lithuania's historical and cultural heritage, so reducing the country's competitive opportunities in the tourism market. It must be acknowledged that this situation can be explained in a number of reasons, among them poor market research by travel agents.

To obtain a better idea of the potential for the development of cultural tourism in Lithuania, the opinions of the Spanish tourists about the quality of services were studied in terms of service quality and price levels, the availability and adequacy of information, accommodation, meals, etc.. (Image 3).
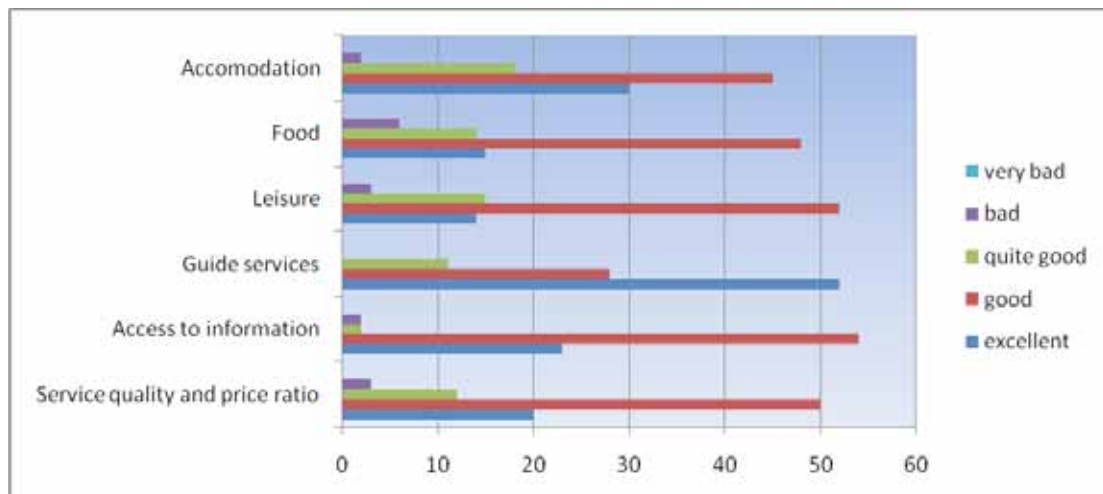
Image 3. Spanish tourists'assessment of service quality in Lithuania (as %)

The quality of the services provided is, in many cases, evaluated highly enough. For example, in respect of guides, accommodation facilities, access to information at the places visited, service quality and price, 70% - 80% of respondents rated these as excellent and good. However, among the services provided to tourists there are also some evaluated less favourably - in particular catering failed to satisfy the needs of different groups (food has little variety or is quite poor) as did leisure opportunities. One in ten respondents were dissatisfied with transport services. According to them, the vehicles generally used are old and so not very comfortable, and every eighth Spanish tourist remarked on a lack of information about services in his native language. Frequently, respondents noted that the tours offered by travel agencies were too long and not informative enough and that visits to a museum or a similar place were rarely provided.

Conclusions

Our research into Spanish tourists visiting Lithuania brings us to the conclusion that Lithuania is mostly visited by people over 55, whose main motive is to see and get to know one of the world's little-known cultures; also, Lithuania is interesting for them as a former republic of the Soviet Union. They also admire Lithuanian nature.

Tourists visiting Lithuania most often take part in sightseeing tours where they visit cultural tourism sites (Vilnius Old Town, Trakai NIP, the Curonian Spit) and a few sites which are located there. However, Spanish tourists are not acquainted with other valuable cultural tourism objects (for example, the monastery of Pazaislis, the Kernave Archaeological site, the Ethnography Museum of Rumsiskes, Grūtas Park et al.) - nor with Lithuania's rural culinary and ethnographic heritage, traditional crafts and popular festivals. As a result, tourists coming in organised groups are not sufficiently introduced to other examples of the country's historical and cultural heritage - which reduces the country's competitive opportunities in the tourism market.

Although most of the Spanish tourists who participated in the research agree that the quality of services (catering services, accommodation, guide services) is quite high, it was clear that there are also some problem areas - for example, not very interesting food, old vehicles, lack of leisure opportunities etc.

The majority were in agreement that Lithuania can be proud of its peculiar cultural heritage which attracts foreign tourists and makes them visit the country, but, in order to increase their numbers, a new approach to Lithuania's competitive opportunities in the tourism market is needed. The main obstacle to this is the

poorly developed legal framework (for example, in Lithuania's Tourism Law there is no definition of the term 'cultural tourism'. Moreover, there is insufficient cooperation between public administration institutions and the private tourism sector.
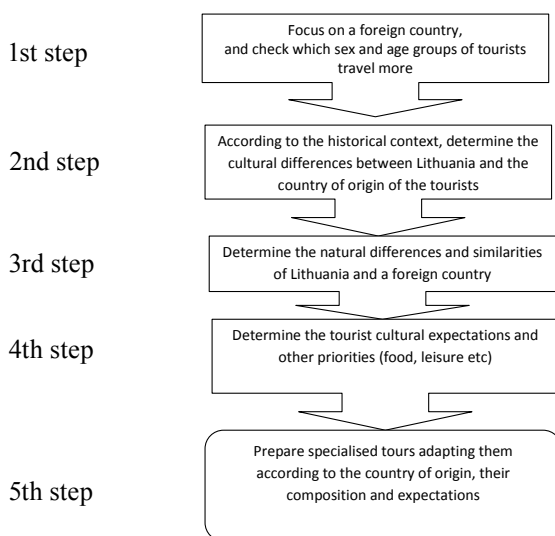
Suggestions

Bearing in mind the importance of developing international tourism, of forming Lithuania's competitive opportunities and of increasing the numbers of foreign tourists visiting the country, we suggest that:

Public institutions must monitor consistently the country's competitive opportunities in the tourism market, rapidly improve the legal framework and help to shape a flexible market segment by development and taxation policy.

Travel agents should react promptly to ever-changing circumstances, focus more on refreshing travel programmes, adding tours with attractions such as important sites and cultural events: old castles, thematic museums, churches and monasteries, palaces, ethnographic villages with folklore festivals. For Spanish tourists it would be advisable to provide more tourist information in Spanish -explain the exclusiveness of Lithuania.

To determine the main motive for foreign tourists' visits to Lithuania, a five-step model by the authors might help-

1st step — Focus on a foreign country, and check which sex and age groups of tourists travel more

2nd step — According to the historical context, determine the cultural differences between Lithuania and the country of origin of the tourists

3rd step — Determine the natural differences and similarities of Lithuania and a foreign country

4th step — Determine the tourist cultural expectations and other priorities (food, leisure etc)

5th step — Prepare specialised tours adapting them according to the country of origin, their composition and expectations

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SIBIU – EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE 2007. AN ASSESSMENT OF ITS IMPACT ON LOCAL DEVELOPMENT AND IDENTITY

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The main purpose of our research is to assess the overall impact of Sibiu – European Capital of Culture 2007 (ECoC) on local development and identity by monitoring and computing investment in urban and cultural infrastructure. We take into account direct and indirect expenses, both public and private, as well as their impact on local development in terms of increasing numbers of tourists, local business profits and employment. At the same time, we focus on the impact on local identity in the context of the cultural mega-event and of Romania's Accession to the European Union in 2007.

Sibiu ECoC 2007 and local development

Regarding the general impact, some cities have benefited more than others from the European Capital of Culture mega-events.[1] In order to assess the impact of the event, Myerscough divided activities into three main streams: arrangements with an emphasis on infrastructure, festival programmes and developing artistic concepts.[2] In fact, there were combinations of the three in most European cities. As other, previous, European Capitals of Culture, Sibiu made an effort to combine several development strategies for the short, medium and long-term. Cultural investments were backed by infrastructure investments, as detailed in the table below.

Investment items	Estimated cost € millions	Funding institution
Airport terminal	28.5	Local Council, County Council
Historical centre renovation	6	Local Council, Ministry of Culture
Main railway station renovation	5	Ministry of Transport
Urban water system renovation	9	Local Council
Urban traffic regulation system	0.25	Local Council
Various churches renovation	1.3	Ministry of Culture
TOTAL	50.05	

Table 1. Estimated infrastructure spending in Sibiu
Source: Sibiu Local Council and Sibiu County Council. Authors' own computation

Yet those figures are not relevant unless compared to the municipal budget. This rose from €21,258,030 in 2002 and €27,604,055 in 2003, to almost €78,500,000 in 2006 and to €89,945,000 in 2007. As can be seen, a significant rise occurred, beginning with 2004, when Sibiu was nominated as a European Capital of Culture, yet the nomination is certainly not the only reason. In fact, the ECoC economic impact lies not only in the cultural events and in the increasing number of tourists, but also in the direct expenses for equipment and urban infrastructure facilities. As we tried to estimate direct spending for the ECoC event, we made an inventory, as follows.

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1 Herrero at al. 2006
2 Meyerscough 1995

Public spending on equipment and facilities	€
New ASTRA public library building and 'Gong' children theatre renovation	3,430,000
Brukenthal Fine Arts Museum renovation	5,000,000
Multi-functional facility (tent)	790,000
Steinway Piano	100,000
Two concert stages	800,000
Public spending on cultural programme	€
337 cultural projects	13,400,000
Ecumenical Meeting of European Churches	500,000
Promotion	5,000,000

Table 2. Estimated Direct Expenses for Sibiu European Capital of Culture 2007

The overall spending of €85,900,000 includes public spending (€18,900,000) and private spending (€67,000,000)

Sibiu ECoC 2007 impact on local business activities

The Romanian Centre for Cultural Research requested at the end of 2007 a survey of the cultural events occurring during Sibiu ECoC 2007 Programme and the latter's impact on local development. According to those findings, tourism companies declared different increases when compared to 2006: 13.7 % for tour operators; 10.9 % for transport companies; 10.5 % for hotels and motels and 7.9 % for bars and restaurants.[3] The overall profit estimates of local companies are: Very High (7.1 %); High (68.2 %) and Steady (22.5 %), whilst very few companies declared a fall in profit (2.2 %). Moreover, more than 50 % of local companies hired new personnel in 2007, with an average of 3.3 new employees per company. The greatest financial impact was in the tourism sector, 95 % of local hotels and inns declaring a large impact. Several hotels were built in 2007 and some others were functional from 2008.

Sibiu ECoC 2007 and its impact on local identity

A further research question asked whether the cultural mega-event affected multiple identities, i.e., would it help to deepen the sense of "European-ness", help to promote ethnic tolerance and cooperation. When we assess the impact of the cultural programme on local identity, we first have to take into account the local setting. In this context, Sibiu differs from other urban settings in Romania. Though Transylvania and Romania were the scene of ethnic tension following the 1989 revolution (especially between ethnic Romanians and ethnic Hungarians,[4] but also between ethnic Romanians and Hungarians on the one side and ethnic Roma on the other) Sibiu was nominated as an ECoC especially in respect of its ethnic peculiarity. In fact, Sibiu has been ruled since 2000 by a Saxon mayor, the leader of a small German ethnic party which politically represents the whole German minority in Romania. Although Sibiu was founded by Saxon settlers in the 12th century, it increasingly became a Romanian-dominated city during the 20th century.

Despite peculiar ethnic tolerance in Sibiu, survey data from several Sibiu samples display no significant variation from overall values, attitudes and beliefs in Romania. Yet one aspect is of great importance for our research, namely the requirements for citizenship. In other European cities (Chemnitz, Bielefeld, Vienna, Bregenz, Manchester, Edinburgh, Madrid, Bilbao, Prague and Bratislava), the main finding is a

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3   http://www.culturanet.ro/downloads/cercetari_finalizate/SITE%20raport%20
    15% 202007%20Impact%20economic%20Program%20Sibiu.pdf
4   Brubaker et al. 2006

structure of separate requirements containing only three underlying basic dimensions.[5] The first is the origin (the ethnic factor) reflected by the requirements regarding place of birth and descent. The second is the so-called civic aspect, summarised by the requirements concerning active integration, such as language, work and law. Finally, the third dimension is the obligatory one of nationality, stated by Fuss as a conscious declaration of one's belief in belonging to the country in terms of knowledge, emotions, and loyalty. The repetition of the factor analysis for each particular city sample results in unexpected similarities. Across all samples used by these researchers, the vast majority of items are analogous assigned to the factors.

Following the design used by Fuss and his colleagues, in 2006 we tested the structure of similar requirements for citizenship in Sibiu. We expected the structure of these requirements to be similar to those formulated by citizens from Eastern Europe included in their sample by Fuss and his colleagues, i.e. citizens from Chemnitz, in the former German Democratic Republic, Prague and Bratislava in former Czechoslovakia. Our finding has a different structure of requirements for citizenship, with four underlying dimensions instead of three.[6]

	1	2	3	4
Having at least one parent from the country	.619	---	---	-.271
Being born in the country	.791	---	---	---
Having national ancestors	.607	---	---	.304
Working in the country	.802	---	---	-.339
Having lived in the country for at least 5 years	.459	---	.305	-.181
Speaking the national language	---	.928	.319	---
Agreeing to abide by the country's laws and institutions	---	-.263	.582	.150
Passing a test on the country	---	-.236	.683	.118
Taking an oath of allegiance to the country	.166	---	---	.717
Feeling that one belongs to the country	.372	---	-.168	.727

Factor analysis (Principal Components Analysis). Varimax rotation. N = 955. KMO = .554. Sig. = .000
Table 3. The structure of requirements for citizenship in Sibiu

The loads on factors indicate a less clear-cut structure of requirements for citizenship in the Romanian city. Whereas the requirements for citizenship in European cities are grouped in three dimensions which express the origin or ethnic, the civic and obligatory factors, the same requirements are differently arranged in Sibiu. The structure in the Romanian city is made up of four dimensions instead of three. Whilst the first in the other European surveys, namely origin, contains the items regarding ancestors, place of birth and parental origin, the first in Sibiu also includes the requirements to work and to have lived in the country, apart from having one parent from the country, being born in the country and having national ancestors. This clearly shows some confusion between the ethnic and the civic aspects of citizenship. At the same time, the requirement to speak the language forms a clear distinct factor. The second factor identified by Fuss – the civic aspect – includes in Sibiu the additional demand to pass a test concerning the country. The last factor – the obligatory aspect of citizenship – therefore contains only the requirements regarding the oath of allegiance and the feeling that one belongs to the country. The loadings on factors indicate that there is no clear distinction between the dimensions identified, as is the case elsewhere in Europe. At the same time, the percentages of explained total variance are quite alike in Sibiu (58.5 %) and, for example, Chemnitz (61 %).

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5   Fuss 2003
6   Dragoman 2008

Why does the requirement to speak the national language represent another dimension? The answer may be found in the uncertain relationship in Romania between the civic nation and the ethnic nation. Whereas most West European countries have already begun to see themselves largely as multicultural and multi-religious communities in which the essential principle of public life is respect for the law ant the constitution,[7] Romanians and East Europeans still see themselves as members of an ethnically-based state. It is still difficult for them to think outside the frame of the national-state, as they inherited a long ethnic tradition that had a single aim, to put in place the romantic idea of a single people, a single language and a single state. In fact, according to our survey data, Romanians still see themselves as members of a nation and of a nation-state. It is therefore difficult for them to conceive a limitation of national sovereignty. By willing to maintain full sovereignty and to keep living in an ethnically defined state, they will have great difficulties in the future to develop a sense of "European-ness", a feeling of belonging to a political and cultural entity that over-reaches any national framework. Sharing state sovereignty is a form of involvement in a larger community, but Romanians are not eager to give up the national state as laid down in their constitution.

Fuss found that people from the European cities examined display strong relations to Europe.[8] In opposing the strength of respondents' feelings about being a national and a European, it appeared that the gap between national and European identity is not very large. In all the European cities concerned the national and European identities are closer than expected and, except for Bratislava, in all cases these identities are significantly and strongly correlated. Therefore, the tension in Romania between the civic and national identity could be eased by emphasis on the common European identity. The nomination and the efforts made for Sibiu ECoC 2007 seems to have made an impression on the local community and strengthened national identity in the city through increasing tourism and investment.
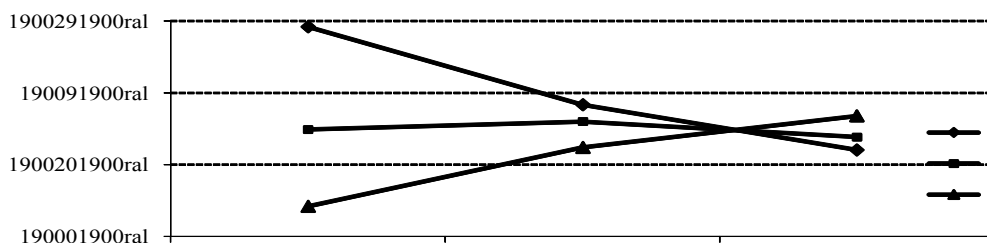

Figure 1. Primary identification in Sibiu

Effective European membership and internal EU mobility may trigger the same effect when it comes to widening the national identity and strengthening the European identity, which is still weak at both local and national level (some 4 % only) . Sibiu ECoC 2007 is an example of promoting ethnic tolerance, trust and cooperation and stressing a common European identity through cultural events.

Conclusion

Sibiu ECoC 2007 Programme was an opportunity to boost tourism in Sibiu City and Sibiu County. As can be seen from the figures, Sibiu largely benefited from its status of ECoC 2007 by numerous investments, cultural visibility and an increasing number of tourists. Nevertheless, the aftermath of Sibiu ECoC 2007 is telling concerning the development and investment strategies in the city. Since Sibiu need huge investment in infrastructure before 2007, many local and regional investments, both public and private, were made against the clock and later proved unsuitable. This is the case with several hotels which now struggle to survive due to a lack of customers, as well as with several public investments

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7   Debeljak 2003
8   Fuss 2003

in the transport infrastructure. The regional airport has suffered enormous damage from landslides, mainly due to poor investment preparation and implementation. Despite these major investments, increasing cultural visibility and relatively booming tourism, the Sibiu case is a warning for future European Capitals of Culture which need huge investment within a very short period of time.

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CASE STUDY: SIBIU. EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE 2007 VS. SIBIU 2009

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The Romanian city of Sibiu (originally, Hermannstadt) was the European Capital of Culture in 2007. The overall theme of the cultural programme was 'City of Culture-City of Cultures', showing Sibiu's desire to reflect its cultural diversity as well as providing a stage for European culture during the year. That is why the objectives of the 2007 event were: rising the international profile of Sibiu, long term cultural development, attracting international visitors, improving the cultural and non-cultural infrastructure, developing relationships with other European cities/regions and promoting European cultural cooperation.

Sibiu's Mayor, Klaus Johannis, had a number of additional aims, including increasing the number of tourists, consolidating local cultural institutions and extending the existing events calendar. The cultural programme of Sibiu 2007 covered many major fields: architecture, visual arts, dramatic arts, cinema, literature, music, heritage and interdisciplinary themes.

The management of the Cultural Capital programme was delegated to a newly formed body – *the Sibiu 2007 Association* – with the Mayor as its President, which selected over 1,400 projects to be included in the programme. The programme of Sibiu 2007 also incorporated a number of festivals and events from the regular cultural programme of the city like: *the ASTRA Film Festival* and *the Theatre Festival*. Other events that helped boost the profile of the programme include the UNITER Theatre Awards Gala, the MTV Awards of Romania, the George Enescu Festival and the Bucharest Romania Opera show.

Various promotional activities were used during this time to make Sibiu known to the public worldwide. One of the first steps was to create a site (www.sibiu.ro/turism/index.php) which offers the tourists valuable information about the city's history, cultural events, useful information about accommodation sites and places to eat and go, a photo gallery and a few details and pictures from the area around the city. The second step was to hold press conferences, to open Tourist Information Centres in Sibiu and Bucharest and international exhibitions, but of course fliers and promotional literature were indispensable. Furthermore, TVR 1 helped promote during the entire year 2007 the marketing campaign, and also to present key events such as the UNITER Awards Gala, the Sibiu Jazz Festival, the 'Transylvania' International Film Festival and the Astra Film Festival.

The London newspaper, 'The Guardian' advised its readers to explore the city of Sibiu, and in Austria the promotional programme was presented on television (ORF) and rolling boards were placed in Vienna and on the Vienna-Budapest highway. International companies (BCR Erste, BMW Automobile Bavaria, Zentiva) and locals (Scandia, Atlassib and Ambient) financed these.

The total cost of the cultural programme was just over €15 million .€8.35 million was contributed by the City of Sibiu, €4.84 million by the Romanian Ministry of Culture , €0.47 million by the Sibiu County Council, and €1.4 million by the European Union. However, the budget of Sibiu is relatively modest compared with other cultural capitals (Richards, Rotariu 8).

One of the main aims of the Sibiu 2007 Programme was to attract visitors and promote the image of the city internationally. The initial tourism figures for Sibiu over the period from January to June 2007 indicate that the event had given a boost to it. Compared with the first 6 months of 2005, the number of tourist arrivals at accommodation establishments increased by 27% and the number of overnight stays grew by 36% (Richards, Rotariu 9). The programme's results show that almost everyone thinks that it was very effective and 75% were encouraged by it to revisit the city and the surrounding area, while 25% think about visiting or revisiting it in the future.

The Visitors

In terms of the visitors' countries of origin, a large proportion was from Sibiu or from the local region and over a quarter from the rest of Romania. The remaining quarter came from Western Europe, with Germany, the Netherlands and France accounting for almost 60% of the total (Richards, Rotariu 11).

Fig. 6.1 Visitor origin (Richards, Rotariu 23)

Origin country	%
Germany	23
Netherlands	22
France	13
Italy	8
Spain	6
United Kingdom	4
Luxembourg	3
Austria	3
United States of America	2
Israel	2
Greece	2
Czech Republic	2
Belgium	2
Portugal	1
Poland	1
Norway	1
Jordan	1
Hungary	1
Croatia	1
Bulgaria	1

Table 5. Origin countries of foreign visitors (Richards, Rotariu 24)

Leisure and Tourism Consumption

The most frequent leisure activities were music events and festivals. Visiting museums, going to the cinema and the theatre were also very popular activities, being undertaken by over half the visitors. Romanians tended to visit more museums than foreign tourists and Sibiu residents attended mainly pop concerts and festivals (Richards, Rotariu 15).
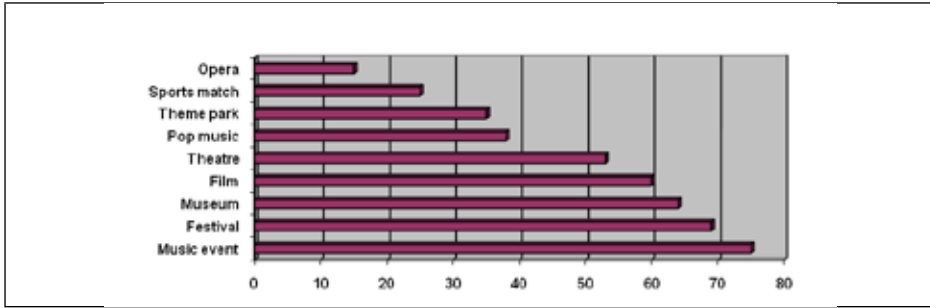
Fig. 6.2 Leisure activities of visitors (Richards, Rotariu 15)

Here is a chart showing the main motivations tourists had for visiting Sibiu during the Cultural Capital programme (Richards, Rotariu 16).
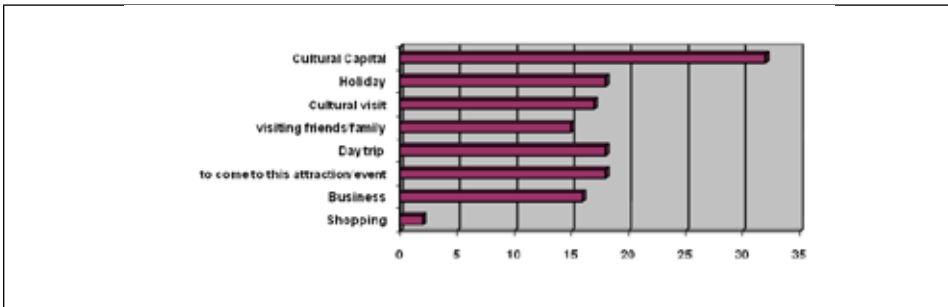
Fig. 6.3 Main motivation for visiting Sibiu (Richard, Rotariu 16)

Visitor Behaviour

About two thirds of people attending Cultural Capital events have also visited other attractions in the city during their stay: the Brukenthal Museum, the Orthodox Cathedral, the Lower Town, the ASTRA Museum and the Evangelic Church. Few visitors ventured to visit the fortified churches (Richards, Rotariu 27).
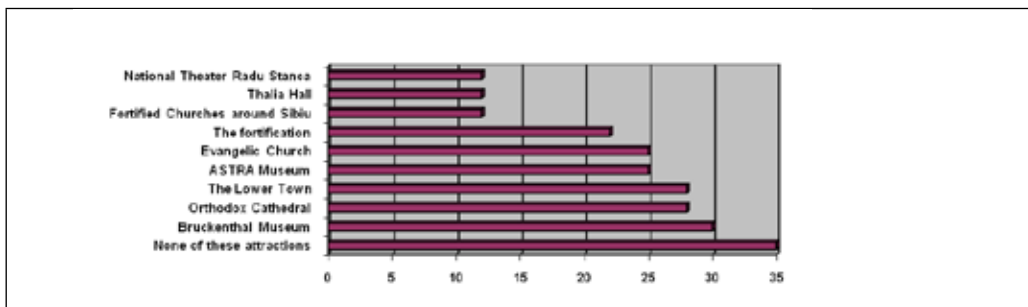
Fig. 6.4 Sites visited in Sibiu (Richards, Rotariu 27)

Accommodation

A large number of visitors stayed with friends and relatives, while others stayed in hotels. The former tended to be visitors from the Sibiu region. 47% of the foreign tourists stayed in hotels and 25% in guesthouses or BB (Richards, Rotariu 32).

Fig. 6.5 Accommodation used (Richards, Rotariu 32)

Visitor Expenditure

Estimates of the Ministry of Culture indicate that total spending in the Sibiu region was €200 million in 2007. The average tourist spent €216 (Richards, Rotariu 41).

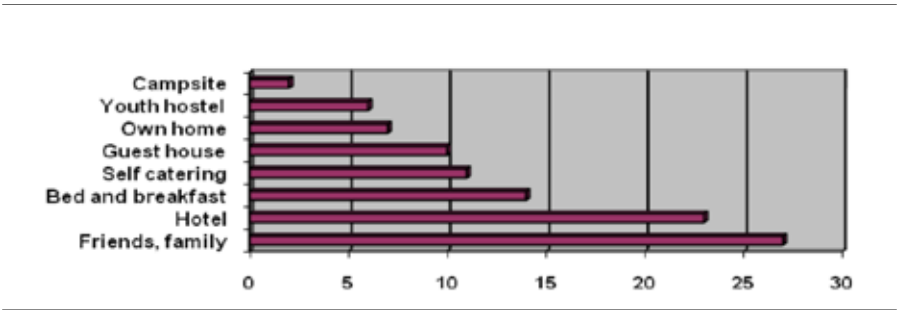| Expenditure estimate	Basis	Amount (million)
Total expenditure	Ministry of Culture-all visitors	€200
Total tourism expenditure	All tourist arrivals to accommodation in Sibiu (including transport)	€160
Total expenditure in Sibiu	Additional arrivals to accommodation in Sibiu (excluding transport)	€64.5
Total expenditure in Sibiu attributable to the ECOC	Spending by overnight and day visitors travelling to visit ECOC	€25

Table 6. Estimated visitor expenditure related to Sibiu 2007

Source: Richards, Rotariu 41

Impacts of the Cultural Capital Event

According to the Ministry of Culture, visitors were very positive about the cultural, social and economic impact. Over 90% thought that the Cultural Capital had improved the image of Sibiu and 87% thought that it had brought more money to the city. About 80% of visitors thought that the cultural facilities of the city had improved as a result of the event.

The tourism impact in 2007 has been very positive. According to the Evaluation Report elaborated by the Association of Tourism and Leisure Education in December 2007, the 36% increase in staying visitors is greater than all previous European Capital of Cultures, with the exception of Weimar (1999). The estimated €25 million spent locally by the ECOC visitors is higher than the economic impact of any other ECoCs. Sibiu 2007 achieved a higher level of visitor satisfaction.

Type of accomodation	2009											2010	
	feb.	mar.	apr.	mai	iun.	iul.	aug.	sep.	oct.	nov.	dec.	ian.	feb.
County total	12732	15258	14915	23635	23757	24240	29241	21400	23245	20824	18723	15662	12835
Of which:													
Hotels	9521	11711	10523	17251	16079	15441	19061	14816	18067	15965	14558	12986	10410
Motels	729	722	625	1382	1709	1918	1819	986	1097	872	601	422	672
Tourist Villas	427	560	882	1047	1062	952	1239	1278	1091	1322	927	1067	594

Tourist Chalets	269	393	266	449	690	1161	1416	1047	528	610	388	223	254
Tourist boarding houses (pensions)	619	1150	1153	1511	1564	1471	1511	1197	1036	917	903	420	296
Agro-tourist boarding houses	926	528	1174	1271	1581	2144	2879	1778	1255	964	1062	445	493

Table 7. Arrivals in the main types of accommodation
Source: National Institute of Statistics

According to the newspaper Adevarul Ziare.com., 'Turismul in Sibiu, în cădere liberă' 1) the number of tourists visiting Sibiu until August 2009 had decreased (compared to2008), dropping by 22%.The National Institute of Statistics shows that, by the end of June, 105,215 people checked in - 29.607 less than in 2008, out of which fewer than 30% were foreigners, the majority being from Germany. The official numbers are presented on the INSSE site including the whole county.

These figures indicate a total of 375,975 overnights in Sibiu County in 2009. 31% of visitors staying with friends and relatives are not recorded in the statistics. This would indicate a total tourist volume of around 492500 overnights in 2009.

Type of accommodation	2009											2010	
	feb.	mar.	apr.	mai	iun.	iul.	aug.	sep.	oct.	nov.	dec.	ian.	feb.
County total	18192	22168	23584	36215	37039	43739	46566	36420	31899	29184	29180	23894	21886
O which:													
Hotels	12547	15560	14930	22817	21214	21559	24886	22878	22808	20088	19351	18198	16434
Motels	893	932	1076	1832	1886	2390	2117	1208	1383	1146	763	533	934
Tourist Villas	750	1689	1731	3515	3400	3897	3076	2930	2512	2766	2485	2176	1482
Tourist Chalets	381	562	363	665	1792	3325	2999	1444	816	875	757	531	847
Tourist boarding houses (pensions)	1172	1909	2075	3645	2985	2851	2484	2780	1635	1805	1686	828	603
Agro-tourist boarding houses	1786	1236	2968	2786	3405	4395	5356	4287	2554	2320	3137	1167	1303

Table 8. Overnight stays in the main types of accommodation
Source: National Institute of Statistics

The Visitors

In terms of the area of origin, the largest group is drawn from Sibiu itself (almost half of the respondents in 2009).Over the period, significant changes took place in the origin of visitors to the events. The proportion of locals has fallen while the number of visitors from elsewhere in Romania and abroad has increased. The growth in foreigners was obvious up to 2007 and has declined since then.

Country	Number	% of total foreign visitors
Germany	111	36.4
Italy	33	10.8
France	25	8.2
Spain	21	6.9
Iceland	14	4.6
United Kingdom	14	4.6
Austria	8	2.6
United States	7	2.3

Country	Number	% of total foreign visitors
Belgium	4	1.3
Bulgaria	4	1.3
Canada	4	1.3
Greece	4	1.3
Azerbaijan	3	1.0
China	3	1.0
Jordan	3	1,0
Netherlands	3	1,0
Poland	3	1,0
Sweden	3	1,0

Table 9. Top origin countries for visitors to Sibiu, 2009
Source: Richards, Rotariu 13

This is partly in line with national trends as a result of the economic crisis. The most important source countries can be seen above.

Most repeated visits since 2007 have been related to the ECoC. The proportion of visitors in 2007 grew from 50% in 2008 to almost 1/3 in 2009. It is highly probable that people who visited the city in 2007 were slightly less likely to come back the following year.

Motive	Repeat visitors	First time visitors
To come to this attraction/event	61	39
Cultural visit	75	25
Holiday	79	21
Day trip	90	10
Business	91	9
Visiting friends/family	94	6
Shopping	100	0

Table 10. First time and repeat visitors by visit motivation 2009 (%)
Source: Richards, Rotariu 16

Visit Characteristics

Since 2007 the proportion of cultural visitors has been maintained, but the effect of the economic downturn is reflected in the higher number of visitors travelling to stay with friends and relatives in 2009. For foreign visitors in 2009, the most important motivation was a cultural visit, followed by visiting friends and relatives.

	2007	2008	2009
Shopping	1	2	3
Business	6	23	14
To come to this attraction/event	9	22	12
Day trip	9	4	10
Visiting friends/family	16	11	27
Cultural visit	17	19	20
Holiday	19	16	14
Cultural Capital	33		

Table 11. Purpose of visit 2007-2009
Source: Richards, Rotariu 18)

Visitor Behaviour

People who came to the ECoC in 2007 primarily to participate in an event in the programme had a positive impact on the economy and the cultural life of the city. Since then visitors to Sibiu have been seeing an even wider range of attractions.

	2007	2008	2009
Orthodox Cathedral	27	40	50
Bruckenthal Museum	27	71	61
Evangelical Church	25	60	46
The Lower Town	25	35	52
ASTRA Museum	20	58	58
The Fortifications	19	25	38
Thalia Hall	14		
National Theatre Radu Stanca	13		
Fortified Churches around Sibiu	12	24	24
Street animation		50	42
None of these	36	4	7

Table 12. Sites visited in and around Sibiu (% of visitors)
Source: Richards, Rotariu 25

Accommodation

Almost 1/4 of overnight visitors stayed in hotels, while 1/3 stayed elsewhere. The proportion of the former has remained constant, although the increased number of tourists shows that there were more hotel guests in 2009 than prior to 2007.
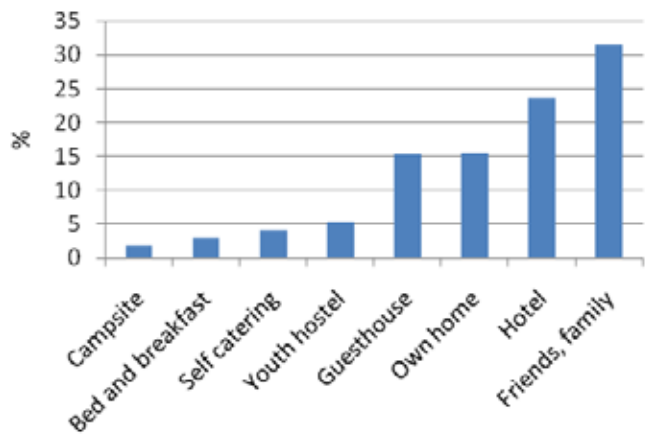
Fig. 6.6 Accommodation used (all visitors, 2009) (Richards, Rotariu 19)

The proportion of visitors staying with friends and relatives or in their own home increased in 2009, perhaps as a result of the economic pressures of the crisis.

Visitor Expenditure

Total average visitor expenditure increased very little between 2007 and 2009, because the ECoC attracted a relatively high number of foreigners. In 2009 more was spent on shopping and admissions costs, and less on travel.
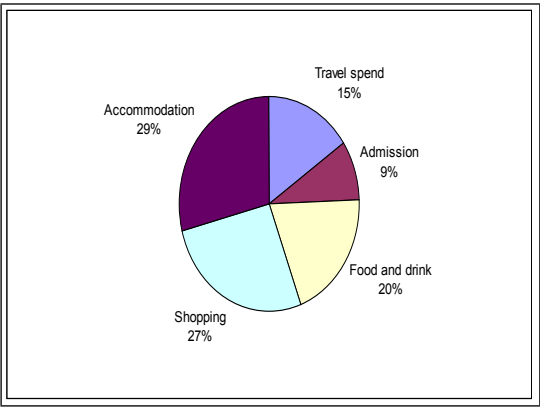

Fig. 6.7 Visitor spending by category 2009 (excludes Sibiu residents) (Richards, Rotariu 37)

The highest expenditure was made by visitors coming from abroad. However, the economic impact of foreign visitors on the local economy is not as great as the total expenditure suggests, because a large proportion of the total is spent on transportation to reach Sibiu. On the basis of the tourists staying in registered accommodation in Sibiu alone, the total spent on tourism was around €26 million in 2007. Most of this impact was due to visitors coming for the ECoC, as they tended to spend far more on average than other tourists. It is not surprising, that the economic impact of tourism declined in 2008, but the higher average expenditure in 2009 maintained the overall economic impact at a higher level than in 2008.

It seems that the increased number of high spending tourists attracted by the cultural image and new attractions of the city has to some extent mitigated the effects of the decline in tourism as a result of the crisis. If we add the impact of visitors staying with friends and relatives, then the indications are that total tourism spending has been maintained at around the same level as in 2007. This is partly due to

the increased spending by hotel guests, many of whom are now staying in higher quality hotels accommodation. This seems to suggest that the ECoC had a direct impact on repeated visitation, with many of those returning now staying with friends and relatives instead of other accommodations. (Richards, Rotariu 39, 40)

The Image of Sibiu

The image of Sibiu has remained positive since 2007.Its image as a city with history, culture and art has increased slightly, as has its image as a European city.
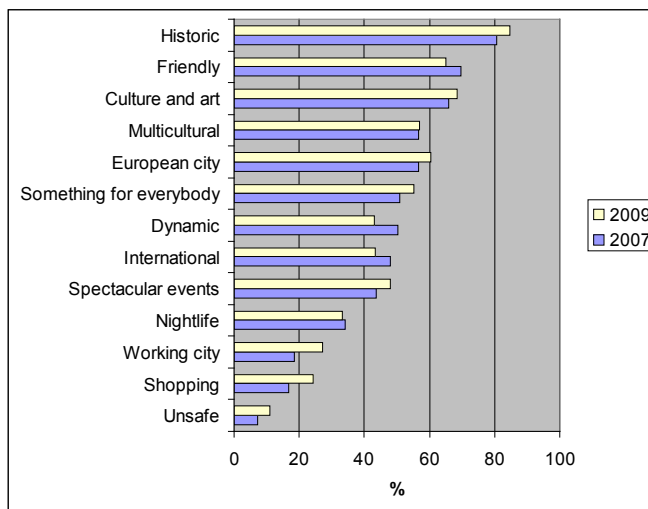

Fig. 6.8 Image elements for Sibiu, 2007 and 2009 (Richards, Rotariu 47)

It is also clear that Sibiu has had a positive impact from the ECoC outside Romania. Particularly in 2007 the external image of Sibiu rose strongly as a result of the novelty value of a new European destination present in the international media. The ECoC has given a substantial boost to the cultural sector in the city. Cultural visitation not only increased in 2007, but has continued to grow in the following years. The internationalisation of Sibiu museums has continued, with an exhibition of works from the collection of the Brukenthal Museum in Paris from September 2009 to January 2010 attracting 200,000 visitors. In contrast to the increased number of visits to the major attractions, the post-ECoC period has seen a significant slowdown in cultural events. The boost given to the cultural calendar of the city by the ECoC was clear, with over 1,400 events being staged. However, this momentum was not maintained in 2008, which saw fewer than 300 events. There has been some recovery in 2009, but in the current climate it is unlikely that the city can maintain the level of events seen in 2007 (Richards, Rotariu 52).

Nonetheless, the city council continued its promotional activity in 2009 and the city was promoted at 6 international and national tourism fairs: Stuttgart (January), Budapest (February), Bucharest and Berlin (March), Bucharest (October) and London (November). It has also supported cultural and sports events. The cultural calendar of 2009 included a variety of programmes for all tastes and ages, that is a number of 90 cultural programmes for which the Local Council spent a total of 3,342,455 lei and 81 sports events that enjoyed a budget of 1,327,800 lei. Among the most important cultural events, we can name the National Contest for Young Folk Music Interpreters 'Vară, vară, primăvară', 'Carnaval Sibian', 'Europe sings and dances' Europe's day, 'The Students Jazz Gala', 'Sibiu Jazz Festival 2009', 'The Transylvania International Film Festival', 'Artmania Festival 2009', the International Folklore Festival 'Cântecele Munților', 'The Romanian Popular Traditions National Festival', the Medieval Festival 'Cetăţi Transilvane', 'Târgul Olarilor', 'The international Festival of Lyric Art', International Festival

'Jazz and More' Sibiu 2009, the Astra Film Festival 2009, Sibiu Dance Festival, the Folklore Festival 'Ioan Macrea', and the Christmas Fair.

However 30% think that interest in tourism has been lost and that the city has not been so well promoted in 2009, and that the campaigns that ran in 2007 should have been continued in 2009. When suggestions for the improvement of the city's promotion came under discussion, those Romanian citizens and foreigners questioned thought that the idea of the Cultural City should be continued. Services should be kept at the same level, as this was one of the 'pluses' of the programme.

The image of the city has improved over time and this has been sustained post-2007. The effect of the marketing activity in 2007 has been extended by the media coverage for the city. The number of visitors and overnights increased significantly in 2007, and levels of tourism remained high in 2008 and early 2009. The impact of the economic crisis has tended to obscure the positive effects of the ECoC from mid-2009 onwards, but there are still indications that general levels of tourism activity and expenditure remain above pre-ECoC levels.

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ASSESSMENT OF THE EUROPEAN CAPITALS OF CULTURE PROGRAMME OF ISTANBUL 2010 - MIRRORING THE CITY'S CULTURAL CHANGE AND DIVERSIFICATION

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Introduction

This paper is a follow-up to an earlier presentation at the Vilnius Conference. At that stage it was worked out that the task of making Istanbul a Capital of Culture would be to focus on pluralism: to give space to all groups and individuals of this metropolis to become aware of its diversity and build an organic, vibrant cosmos of common culture. Up to now the diverse groups and individuals have lived mostly separated, isolated, in ignorance of each other and (often violently) confronting each other. This attitude is to be changed.

From the perspective of "Combating Poverty and Social Exclusion" - the motto of the 2010 European Year - Istanbul is to be seen as a microcosmos of a globalised world. Istanbul has to become aware of the different cultures within, to accept and integrate them, in order to enrich its own world and build something new: a culture of mutual understandig and exchange for the benefit for all.

The Main Conflict in Current Politics

Since the War of Independence, the first day of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (23rd of April 1920), the proclamation of the Repubilc (29th of October 1923) today it is Turkey's main objective to achieve and preserve cultural identity and, first of all, unity.

This ambition is well expressed in Atatürk's declaration "Ne mutlu Türküm diyene": How lucky is he/she who can say "I am a Turk". Nevertheless, this understanding and interpretation does not offer much space for people of other ethnic origin and religion in the country. When the Armenian journalist Hrant Dink was murdered (on 19th of January 2007), Extrastruggle/Extramücadele published a poster of Dink titled "Ne ölü ‹Ermeniyim› diyen»: How dead is he who said «I am an Armenian».

Beside ethnic origin and religion, the differentiation between *Western* (occidental and modern) and *Eastern (*oriental and traditional) interpreted by Atatürk and most Kemalists (in particular the military elite) as backward, is another important source of social antagonism.

These differences are most apparent in relation to women's clothing and in particular to the headscarf, as "for many Turks, the headscarf remains a symbol not only of personal piety and social conservatism but also of an Islamist political agenda."[1] So the former President of the Republic, Ahmet Necdet Sezer, refused to invite the Prime Minister's, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's wife to official receptions, as she did, and still does, wear this significant garment.

In the year when Istanbul was nominated Capital of Culture, a referendum on changing the constitution was held. On the 12th of September 2010, the 30th anniversary of the last 'putsch', Turkish citizens voted for the proposed changes to the constitution worked out under the direction of the 'putschists'. The main results of the referendum are:

(1) The military is more accountable to civilian courts. (2) Parliament has more power to appoint judges. (3) Civil servants are given the right to conclude collective agreements and to go on strike. (4) Immunity from prosecution for the leaders of the bloody 1980 military takeover is lifted.

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1 Jenkins 2007

Nevertheless, social tensions were not eased and social equity was not achieved. Turkish society is still split into warring factions, as the following two statements underline:

(1) "Turkey remains deeply polarised; the opposition distrusts the intentions of the AKP govern-ment, accusing it of seeking to introduce an authoritarian regime. The supporters of the govern-ment level a similar accusation against the opposition, and maintain that the adopting the consti-tutional amendments will be a prelude to comprehensive political liberalisation."[2]

(2) "Oral Çalışlar writes in ‹Radikal› that no single template or paradigm can account for the current state of Turkey. You can provide diametrically opposed pictures of what is happening in Turkey. On the one hand, the country is rapidly developing and prospering, but, on the other hand, the tensions in society continue to grow also. In fact, growth and tension are two sides of the same coin. As the country experiences economic growth, dif-ferent identities and aspirations come to the fore - with ensuing tensions. Kurds, Alevis, the pious, Christians, Jews, young people, women, homosexuals and different societal strata demand that oppression is lifted. They demand that their right to express their identity is duly respected.»[3]

Therefore, and in order to overcome the potential for violent conflict, the main task of Istanbul as Capital of Culture was to establish a cultural base for a sustainable discourse of mutual and peaceful understanding.

Unfulfilled Expectations of Istanbul as ECoC

Nevertheless, the task of overcoming the social discrepancies in the country was missed, as the *purpose* focused on the *inter*-relationship between Europe and Turkey instead of addressing the problems of its own society. The "Purpose [... of the] European Capitals of Culture initiative was to:

(1) highlight the richness and diversity of European cultures (2) celebrate the cultural ties that link Europeans

(3) bring people from different European countries into contact with each other's culture and promote mutual understanding (4) foster a feeling of European citizenship."[4]

Even worse, to some extent the *purpose* targeted simply *intra-European* culture (as in Objective 2). Nevertheless, this approach could have been helpful if understanding of the intra- and trans-European discourse had been used as a paradigm, as a framework for initiating a similar intra- and trans-*Turkish* discourse. In this regard the programme could have functioned as a model to:

(1) highlight the richness and diversity of essential Turkish culture

(2) celebrate the cultural ties that link Turkish citizens together (3) bring people from different Turkish regions and of different ethnic origin into contact with each other's culture and promote mutual understanding (4) foster a feeling of Turkish citizenship.

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2 Weitz 2010
3 Cornell and Karaveli 2010
4 European Commission 2011

From this perspective the programme could have had a sustainable, emancipatory effect, and its implementation might have started after the closing of Istanbul 2010, when Istanbul's year as European Capital of Culture faded into history and the city was able, once more, to concentrate on its own needs.

The Concept of Bridge-Building

The formal *purpose of* Istanbul 2010 means that the programme focuses on two main features:

"United in diversity"

The Istanbul 2010 ECOC Agency sees Europe and Turkey as two separate parts of a one common world. As opposed to the action programme, however, the purpose does not refer at all to Turkey as an EU candidate country, and diversity is seen simply from an intra-European perspective. In accordance with the slogan of the Union [...]: 'United in diversity'"[5] Europe is referred to as 'Union' - a whole made up of several different, diverse countries, societies, cultures, etc. This was expressed very precisely by Christian Wulff in his Inaugural Address as German Federal President on 2 July 2010:

> *"But we have to be open to co-operation with all other parts of the world on the basis of mutual understanding and trust. In addition, we have to know and understand other cultures better; we have to be open to everyone even in our country and to intensify the exchange. We can practice this here in our federal republic, in our colourful republic of Germany."[6]*

In contrast to this statement, most Turkish citizens still believe in Atatürk's mission and adhere to his principle of unity: To create *one* nation, *one* language, *one* religion. In this regard diversity is seen mostly negatively, as a tendency to destroy unity, but as we live in heterogeneous environments, diversity cannot be ignored or abolished. The concept of bridging is spreading rapidly, even in Turkey.

Istanbul's Concept of Building Bridges

The countries, societies and cultures that are part of the European Union are linked to each other. All members of the union are convinced of the necessity of commonality. The clearest manifestation of this is the culture of building bridges to bring together different people and opinions, strong and weak economies.

Even the Istanbul 2010 ECOC Agency uses the "bridge" symbol very frequently and in prime positions:

> *(1) The logo of the "Istanbul 2010" shows the name "Istanbul" crowned by three different-sized bridges.*

> *(2) Issue 3 of the Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture magazine is named "The Bridge", and also the introduction to the issue is entitled "On the bridge..." The agency declares: "Our player is the city that connects continents, cultures and people by visible and invisible bridges – Istanbul..."[7]*

> *(3) The introduction to the official programme is entitled "ISTANBUL: THE CAPITAL OF CULTURAL SHARING". Its first sentence declares: "As capital of an empire, Istanbul is one of the rare cities of the world in terms of cultural wealth. This cultural richness stems from the city's location, forming a bridge between Asia and Europe."[8]*

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5   Bonde 2005
6   FAZ.NET 2010
7   Istanbul 2010 ECOC Agency, "bridge"
8   Istanbul 2010 ECOC Agency, "Istanbul 2010, European Capital of Culture 2010 Programme

Implementing the Concept

Although the Istanbul 2010 ECOC Agency stressed the importance of initiating an intra-cultural discourse in its application, the programme itself does not prioritise this. Carola Hein rightly says:

"The original application for Istanbul 2010 was geared strongly towards issues of democratisation and the integration of various urban actors and partners. Interestingly, these features are no longer predominant".[9]

Instead, the

"emphasis on capital city status [...] appears to signal a longing to recover the lost status of capital city".[10]

This is understandable as Istanbul is home to famous, historical buildings such as the *Hagia Sophia* and the Blue Mosque which are often used as symbols of Istanbul and its unique culture.[11]

The switch from an interactive to a more historical approach in the programming is evident in the announcement of "What will happen" as in contrast to the following two "primary targets":

(1)*"To improve the infrastructure for - and participation in - culture and arts [...]*

(2) *To encourage residents of Istanbul to participate in decision-making processes"[12]*

According to the publicity pronouncement "Istanbul... the most inspiring city in the world" and the invitation to be "a part of its unique experience", the action programme - set out in "What will happen in the year 2010 in Istanbul? - will:

(1) *"demonstrate that Istanbul, the symbol of the country, has been interacting with European culture for hundreds of years,"* (2) show that the *"city's cultural heritage will be managed in a sustainable manner"*, (3) prove that *"Istanbul will achieve lasting gains in the fields of urban renewal, urban living and environmental and social development"*, (4) establish new museums *"to protect and display our cultural assets"* and to renovate *"historical buildings"* in order to give them *"new roles"* and to open them *"to the public"*, (5) *"embrace new artistic disciplines"* and give young *"talented people [...] the opportunity to become more closely involved in artistic creativity"*,

(6) *create jobs " for a large number of people ranging from communications to organisation, education, design, management and creative fields"* (7) show those *"who come to Istanbul for cultural and artistic projects [...] the city's cultural riches, mosques, churches, palaces and museums"* (8) invigorate and develop cultural tourism, as educated, cultured tourists spend three times as much as normal tourists"[13]*

Last but not least, the Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Agency also has a strong economic interest:

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9 Hein 2010:262
10 Ibid.
11 Two examples: *Antike Welt*, a magazine for archaeology and cultural history, uses Hagia Sophia as cover of its September 2009 issue about Byzantium, Constantinople, Istanbul. The travel and culture magazine *Merian* advertises its January 2010 issue about Istanbul with the Blue Mosque.
12 2010 European Capital of Culture Agency, "Istanbul 2010, European Capital of Culture, Targets"
13 Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Agency, "What will happen in the year 2010 in Istanbul"

> *"Being selected as a European Capital of Culture will give a boost to the city's economic relations with Europe as well as contribute to its cultural relations. With the renovation that will take place, the administrators and the administered will join together, hand in hand, sharing their knowledge and experience, to develop a long-term sustainable model for the future."*[14]

Therefore, in contrast to previous projects such as Fatih Akın's "Crossing the Bridge"[15] and Attila Durak's "Ebru Project", the Istanbul 2010 programme does not reflect *intra*-cultural aspects and exchange. In this respect it declines after Akın's musical and Durak's photographic journeys through Istanbul/Turkey in which both searched "for a new language to make cultural diversity in Turkey visible and intelligible."[16]

The *intra*cultural discourse was only marginally considered in the programme and mainly in two directions. On the one hand, the "Civil Society Dialogue" was reduced to a "Grant Scheme Programme" and outsourced from the main programme. On the other hand, *inter*-culturality focused on city-specific items: "EU-Turkey Civil Society Dialogue Cultural Bridges" were introduced among Turkish cities, e.g. Mardin, Trabzon, Konya, and Çanakkale.[17] - but the relationships between them was not targeted. The aim was to identify and present specialities and curiosities of each individual city. The same observation applies to the depiction of Istanbul as a Capital of Culture. As Karen Krüger stated at the beginning of January 2010: "Istanbul concentrates in the Capital of Culture year on proven lines; Beautifying is the main target."[18]

Social Tensions: spontaneous Attacks against Galleries

The two most famous museum openings announced for the European Capital of Culture Year were Orhan Pamuk's Museum of Innocence, and the Vehbi Koç Foundation's museum complex. Although the Istanbul 2010 programme advertised Pamuk's museum, its opening had to be postponed, as Pamuk could not finish his project in 2010. Even the Koç museum is still just a vision. Nevertheless, after three years of preparation, at least the foundation's exhibition venue, named *Arter*, is now open to the public. René Block who 'curated' its first, "Starter" exhibition sees "collecting as a process that takes place before art moves into the museum".[19] Therefore he calls *Arter* a "'flowing museum' that constantly changes its forms, losing some, gaining others, but endlessly eluding completion".[20] In contrast to John Quinn's report in *Art Review*[21] the majority of the works of art on exhibition were created by foreigners. The only institution in Turkey that concentrates on Turkish artists (exclusively it seems) and tries to provide information about all of them is the *Platform*, the *Garanti Contemporary Art Centre*. This institution will close in 2010 and reopen in 2011 as *SALT Beyoğlu* and *SALT Galata*. The latter will host *Salt Research* and continue their documentation activities.

Besides *Arter,* more galleries have opened in the last two years. As with most cultural activities, these also concentrate on the European side of Istanbul besides the shores of the Golden Horn. On the occasion of the 11th Istanbul Biennial in September 2009, six galleries located in the Beyoğlu district (Pamuk's museum, Arter and most other important art-related institutions) joined forces and created the

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14 Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Agency, "Benefits for Istanbul"
15 *Crossing the Bridge - The Sound of Istanbul* is a "project of a documentary film portraying the diverse and vibrant music sense of Istanbul"*.* (Fischer 2005)
16 Altınay 2007
17 benimkentim.org
18 Krüger 2010
19 Block 2010:27
20 Ibid.
21 Quin 2010

Tophane Art Walk, "a bi-monthly collaborative event"[22] in order to open "galleries, museums and other art establishments to art lovers on Sundays."[23]

On the 21st of September 2010, a Tuesday evening - nine days after the referendum - four of the galleries taking part in the *Tophane Art Walk* "organised simultaneous openings to welcome the autumn art season."[24] Suddenly they were attacked. Duygu Demir describes what happened as follows:

> *"It began as a typical crowded, social affair, with the art audience spilling out of the spaces to smoke, drink and chat with friends on the stretch of sidewalk between the galleries. At around 8:30 pm, several men approached the edge of the crowd outside of Galeri Non and told the bystanders to leave. Their requests were ignored. Shortly after this initial verbal confrontation, a group of 40 to 50 people armed with batons, broken bottles, frozen oranges and pepper spray accosted the crowd. Panic ensued, quickly spreading to the other galleries and eventually culminating outside Outlet. Five people were seriously injured in the melee and taken to area hospitals. More severe outcomes were prevented by gallery staff who pushed as many of their guests as possible inside their spaces and pulled down protective steel shutters."[25]*

This one-time event shows that art contains the potential for conflict, as it is a visible expression of an on-going social transformation in the heart of the city:

> *"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,' as Azra Tüzünoğlu, owner of the Outlet Gallery, told the daily 'Milliyet' on Wednesday. Culture and Tourism Minister Ertuğrul Günay visited the Tophane neighbourhood around noon on Thursday [...] Expressing his hopes that the 'social transformation' of the area can be carried out without disturbing anyone, the minister said: 'Change always hurts, but let this be known, nobody can force their Anatolian lifestyle [upon others] in Istanbul, and no one has the right to turn a blind eye to the [traditions] of the people here, either.'"[26]*

As the Istanbul 2010 programme did not address social tensions, did not initiate a dialogue on traditionalistic and modernistic life styles, their coexistence is only apparently peaceful and harmonious. Society is like a sleeping volcano. Social tensions work on beneath the surface. Although galleries were not attacked anymore, people who do not behave as the *majority* expects, lay themselves open to attack. Quite often, violence is directed against people *misbehaving* in public, e.g. by drinking alcohol, but the judiciary still suppresses opposition viewpoints also. According to Vercihan Ziflioğlu, 2010 should be called "the year of trial for Turkish writers"[27] instead of celebrating Istanbul as European Capital of Culture.

Preliminary Results

The Istanbul 2010 programme focused on culture almost from a touristic point of view. The political aim behind this approach was to show the Europeans how European Istanbul - and so the rest of Turkey - already are. There is no doubt that Istanbul was a European Capital of Culture before it was awarded the title, and there are other less developed cities and regions in Turkey which would truly

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22 Demir 2010
23 Hürriyet Daily News. April 30, 2010
24 Demir 2010
25 Ibid.
26 Öğret 2010
27 Ziflioğlu 2010

have benefited by being a European Capital of Culture for just one year, for instance, Kars - the city in which Pamuk's *Snow* was played.

In this respect, the Istanbul 2010 programme concentrated, of course, on the marketing and renovation of Istanbul's very important and famous historic buildings such as Hagia Sophia, the Blue Mosque, and Topkapi Palace etc.) Beyond this, it was mainly (almost exclusively) the already restored touristic places in the European part of the city which were further 'beautified'. The programme was, for the most part, a re-visitation of already well-known and popular districts and places.

Culture activities, therefore, focused mainly on European or international (rather than Turkish) contemporary art and were also held in the touristic areas of the European part of the city.

In contrast to the official celebration parties, one approach to unification open for cultural diversity and participation was, and still is, missing. This gap can be filled only if future concepts provide space for:

(1) more diversification (such as Pamuk's initiative to establish a *Museum of Innocence*)

(2) more decentralisation (instead of concentrating on e.g. İstiklal Caddesi in Beyoğlu as cultural centre)

(3) intercultural bridging (awareness raising, confronting and exchanging different approaches, views, etc., peacefully.

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ECOC PROGRAMME AND THE COMBAT AGAINST POVERTY AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES – PROJECTS IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE

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Introduction

One of the main streams in research, and consequently in higher education research, is focusing on equal opportunities. The research reflects on what higher education institutions can do for the inclusion of people and also against discrimination. This is not simply an issue of increasing importance, but also a topic which attracts attention outside formal education. One proof of this is the research conducted in connection with the European Capital of Culture, which involves not only organisations from the field of education but also non-profit organisations with activities from widely differing fields of interest.

The paper analyses programmes organised by non-profit organisations (NPOs) in the framework of European Capital of Culture (ECoC) Projects. The reason for this is that this group of organisations contributes to the performance of economies worldwide: they are important service providers in areas such as health, social, educational, cultural and other services[1]. The study examines the local non-governmental organisations (NGOs) which participated in the ECoC project, a sign of non-governmental organisations being increasingly involved in community projects.

It can be seen that non-profit organisations are not only increasingly involved in community projects, but also that, in respect of their services, they have growing competition from the public sector, from other non-profit organisations and from profit-oriented organisations. It is said that some of their features are becoming similar to those of for-profit organisations.

It is also well known that non-profit organisations actively participate in life-long learning by providing formal and informal learning opportunities from pre-school to post-retirement ages. This topic is becoming more and more popular in international research; the EU agenda is centred on the aim of Europe becoming the most developed knowledge-based region in the world[2]. This shows a shift towards knowledge-based services: knowledge is increasingly in demand in activities not only in the business world but also in non-profit organisations[3].

The object of this particular research project was, primarily, public-serving NPOs which participated in the European Capitals of Culture 2010 project in Pécs (Hungary). We examine what programmes they offered, and how, whilst special attention is given to projects which are linked to one of the main foci of ECoC, namely the principle of equality of opportunity. In focus in the paper are projects which aim at disadvantaged groups within the population, and their integration into society. This approach is connected with aspects of learning and knowledge sharing, and so the paper studies the services of NPOs from the perspective of knowledge and also of social inclusion. We look at the ways which enable NPOs to communicate the values embedded in the value system of the idea of the ECoC to their target groups.

The paper first gives an overview of some of the challenges which NPOs face nowadays. Later, based on descriptive statistics and a qualitative analysis of documents, the paper explores the knowledge- transfer between NPOs and their environment, with the emphasis on social inclusion. Finally, the study sums up the effects of socially- oriented projects of NPOs for all stakeholders

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1 Anheier 2009; Hwang and Powell 2009.
2 Carrijn 2009.
3 Dobrai and Farkas 2007 and 2008; Farkas and Dobrai 2009.

(such as disadvantaged social groups involved in these projects, inhabitants of the city, 0visitors and members of the NPOs themselves).

The paper focuses on projects which aimed at disadvantaged groups in society and examines what NPOs could and can do for them through their growing professionalism and their increasing client focus.

Before attempting to give an insight into the contribution of NPOs to equal opportunities and social inclusion, we would like to look at some important environmental influences affecting the changing features of the activities and performance of NPOs.

New Challenges – New Answers

In our paper, we examine entities which are:

> *"organisational, i.e., an institution with some meaningful structure and permanence; non-governmental, i.e. not part of the apparatus of government; non-profit-distributing, i.e., not permitted to distribute profits to its owners or directors, but rather required to plough them back into the objectives of the organisation; self-governing, i.e., not controlled by some entity outside the organisation; supportive of some public purpose"[4].*

They serve primarily either their members (e.g. social clubs, business associations, mutual benefit organisations of various kinds etc.) or the community, the public (charitable, grant-making foundations, religious congregations, educational, scientific service organisations etc.)[5]. For us, the second group is relevant because the organisations that belong in this group provide services to their environment and these were the organisations which participated in the European Capitals of Culture 2010 project.

Now, we examine some of the major factors which have an impact on how the performance of non-profit organisations is changing.

Challenge 1: Knowledge-Intensive Services

Since the mid 1990s, knowledge-intensive business services (KIBS) play an increasingly important role in national economies. They are business organisations which provide help to other organisations when those are facing problems for which solutions provided by external sources are necessary[6]. This sector is composed of a variety of services such as auditing, engineering, or IT services, HR-management, accounting, legal, R&D services, and consulting[7]. KIBS need, if they are to perform, a large amount of professional knowledge. According to Skjolsvik et al., professional services are generally fitted to the needs of the clients, based on the intensive use of knowledge; the service delivery process is characterised not only by judgments by experts but also by professional standards, by social factors and legal regulations[8]. Skjolsvik et al., point out that professional services cannot be provided without good cooperation between service provider and client organisation. We can say that this cooperation has an impact on the performance of the clients and also of the service providers.

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4   Salamon 1998: 1.
5   O'Neill 1989; Salamon 1998.
6   Miles 2005.
7   Miles 2005, Toivonen 2004.
8   Skjolsvik et al. 2007.

Challenge 2: Entering Cross-Sectoral Co-operation

Non-profit organisations work in partnership with government to meet societal needs[9] in different fields both at home and internationally (e.g. Development Aid programmes)[10]. The traditional role of NPOs as providers of services is changing: instead of complementing and supplementing state provision, they are becoming an equal partner with government[11]. Governments contract more often than before with NPOs, and this gives many NPOs the opportunity to expand their services, client base etc.[12].

Challenge 3: Developing Networks

The developments in ICT (information and communication technology) increases the level of networking among non-profit organisations. For NPOs, networks bring new opportunities in terms of knowledge management and organisational learning[13].

Challenge 4: Competition

Because of the competition from profit-oriented organisations and from other NPOs, they have to improve their service and become more professional[14] (e.g., by focusing on the professionalisation of operations, increasing efficiency and effectiveness, or knowledge aspects).

Challenge 5: Diversity

For our research it is also relevant that NPOs are going through the same development process as knowledge-intensive business services; they are becoming more diverse in terms of staff, management styles, and work settings[15]. It is understandable that, due to all of these factors, they are socially sensitive and show special empathy with disadvantaged groups in society.

In conclusion, we can also say that, as a reaction to the challenges which NPOs are facing nowadays, they need to move from amateur to professional operations and management - as will be shown with the help of the Capital of Culture projects.

NPOs in the European Capital of Culture Project "Pécs 2010"

As mentioned above, one way of creating cultural value within the ECoC framework, was by the programmes offered by NPOs. They also drew attention to equal opportunity and social inclusion as main topics in connection with Pécs 2010. In the following section we focus on issues connected to the professionalisation of NPOs in their relationship to disadvantaged social layers.

To give a broad range of citizens the opportunity to contribute to the ECoC Project, the local authority called for applications from civil and non-profit organisations to offer programmes within the framework of the project. The aim was to support financially those initiatives, the programmes of NPOs. with the active participation of the local community. The applications fro funding from NPOs covered a wide variety of proposals.

Of a total number of 235 applications submitted to the local authority, a total of 98 were awarded grants to support their project (Table 1).

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9   Alexander and Nank 2009.
10 Heres 2004.
11 Anheier 2009.
12 Balassiano and Chandler 2009.
13 Farkas and Dobrai 2010a.
14 Hwang and Powell 2009.
15 Lewis 2002, Helmig et al. 2004.

	Category 1 (Small)	Category 2 (Mid-size)	Category 3 (Large)
Total number of applications submitted	19	169	43
Number of winning applications	8	70	20
Total number of winning applications	98		

Table 1. Number and distribution of applications
Source: Project documents

The aims of the programmes included a wide variety of activities covering the widely differing fields of interest[16]. The most important aims articulated in the applications of the projects offered by NPOs included equality of opportunity (18%) and the integration of people in society (43%) - which were important objectives of the programmes offered by NPOs. Other goals were: visual education (42%), preserving the heritage (38%), sport/recreation (35%), skill development (14%), environmental education (13%), search for talent (12%) and introducing Hungarian gastronomy (11%). The high number of organisations targeting disadvantaged groups with their projects proves how important this issue is for NPOs (Table 2).

Although most of the ECoC Project programmes targeted adults, it was important that NPOs also offered many programmes which were meant for all age groups. A large number of the programmes by NPOs had their target groups in the neighbourhood and in the city. However, several programme series attracted participants and audiences from the region or from abroad. If we consider the social layers targeted, many programmes tried to include disadvantaged layers of the society, such as the poor or the disabled (Table 2).

Target Groups	Aims of the Projects
Poor people	
Deaf or Blind	Integration of people into society
Impaired hearing	Equal opportunity
The mentally or physically disabled	Education
Dyslexic people	Promoting equal opportunity
People from ethnic minority communities	Maintaining social cohesion
People in poor health	

Table 2. Special focus of the projects
Source: Project documents

Social Inclusion

Social inclusion can be viewed from four perspectives, as a fourfold activity of NPOs:
• Programmes about diverse groups of disadvantaged people:
  • Conference about dyslexia
• Programmes offered for diverse groups of disadvantaged people (disadvantaged people and people with disabilities as audience):
  • Concerts, theatre shows and other events
• Programmes with participation/involvement of disadvantaged and disabled people:
  • Mime group of deaf people, theatre group of mentally disabled children
• Disabled people as volunteer workers for the ECoC:
  • Delivering programme leaflets

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16 Farkas and Dobrai 2010b.

Programme	Short Description	Name of the Providing NPO
Dyslexic Theatre	Performance by young people with learning difficulties	Association for Dyslexic Children in Baranya County
Festival	Day for people with disabilities	Caritas
Ludas Matyi (theatre)	In sign language for hearing impaired and healthy people	DeviArt
'Bite on it' –cultural sandwich	Programme series with works of young people, contemporary artists, and works of art of disabled people; contemporary artists, young talent, and people who are disadvantaged or disabled, work together	"MásKépMás" Non-profit Foundation for Equal Opportunities with a Humane Approach
Art-Para- Gala	Presenting the works of disabled artists (the start of a tradition akin to Paralympia, in the field of culture)	Foundation at Home in Europe for Arts
Acting	Mime group of deaf people, theatre group of mentally disabled children	Foundation "They are also our children"
The international Romany Festival	the most famous Romany performing artists. One of the main programmes against social exclusion. Romany painters - Exhibition	Romany Centre for Social and Educational Methodology

Table 3: A selection of programmes for and/or about disadvantaged social groups
Source: Project documents

Knowledge Sharing and Acquiring "Social Knowledge"

The kind of knowledge transferred whilst the project was being carried out dependent primarily on the aim of the project and the field of activity.

Analyses of the projects brings us to the conclusion that most programmes - independently from their field of activity - offered a good chance for learning for both the audience and the NPOs delivering the programmes - which, in terms of the issue of social inclusion meant a new dimension of knowledge-sharing and learning possibilities. It was learning and knowledge-sharing in a certain field, but, at the same time, these programmes also drew attention to the special layers of society which are usually on the periphery of society, and so they contributed to the development of social sensitivity.

As we have seen, the NPOs create value through their programmes. They fulfil a twofold task: on one hand they serve the public (public- serving NPOs take an active part in the ECoC project); however at the same time, their members benefit from the programmes: they transfer values (together with new knowledge and skills) to people outside and inside the organisation. The ECoC programme also strengthened the society of volunteers. One programme series drew attention to the social impact of the activities of volunteers in order to promote them and to improve their reputation.

Perspective of the Non-profit Organisations

We can say that the impact of the projects on the NPOs was manifold (Table 4): The learning process brought to them new ideas as to how they should bring their good programmes to a larger audience

(community) and how they could better serve a good aim, by accomplishing their public service mission.

Through delivering the programmes which NPOs offered they were able to mobilise their energy. Respect for NPOs among city residents and also trust in these organisations grew.

The professionalisation of NPOs also grew: Whilst meeting the requirements and delivering the proposed programmes they learned how to manage projects. Their projects supported formal and informal learning, developed team-work and networking; they also developed skills and competencies, transferred knowledge, helped community development and strengthened civil society.

The City Perspective

The slogan 100-5,000-100,000 became reality. This means that 100 NPOs with 5,000 volunteers served 100,000 'consumers', and could be an attraction for other interested parties to join[17].

The City Council played a new role in knowledge-transfer by facilitating the processes. It also acquired new knowledge through these activities in how to address citizens, and in how-to- operate networks. Thousands of excellent programmes improved respect for the city of Pécs. New cooperation practice developed between local authority and residents (Table 4).

The Residents' Perspective (particularly of the disadvantaged)

Through the non-profit projects, the equality of opportunity was supported; they helped to maintain social cohesion (Table 4). Disadvantaged and disabled people worked as volunteers for ECoC: through which it was proved that even disabled people were easy to involve in community projects.

The projects facilitated building social capital and minimising social exclusion. These programmes were connected to special groups of people, such as people with disabilities, or people who belong to ethnic minorities, people in poor health, young people, the elderly, women etc. They included a wide range of activities that targeted disadvantaged groups or places.

Stakeholders	Benefits
Benefits for NPOs	mobilisation of energies through initiating community activities
	mobilisation of energies through involvement in community activities
	growing respect for city and community
	new ways of cooperation between NPOs, other organisations and citizens
	new skills, new knowledge developed (writing applications – learning project management process: monitoring – reporting – evaluation – maintenance – reproducing etc.)
	special methods of knowledge-transfer

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17 Farkas and Dobrai 2010b.

Benefits for the City of Pécs	NPOs contributed to the success of ECoC project Networking improved within the city City Council plays new role in knowledge-transfer The knowledge of the local authority of how to address citizens improves
Benefits for the public/ disadvantaged groups in society	new opportunities involvement in cultural activities as audience, as topic, as active participants and/or as volunteers learning and sharing of new knowledge improved acceptance of diversity improved self-respect developing the feeling of being important and the feeling of belonging to the community

Table 4: Benefits of NPO projects for the different stakeholder groups
Source: Project documents

Conclusion

The paper showed that NPOs played important roles in the European Capital of Culture project. Their programmes served both members and visitors. The impact of the projects on the NPOs was manifold: There were possibilities to support learning, for learning to cooperate, to develop team-work, networking, develop skills and competencies, transmit community/social experiences.

The projects that were carried out by these organisations are a good example of how important NPOs are for their neighbourhood, in what ways and forms they are able to contribute to the improving quality of life in the neighbourhood. The broad variety of programmes offered by them could show that Pécs is a borderless city: it has something for everybody. The projects were more than the slogan "ECoC for civil society – civil society for ECoC!". They were more than just sharing cultural knowledge. By promoting the equality of opportunity they also contributed to social cohesion. It was proved that the events will have a longer lasting impact than the time span of the ECoC year.

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SOCIAL URBAN REHABILITATION POLICIES AND UNIVERSITIES: THE CASE OF PÉCS, EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE 2010 AND THE UNIVERSITY OF PÉCS

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Introduction

Social urban rehabilitation requires a complex and integrated approach, one which brings together various groups of professionals and lay people alike, and traverses the traditional departmental divisions within urban bureaucracy and management.[1] The aim of this kind of urban policy, in short, is to tackle social exclusion concentrated in rundown urban areas. For many European cities, such complexity and an integrated approach in urban policy-making are familiar from their experiences of being a European Capital of Culture. In the course of preparing for and implementing such a cultural capital project (and in its aftermath) urban policy-making in the city of Pécs too has been - and continues to be - faced with tasks very similar to the challenges posed by social urban rehabilitation. Pécs is in a special situation in this respect as these two kinds of urban policy have defined much of its post-millennial urban policy, their threads becoming intertwined in many ways, and the purpose of this paper is to evaluate the conditions under which the two ultimately click or clash.

The potential role of universities in boosting local and regional economies is well known, but their innovation potential is equally valid in various areas of policy-making, especially in local and regional contexts.[2] Hence, the paper looks at universities in European Capitals of Culture from the perspective of their role in urban policy formation. In the case of the University of Pécs, such a role is to be explored with respect to the two most challenging post-millennial urban projects: Pécs as European Capital of Culture in 2010 and social urban rehabilitation in Pécs East, a once-prosperous, but now run-down district which used to be home to the mining community.

Social exclusion and urban policy in the context of social capital

The theoretical background of the paper employs one of the most successful social science concepts of recent times, that of social capital. Social capital is both a sociological theory that concentrates on the interplay of networks in society, the trust that holds them together as well as the social norms they animate, but it has also become a more and more powerful policy concept in the context of economic and social development. These two faces of social capital, one scientific and he other policy-oriented, make it a useful paradigm to study particular social problems (social exclusion and urban segregation) as well as the policies related to these problems.

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1 Egedy, Kovács and Morrison 2005:71-75, Egedy 2005:30, Bukowski and Füzér 2007:18.
2 Varga 1998, 2009.

The dazzling success of social capital both in the academia of the social sciences[3] and in the policy world[4] was followed by a wave of criticism. The concept of social capital was criticized[5] for its under-theorised background and for attempting too much in explaining a great variety of social phenomena such as health condition, educational attainment, success on the labour market, quality of life, government performance and, of course, economic development.[6] In the practical world of development policy, social capital received criticism[7] for the way in which it was treated as panacea for all social problems. Much of this criticism is well-founded, for the standard theory of social capital lays the thrust of its emphasis on distinguishing its approach from that of social network analysis, and, in doing so, relies on three established concepts of sociological theory: trust, networks and social norms. The problem is that it handles these sociological concepts both theoretically and, especially, empirically - rather casually. In the policy world, on the other hand, we see that the development of social capital is considered to be a relatively inexpensive solution for complex problems such as poverty or economic backwardness. This means that the optimism attached to social capital promises a less expensive alternative to, and not merely a supplement for, other, very expensive means of development.

In response to criticisms, one of the most promising developments in the theory of social capital has been the introduction of distinctions among three types of social capital: bonding, bridging and linking.[8] This move has allowed reconnection to the sociological theories that stand in the background of social capital and has made possible a more complex and robust re-theoretisation of how trust, networks and social norms intertwine in the three forms of social capital. This development gives new impetus to empirical research also and, as we shall argue in this paper, should certainly be integrated also into instruments of urban policy, where such a distinction has been all but missing.[9]

Bonding social capital is inherent in networks that build on a high degree of personal trust as well as honesty, reciprocity and trustworthiness in such relationships as family, relatives and close friends. Those who do not belong to these networks are closed off from them. Bonding social capital plays a vital role in the lives of all social groups since it is a guarantee of wellbeing, interpreted as realising various levels of satisfaction with life, as opposed to the material dimension of welfare.

The relations belonging to bridging social capital are predicated upon generalised trust among people, and require a considerable degree of honesty and reciprocity. These relations connect us to people belonging to social groups other than our own, such as classmates, acquaintances or colleagues. Bridging social capital is, on the one hand, vital to social integration and, on the other hand, constitutes a resource which is supportive of progress in terms of both the individual career and of household status.

The concept of linking social capital is applied to the relations within the hierarchical structures of society which connect us to people in positions of influence ('good connections'). In such cases, expectations of honesty and reciprocity prevail but in very different configurations compared to the two previous types: linking social capital can, for example, thrive in a web of favours that can be interpreted as a

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3 Cf. the chart depicting the steady rise of academic articles on social capital from 1984 to 2003 compiled by Halpern (2005:9). The late 1980s were marked by the contributions of Pierre Bourdieu and James Coleman, whereas the major inspirations in the 1990s came from Robert Putnam and Francis Fukuyama. By the turn of the millennium, more than a 100 academic articles had been published on social capital, and this figure almost tripled in the following three years.

4 Besides international development agencies such as OECD (2001), or the World Bank (cf. its task force on social capital: http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/EXTTSOCIALCAPITAL, visited on 01/07/2011), several countries' national development policies have relied on social capital such as the UK, Canada, Australia, New Zealand or Ireland. In the US, the social science doyen of social capital, Robert Putnam initiated a nation-wide social capital development strategy in the form of the Saguaro Seminar (http://www.hks.harvard.edu/saguaro, visited on 01/07/20111) as well as several concrete projects (cf. http://www.bettertogether.org, visited on 01/07/2011).

5 E.g. by Portes 1998:1, 8.

6 For the pro arguments cf. Fukuyama 1995, Putnam 2000.

7 E.g. by Woolcock 2000.

8 Woolcook 2001:13-14, Field 2003:42-43, Halpern 2005:26-31.

9 One important exception is Gittel and Vidal (1998:13-23): their analysis of community development corporations evokes the bonding-bridging social capital distinction (ignoring linking social capital) but ends up almost ignoring social capital in the programmes' evaluation.

system of corruption – witness to the warning that social capital does not always and necessarily have only positive social implications.[10] It is evident that, in any society, linking social capital plays a central role in attaining and retaining advantageous social positions. This type of social capital is predicated upon a mix of trust in the formal, institutional structures of society as well as on trust in informal connections that often override formal hierarchies. Linking social capital was arguably the chief asset in the post-communist transformation process[11] and acted as a catalyst in the redistribution of other forms of capital - resulting in the creation of vast social inequalities, one manifestation of which is urban segregation.

Social urban rehabilitation: three models of urban policy development and implementation

Social urban rehabilitation as a social practice takes many forms, as demonstrated by international comparative studies.[12] We integrate the most relevant features of this practice along four dimensions to formulate three distinctive models of urban rehabilitation: the expert model, the partnership model and the community planning model. First of all, we differentiate according to the types of actors who participate in the formation and implementation of social urban rehabilitation policies. Secondly, the various activities involved in urban policy formation are conceptualised and translated, thirdly, into the dimension of policy measures. Finally, and most importantly for the arguments pursued in this paper, the implications of social urban rehabilitation for social capital are evaluated in each ideal typical case.

The dimension of actors in social urban rehabilitation

An obvious group of actors in social urban policy formation are municipal officials working in various departments of a city's bureaucracy (the chief role played by urban planning officials with a background in architecture, civil engineering or urban planning) as well as local politicians. There is a great difference, however, in terms of the dominance of this group of actors: in the expert model they play the role of initiators and contractors of consulting firms, vital actors under this model. In the partnership model, municipal officials and local politicians are only "first among equal" partners in formulating and implementing social urban rehabilitation programs, whereas in the community planning model they withdraw to the background and largely delegate the task of initiating, formulating and implementing social urban rehabilitation to a district multi-professional management agency. Such an agency brings city-employed officials and local experts so close to locals as to make them work on spot, in everyday contact with locals which makes it possible to carry out joint work and not only the coordination of various actors, as in the case of a multi-professional agency that is integrated into an urban development agency of city-wide relevance. Experts of local universities provide vital input for multi-professional management agencies of both types. From among local actors, lobby groups are by and large the only locals consulted in the expert model, whereas the partnership model lays great emphasis on finding local answers in local voices and involves as partners in the formation and implementation of social urban policy a great variety of local actors such as local civil organisations, local businesses, local public service providers (schools, district doctors, health visitors) and also other types of local actors such as local parish priests. In contrast to the partnership model, the community planning model explicitly attempts to tap beyond the lines of organised and institutionalised local society to address and involve all locals, irrespective of their prior position within the local community. Under this model an attempt is thus made to make each and every member of the local community a participant in social urban rehabilitation.

10 Field 2003:71-90, Whitehead 2004, Füzér et al. 2005.
11 Böröcz 1993, 2000.
12 Egedy, Kovács and Morrison 2005.

The dimensions of activities and policy instruments of social urban rehabilitation

The urban rehabilitation policy that is developed under the expert model is designed by consulting firms and can contain a programme of (or even be a fully fledged policy of) clearance, which means that a segregated neighbourhood's housing stock is demolished, families are moved to other neighbourhoods and the plot of their former neighbourhood is no longer used for residential purposes, at least not for poor households. Alternatively, rehabilitation policy under the expert model concentrates not on the demolition but on the physical revitalisation of the infrastructure of segregated neighbourhoods, such as public spaces (parks, squares, playgrounds etc.), public buildings (schools, health facilities, etc.), residential buildings and utilities. The focus, however, is still almost exclusively on the infrastructural dimension,[13] with the only exception being programmes aimed at strengthening local trade, as the most easy-to-grasp element of the local economy.

As opposed to the expert model, the objectives of physical and social rehabilitation are equally important under the partnership model.[14] The partnership model embraces a practice well-know in the development profession: work with stakeholders, do not apply universal solutions but search for local answers, preferably in local voices. The urban rehabilitation policy under the partnership model is not a matter of efforts behind writing tables: its elements are developed in the course of consultations, workshops and meetings among local partners, coordinated by the management agency. Projects are implemented by the multi-professional management agency with input from local partners where applicable. Importantly, physical revitalisation is carried out chiefly by local businesses.

The planning and implementation of rehabilitation policy under the collective planning model is essentially a process of several rounds of meetings managed jointly by local partners and the district management agency: the nature and stake of these gatherings range from presentation of ideas and discussion of alternatives, to making decisions on virtually all aspects of rehabilitation programmes. This means that locals are made 'owners' not only of programme outcomes (such as a renewed public park) but of the very resolutions that are behind programme elements. It is, therefore, not only their voice (or vote for that matter) that counts in this model but also their understanding of local issues, their mulling over alternatives, their contribution to making collective decisions as well as their participation in the realisation of rehabilitation programmes.[15]

The dimension of implications of social urban rehabilitation on the three types of social capital

The expert model's policy of clearance destroys not only houses but also the bonding and bridging social capital vested in many segregated neighbourhoods in the form of kinship and neighbourly connections.[16] The alternative policy formulated under the expert model, that of infrastructural rehabilitation, usually makes the mistake of 'doing too much good.' The physical rehabilitation of residential buildings can, for example, result in the gentrification of a neighbourhood [17] as renewed housing facilities are usually much more expensive to maintain. Better-off families move into the renovated area since poor households can no longer afford to live in these facilities and have to move to other parts of the city where conditions are usually similar to those that had characterised their neighbourhood before it had been renewed in the framework of a rehabilitation programme. The concentration of socially excluded families in rundown neighbourhoods becomes no less intensive as a result: the problem is simply being relocated in these cases. Gentrification has the same detrimental consequences for the bonding and bridging social capital thriving in segregated neighbourhoods: kinship and neighbourly connections, to

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13 Egedy 2005.
14 Egedy 2005, Egedy, Kovács, Morrison 2005, Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities, www.
    rfsustainablecities.eu/IMG/pdf/LeipzigCharte_EN_cle1d4c19.pdf. Visited on 01/07/2011.
15 Alföldi, Czeglédi, Horváth 2007.
16 Halpern 2005:289.
17 Egedy 2005.

which the neighbourhood provides the social context, become depleted as the composition of the neighbourhood changes drastically. Obviously, the renewed neighbourhood with its new population can be grounds for new social capital formation – but that social capital does not enrich the lives of socially excluded groups.

The partnership model's strategy has crucial implications for social capital. Participation in joint efforts to plan and implement the revitalisation of the neighbourhood increases bridging social capital among locals, and by strengthening local identity, adds to the stock of local, neighbourhood-related bonding social capital as well. The linking social capital of locals is greatly increased in the course of activities coordinated by the management agency: work with the agency's staff as well as with the experts they engage, results in new contacts to and (potentially) trusting relations with people in positions of influence. Very importantly, new jobs at local businesses (whose share of local renovation works is set to be the highest possible), create bridging social capital in the form of new colleague connections as well as linking social capital in the form of boss-staff relations. In contrast to the overall positive implications of the partnership model for social capital, it has to be noted that a central programme under this model can have (unintended) negative consequences for the overall stock of social capital. Certain conventional community development programmes in segregated neighbourhoods are designed to increase bonding social capital among locals belonging to same disadvantaged gender, ethnic or generation groups by supporting the creation of various in-group associations and activities for these groups disadvantaged even in the not very favourable social context of a segregated neighbourhood. At the same time, however, such programmes (unintentionally) prevent members from building connections outside their groups and thus contribute to the preservation of a low level of bridging social capital amongst the most disadvantaged.[18] Another shortcoming of the partnership model is that the focus it has on locals is essentially a focus on locals who had already organised themselves into various associations. It all but forgets about those locals whose bridging social capital is less abundant and does not make them visible elements of the local social fabric – at least not for urban rehabilitation policy planners. Therefore, potentially serious tension arises from the discrepancy between the significant increase of bridging and linking social capital among members of organised local groups who participate in urban rehabilitation programmes and the relatively worsening social capital positions of those who do not. Should there be a cluster of middle class families in a segregated neighbourhood, it is they who are most likely to be active in such organisations.[19] Furthermore, even among organised groups, there is the potential for existing inequalities in social capital not only to be reproduced as a result of participation in the planning and implementation of rehabilitation programmes, but groups with more initial linking social capital become more dominant within the local community, since they can access and control disproportionately more resources devoted to rehabilitation programmes.[20] The relative social capital positions of other local groups, and especially of unorganised locals, become much worse as a result of urban rehabilitation in case no conscious effort is made to manage partnership in a manner sensitive to such negative consequences.

In terms of implications for social capital, it is no exaggeration to maintain that the collective planning model of urban rehabilitation actually makes the development of all three types of social capital an explicit objective of its specific programmes while at the same time it attempts to guarantee that social capital is not destroyed or weakened as a result of any rehabilitation programme elements. (This can only be a realistic objective if there is a way to actually know what the outgoing conditions are and how programmes affect social capital.) Equally crucial, however, is the presence of what can be called 'social capital mainstreaming' in the thinking of rehabilitation policy planners, coordinators and implementers, i.e. all actors involved in collective planning. One major mistake, however, that urban policy can make under the collective planning model is that the focus on the social dimension and the con-

18 Pantoja 2000, Halpern 2005:290.
19 Field 2003:75-76.
20 Pantoja 2000.

comitant social programmes turn from being decisive to being exclusive.[21] The result is that resources devoted to the renewal of physical conditions of a segregated neighbourhood become meagre or even non-existent and the overall policy costs become appealingly small as social programmes are relatively inexpensive to run.[22] The problem with this is obviously that social capital is only one of the dimensions of social exclusion: the poor will be better off only if households can better position themselves in the labour market, their housing conditions improve, and their neighbourhoods become better places to live in. Realising the latter objectives costs a great deal of money – in order not to throw it out of the window, programmes that develop social capital are needed as well. If social capital is treated as a panacea for the problems of the poor, however, urban rehabilitation may certainly end up tackling social exclusion at its heart, but without heed to its body.

Social urban rehabilitation and the European Capital of Culture 2010 programmes in Pécs: do the two complex urban development projects 'click or clash'?

The first momentum in the 10-year-old history of making plans for the segregated neighbourhoods of the eastern district of Pécs was when, in 2001, local civil associations organised a conference on the past, present and future of their neighbourhoods with the title, 'Pécs East in Focus.'[23] The members of these organisations came from among the minority middle class families of the district who were discontented with the decline which their residential area had experienced since the early 1990s. They possessed enough bridging and linking social capital to make this conference an event that gained serious urban publicity: the location was the prestigious Regional Seat of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Pécs, and the presenters included important decision-makers (such as the Mayor and a Secretary of State), as well as academics and other professionals. The objective was to raise awareness of the negative tendencies and already existing urgent social problems of the district, but, more importantly, to highlight the positive potential of their neighbour-hoods (such as the green environment of the district, Pécs's Green Heart, as the slogan had it). This local initiative largely corresponded to the collective planning model of social urban rehabilitation, with the obvious limitation that not all locals, but only middle-class organised groups participated. Ultimately, however, it was not experts (either in the Town Hall or in a management agency) who defined local problems but the local themselves who took it upon themselves to try to produce some practical solutions to the local predicament.

Decision-makers and experts from the local authority felt some obligation as a result of this local initiative and, after office-based preparations, drew up the first, small-scale, and largely experimental, rehabilitation programme called Borbála (named after Saint Barbara, patron saint of miners) which ran between 2005-2006 in one of the segregated neighbourhoods, István akna. The programme included projects for renovating apartment houses, public spaces, as well as conventional community development projects. Whilst the Borbála programme design is a clear example of an approach under the expert model of social urban rehabilitation, implementation was carried out along the lines of the partnership model since locals, after undergoing appropriate training in the course of the programme, took part in the renovation of their own apartments and the public spaces of their own neighbourhoods.

The next stage in a series of social urban rehabilitation efforts in Pécs East overlapped with the Borbála project, not only in terms of time, but also in respect of some of the personnel. This was meant to be a clear-cut example of the partnership model, adapting experiences gained in this former, experimental project in István akna. Cities Against Social Exclusion (CASE) was financed as an Interreg III C project

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21 DeFilippis 2001, Füzér et al. 2005.

22 Woolcock 2000.

23 Information on this first momentum of making rehabilitation plans is based on personal communication to Füzér from Ms Edit Molnár, one of the association leaders of Pécs Kelet Érdekvédelmi Fórum (Pécs East Forum for Interest Protection).

of the European Union[24] and, in the context of Pécs East, brought together municipal officials, politicians, (local) university experts, local public service providers as well local residents to make preparations for drawing up the urban rehabilitation policy for the district. CASE made possible the research necessary for defining indicators of and collecting data for social exclusion and social capital. The most instructive insight from CASE for local project members was the insight that successful urban rehabilitation (i.e. programmes whose outcomes are to be lasting) has to be planned and carried out, not merely with the participation of, but actually by, the locals themselves. Such a process is best facilitated by a multi-professional district management agency. The documents prepared by local project partners laid great emphasis on these two elements and recommended the application of the community planning model. The very last phase of the CASE project, however, veered somewhat towards the expert model as in 2008 the city outsourced the task of actually drawing up a rehabilitation programme to (local) consulting firms.[25] In terms of programme design, since then (and in spite of a complete change both in the city's leadership in 2009 as well as in the composition of local government representatives in 2010), the expert model has dominated and no complex project proposal for funds has yet been submitted.[26]

The irony of this shift from collective planning to expert model in developing a social urban rehabilitation programme for Pécs East was marked by the intervention of another, equally challenging complex urban development project. After years of preparations which had mobilised much support and input from local artists, academics and professionals, the city in 2005 filed its application to be a European Capital of Culture in 2010.[27] The main concept behind the bid was that, in the wake of the post-communist collapse of several branches of industry in the city and its region (with mining being only one, albeit the most painful component), Pécs and the South Transdanubian Region should take advantage of its cultural, touristic and recreational potential and transform itself into a regional cultural centre - which could be well served by the prestigious title. As soon as the announcement was made that Pécs had won the title of European Capital of Culture 2010, most, if not all, the time and energy of the management agency (a complete makeover of the one that had coordinated the bid) became concentrated on putting together the programme for the year 2010 and managing all construction and renovations works in between. An ambitious array of investments into large-scale cultural projects[28] began in 2006 – most of which are still under way (either in a physical sense or in terms of finalising projects financially as EU funds beneficiaries). To be able to cope with the complex tasks, the agency was turned into a multi-professional management agency, Pécs 2010 Management Centre,[29] and the municipality administration also had to switch into a higher gear. Generally speaking, since 2007, not much time, attention, energy or development funds, for that matter, have been left over for the rival task of social urban rehabilitation in Pécs East.

This was so in spite of the fact that the threads of the two programmes, Cultural Capital 2010 and Social Urban Rehabilitation in Pécs East, became explicitly intertwined when, in 2007, the Hungarian development authorities which manage the use of EU funds made it a requirement for large cities in Hungary to compose so called Integrated Urban Development Strategies, along the lines of the Leipzig

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24 The project, which ran between 2005 and 2007, brought together municipalities with prior experience and good practicies in social urban rehabilitation (Hamburg and Gelsenkirchen), and cities of Central and Eastern Europe with serious problems with segregated neighbourhoods (Arad, Komarno, Krakow, Olomouc, Pécs) as well as two universities, the University of Pécs and the Jagellonian University of Krakow.

25 The document was finalised in late-2008 under the title ‚Preliminary Action Plan for Social Urban Rehabilitation in Pécs East' (http://eugyintezes.pecs.hu/download/tajekoztatok/strategia/szoc_rechab_EATT.pdf, visited on 01/07/2011).

26 A complex project proposal for social urban rehabilitation in Pécs East is foreseen for late 2011 or early 2012, when regional development funds become available.

27 This discussion is based on Takáts 2011.

28 Such as a second largest concert hall in Hungary, Kodály Conference and Concert Hall, the Zsolnay Cultural Quarter (www.zsn.hu, visited on 01/07/2011), and the Library and Knowledge Centre which integrates a good part of the university's and all of the city's libraries.

29 The management agency's structure and its position vis-à-vis city administration and other actors (such as the city's cultural institutions) proved to be heavily disputed matters (Takáts 2011:279-281).

Charter (2007). The handbook[30] which cities have to use as a guideline for preparing their development strategies makes a sharp distinction between so-called function-improving urban development plans and social urban rehabilitation. In the case of Pécs, the first came to be identical with the Cultural Capital project (and its cultural infrastructure investments), whereas the latter concerns the fate of Pécs East. The currently valid document that was drawn up (in haste) in 2008 admittedly concentrated on the Cultural Capital dimension as an Integrated Urban Development Strategy had to be submitted as a supplement to Pécs's European Capital of Culture project proposal for EU funds. Now that the year 2010 is over, a revision of the document is in progress and its new version is expected to show a shift of focus to social urban rehabilitation.[31]

In the course of this revision, several questions remain open as to which model would describe the recurring thread of social urban rehabilitation. First of all, the question is whether the city's new brand new Pécs Urban Development Agency (a reorganised version of the Pécs 2010 Management Centre) can embrace a multi-professional district management agency for social urban rehabilitation in Pécs East. In its current form the urban management agency is well-versed in cultural urban management and in implementing large-scale infrastructural projects but is not equipped for running a complex social urban rehabilitation programme. The option of abolishing a multi-professional management agency in toto is unlikely and, therefore, reverting back to a strictly expert model can be considered as improbable. Most likely it is the local participation factor which determines whether the partnership model or the community planning model will be the appropriate context in which to interpret the (finally) ensuing social urban rehabilitation of Pécs East. In case only locals organised into (predominantly middle-class) civil associations will be utilised, the benefits of sustainability associated with the community planning model cannot be expected to follow, as that guarantee is predicated upon the involvement of all locals, especially those who reside in the crisis neighbourhoods.

In conclusion, the prospective role of the University of Pécs in the social urban rehabilitation of Pécs East cannot be foreseen with certainty, based on a retrospective analysis of its involvement to date. The interests of local communities of segregated neighbourhoods and (local) universities coincide in the models of partnership and community planning. Since the social urban rehabilitation of Pécs East in a strict expert model is unlikely, local university experts can be expected to become partners to local and municipal efforts at social urban rehabilitation and/or facilitators of local efforts in developing, implementing and sustaining social urban rehabilitation projects.

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TOURISM, CIVIL SOCIETY AND MAJOR EVENTS: HOW AND WHEN CULTURAL CELEBRATIONS MIGHT PROMOTE SOCIAL MIXING?

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Introduction

The social impact of an event in a territory may be defined as a change in the perception of the residents about the area where they live motivated by the fact of celebrating an event[1]. This definition allows for a feeling of belonging, the image of the place and self-esteem, among other factors. At the same time, it does not include all the products related to tangible features of the events - for example, physical construction or improvements to the infrastructure.

This kind of impact is now becoming more important in estimating the repercussions of an event, and some authors consider that intangibles are more valuable than tangibles in quantifying the final benefits of an event[2].

In fact, the objective of a great event is far removed from visible transformation and must include immaterial factors. As Pasqual Maragall, the Mayor of Barcelona from 1982 to 1997, said:

> *"The aim of major events is to locate the city on the map. Each city is located psychologically at some level in the regional, continental and intercontinental system. The event contributes in putting the city on the next level"[3].*

This "jump" from one level to the next is produced not only by the facilities developed for the great event but for the positive effect perceived by the citizen. In this way is possible that a city with an excellent infrastructure had less attraction than a city less equipped but with a positive international image. In the first case, we find Rotterdam, where the absence of an image has made the city almost unknown at international level[4]. On the other hand we find Barcelona, where the image generated by the Olympics Games produced an important change in the perception of a city: in the first place for residents, but mainly for outsiders who used to see Barcelona as an industrial city in crisis, but who now see the world's ninth city in terms of strength of image

However, the infrastructure is not the only reason for this radical change. The reason needs to be looked for beyond material transformation including the intangible[5]. In this field, cultural policy has had a great influence.

However, some authors are questioning the effective capacity of culture to stimulate some aspects of society[6]. Malcolm Miles said that there is a preference for cultural policies as an instrument for improving the identity of places and the economic situation, since cultural activities are easier to organise and carry out than analysing the causes of the social problems and thinking of solutions for the long term[7].

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1   According to the concepts used by Kadt 1979, Moragas 1996 or Matarasso 1997
2   Baró 2003
3   "La finalitat dels grans esdeveniments és situar la ciutat al mapa. Cada ciutat se situa psicològicament a un cert nivell en el sistema regional, continental i intercontinental. L'esdeveniment contribueix a ascendir la ciutat a un nivell superior" (Maragall 1999 : 252)
4   Buursink 1999
5   Paül 2009
6   Bianchini & Parkinson 1993; Gómez 1998
7   Miles 2005

In spite of these doubts, most authors think that the effects exist, among others, in the attraction of qualified workers[8], the capacity of the city to face new challenges[9], tourism[10], the capacity to generate wealth[11], the perception of the local citizenry[12] or the regeneration of some spaces[13]. Following this line, we shall look at some examples of good practice.

In this way, the present work is based on monitoring conducted in three European cities between 2004 and 2010. During 2004 three cities in Italy, France and Spain hosted big cultural events: the European Capital of Culture of Genoa and Lille, and the Universal Forum of Cultures in Barcelona. The main objective of the research was to assess, six years after these events ended, whether the objectives were achieved.

A different model of implementation in each city

First of all, we shall present, briefly, each event: Genoa as European Capital of Culture, Lille as European Capital of Culture and Barcelona's Universal Forum of Cultures.

Genoa 2004 European Capital of Culture.

After the experiences of Florence and Bologna in 1986 and 2000, Genoa was the third Italian European Capital of Culture. They had a budget of €32 million for the event and €200 million for urban transformations - and attracted 2.8 million visitors.

The Italian city of Genoa with a population of 608.000 (2010) and 750.000 in its metropolitan area, is the capital of the province with the same name in the Ligurian region. Historically the port has been the main source of wealth, especially in medieval times (the Republic of Genoa) and between the '30s and the '60s (naval construction, chemicals and steel). Genoa was considered, along with Turin and Milan, as one of the basic cities for the reconstruction of Italy after the Second World War.

These times of wealth declined in the '70s and '80s and ended with the oil crisis. In the three decades following the 1970s the city lost 350.000 jobs[14]. Also, the population of Genoa fell from 847,000 (1966) to today's 608,000. The losses in the central area did not bring about any increase of population on the urban periphery. The most visible effects on the crisis were concentrated in the port and in the historical centre. In this context, the City Council devised a project to attract new users, beginning with the renovation of the zone.

In 1981 the City Council commissioned a study with the significant title of "First Proposal for Genoa's Launch of Tourism" (Gastaldi, 2004). In 1984 an important part of the Port of Genoa passed into private hands and there were plans to enlarge the docks. With that, the city opened their gates to the renovation of the Old Port (Porto Antico).

With this aim in mind, the City Council started to develop in the '90s an important proposal to host major events. The main goal was to obtain special funding for the renovation of the port and the old city. Within a decade Genoa was host to some matches in the World Cup (1990), the International Exposition (1992), some elements of Jubilee 2000, the G8 summit (2001) and European Capital of Culture (2004).

Lille 2004 European Capital of Culture

Lille was also its country's third European Capital of Culture - after the experiences of Paris (1989) and Avignon (2000). The budget allocated to the event was €73.7 million and the investment for physi-

8   Florida 2005; Gold & Gold 2005
9   Ferrari 2002
10 Collins 2004
11 Frey 2000
12 Guala 2001
13 Evans 2005
14 Masboungi 2004

cal interventions was €56.5 million. The European Capital of Culture attracted 9 million visitors (2.5 million tickets sold).

However, there are differences with the case of Genoa, since the change of image in the case of Lille is coordinated at regional level. Lille, capital of the French department of the North, has 225,000 inhabitants (2008) and is the capital of an urban area which has over 1.2 million inhabitants.

As an old textile zone, the region of Lille has experienced a great change in image. A major part of this change has come from its strategic position. In fact, Lille is proud to be less than 350 km from the main cities of Europe such as Paris, Brussels, Amsterdam, Cologne and London, representing some 100 million in terms of population.

One factor making this position even more advantageous was the disappearance of EU borders on January 1st, 1993, and, also, the improvement in transportation (the high- speed rail-link from Paris via Lille to Brussels inaugurated in 1993)

After the high-speed line (TGV), the main goal was to give the city the means to attract people. The aim was to define strategies for the long- term to make the city and the region attractive. The subject chosen for the mission was culture.

The idea was not new but tried to take advantage of earlier developments. For example, in 1976, in the middle of an economic crisis, the region established a symphony orchestra in Lill0 (l'Orchestre National de Lille). This first measure was followed by other initiatives such as restoring the great patrimony of the city, the renovation of the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lille and support for the university. These policies ensured that the region was perceived as a dynamic place.

A further important improvement came in 2000, when the urban community of Lille became involved in cultural matters. The policy followed had four targets[15]:
• Culture for all: access, participation, diversity.
• Culture as a basis for cross-border and multi-cultural union.
• Culture as the engine of economic development: production of cultural
• facilities and assistance to industries.
• Culture as support for urban quality.

Different projects have started under this policy all over the region. One was the European Capital of Culture Project in 2004, which helped to coordinate the cities of the region. In addition, once the year was over, a new institution was set up to be responsible for the inheritance: Lille 3000. This institution organises different events in Lille and other cities and plays an important role in the continuing effectiveness of the image created by the European Capital of Culture.

The Universal Forum of Cultures, Barcelona:

Barcelona is a city of 1 million inhabitants with a metropolitan region population of over 3 million. The city also organised an event in 2004: the Universal Forum of Cultures. This event was the first edition of a triennial celebration which aimed to be a meeting point to debate the challenges facing today's world. Comprising debates, exhibitions and various art activities from around the world, it was open to the public for 141 days (less than the two European Capitals of Culture) and had a €341.8 million budget for the event and €3.26 million for urban regeneration. The event attracted 6 million visitors (3.1 million tickets sold).

The main aim was to repeat the effect which the 1992 Olympic Games had had on the city. When the Olympic Games over, the City Council was clearly prepared to host major events. In fact, there was general agreement: the debt inherited was too big to face major investment alone, and the city still had unresolved infrastructure difficulties and problems. This was in contrast to the image created, and so they were tempted to repeat the idea which had brought success in the past and which had even had a

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15 Rutten 2006

theory named after it - the Barcelona model[16]. In this context the idea of the Universal Forum of Culture was born.

This event had three main goals: to reorganise a marginal area of Barcelona; to finish some work on the infrastructures unfinished for the Olympics and to promote the image of a city which accorded with the concept promoted by Barcelona Tourism.

To host the event a wide zone was urbanised between Diagonal Avenue and the Besòs River - a space located between the municipal termini of Barcelona and Sant Adrià de Besòs, where the major social problems of metropolitan Barcelona wee found.

Three similar objects and three different models

These three events had one objective in common: to develop an urban regeneration plan in deprived neighbourhoods. This was to be done by creating a new cultural infra-structure as a strategy for the re-development of the area. The objective was to attract tourists and local resident for post-redevelopment activity such as commerce, the general labour market or the construction and real estate sectors.

In short, all three wanted to use cultural activities as a strategy to promote social mixing in neighbourhoods with problems. However, each of the cities opted for a different model. Barcelona organised an event in an enclosed area where it constructed both a large green area and a congress building, Genoa concentrated most of the events in existing facilities (especially in the Palazzo Ducale), and Lille scheduled the majority of its activities in the new facilities (mainly the so-called Maison Folie). Now we will take a closer look at each.

Barcelona

Barcelona opted for an event in an enclosed space (the Fòrum area) which absorbed most of the investment. This space is situated close to the Mina district of Sant Adrià del Besòs for which some social indicators for 2009 show:

- Gross disposable household income, 67% lower than that of Catalonia
- Unemployment rate five times higher than the Catalonian average
- 18% population illiterate

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Image 1: In the image, the line at the upper extreme marks the limit of la Mina neighbourhood. The lower space is the Fòrum area. Source: Author's elaboration. Cartography: Google Maps

The activities taking place in 2004, within the Forum had several objectives:

- Participation of the "la Mina" residents in some Forum activities: visits, debates and exhibitions
- Ensuring that the population of Barcelona visit that part of the city
- Generating new economic activity, especially tourism, attracting congresses and concerts (construction of the Barcelona International Convention Centre, where numerous festivals are held, such as Primavera Sound, Summercase ...).

In 2004, the celebration achieved most of its objectives. La Mina residents participated in Forum events, and various events were organized to reflect changes in la Mina. The Medias shows these changes and a sizable number of tourists visited the area (which had never happened before).

However, this relief was short-lived and currently the situation is as it was pre-2004. It has not yet happened that the population of la Mina participate in outside activities and people from outside the neighbourhood rarely visit the area (for occasional concerts and events only). Only the congress building attracts significant volumes of visitors (about 3 million between 2005 and 2010), but these do not interact with the neighbourhood.

Genoa

Genoa '04 wanted to reinforce its cultural image with a programme focused, basically, on attracting tourists. The activities took place, mainly, in the historic city centre (the Centro Storico) a neighbourhood with several problems such as a high density of population (seven times higher than the average of Genoa), an old demographic structure and a loww level of economic activity, particularly commercial activity.

The events which were held were intended to:
- Strengthen the central role of the Centro Storico
- Attract residents from the rest of the city to the Centro Storico

- Transform the Centro Storico to a point of reference for tourism in Genoa
- Show the changes produced by experiments in the area

Image 2: On this map, the line shows the urban regeneration area and the points where the main facilities were introduced. Source: Author's elaboration. Cartography: Google Maps

The events of 2004 had a major impact on tourism. In 2004, 230,000 foreigners visited the city (double the number of five years earlier). However, they had less impact on the local population since the events were too specialised and there were few of local interest.

At the same time, Genoa's political and cultural agents could not build on the results achieved in 2004: Neither the Palazzo Ducale nor the Museo del Mare, the two main facilities, had programmes sufficiently varied. They only have a capacity to attract a specialised audience. In consequence, the volume of visitors attracted decreased. The Palazzo Ducale lost almost half its visitors, dropping from 500,000 in 2004 to 286.000 in 2009. The Museo del Mare showed some stability with 84,000 visitors in 2004 (when it was open for only five months) and 171,000 in 2009

Lille

Finally, in respect of Lille, the French city and its metropolitan area opted to create twelve new permanent structures (the Maison Folie) with a variety of programmes. This was carried out in areas with similar characteristics:
- a high unemployment rate
- a young demographic structure
- the limited presence of other cultural facilities

In all of these areas some urban renewal projects were developed directed by the Agence Nationale pour la Rénovation Urbaine (ANRU – the French National Agency for Urban Renewal) and the Lille Métropole Communauté urbaine (the local metropolitan authority). The aim of this work is to start urban regeneration projects in marginal areas but to avoid creating isolated spaces. To do this, some buildings have been rebuilt, public spaces have been improved and new facilities have been created, for instance, the Maison Folie.

In 2004 these had significant numbers of visitors, from their own neighbourhood, from the region and from abroad. For example, at Tourcoing, a city of 90,000 inhabitants, l'Hospice d'Havre had 55,000 visitors during 2004.

Image 3: On the maps, once more, the line shows an urban area under regeneration and the main facilities built. Source: Author's elaboration. Cartography: Google Maps

In Roubaix, a city of 100,000 inhabitants, the Condition Publique had over 100,000 visitors.

Image 4: In this picture we can see la Condition Publique (mentioned above). Source: Author's elaboration. Cartography: Google Maps

In Lille, a city of 212,000 inhabitants, the two Maisons Folies had over 200,000 visitors

Image 5: This last map shows the two Lille Maisons Folies. Source: Author's elaboration. Cartography: Google Maps

In addition, there were a sizable number of participative events throughout the city, where populations of different origins could interact (the opening ceremony, some concerts and outdoor exhibitions etc.).

After the 2004 events most Maison Folie facilities had continued working, most with remarkable success, based on a significant level of assistance (data from 2008):

- La Condition Publique: 100,000 visitors/year
- L'Hospice d'Havré: 32,000 visitors/year
- Wazemmes: 60,000 visitors /year
- Moulins: 40,000 visitors/year

Most significantly, these facilities have become socially very important. As one example, the visitors to the Condition Publique in 2008 comprised:

- 15% from the local population
- 65% from the metropolitan area
- 10% from outside the region
- 10% tourists

Conclusions

Six years after these interventions took place, we can evaluate the impacts achieved in the different areas.

In most cases, the initiatives succeeded in effectively attracting significant volumes of tourists. However, in general, social mixing is effectively negligible.

Cultural activities have brought visible benefits: contributing to these physical improvements, firmly locating these neighbourhoods in the mental map of the local population, attracting people from the rest of the metropolitan area - and tourists - and increasing the self-esteem of the residents of the neighbourhoods. It is, however, only those activities from the Cultural Capital of Europe which have brought together in the same facilities, people from the neighbourhood, the rest of the city and tourists.

In Barcelona the Forum could attract to one and the same area a large amount of people (conferences and public concerts). Genoa has developed family tourism. In both cases, however, these new visitors only visit the cultural facilities and their immediate surroundings. There were no interactions with the residents of the neighbourhoods.

In addition, in the cases of Genoa and Barcelona, the new cultural facilities have failed to reach the local population. They have, in fact, generated criticism: the inhabitants of these neighbourhoods see the new facilities as something of an imposition.

What are the key elements in the case of Barcelona? In respect of the Forum, there are visitors, but they do not interact with the rest of the neighbourhood since:
• The conference visitors hardly leave the conference centre
• People who go to the concerts stay at the concert venue
• There is criticism of overcrowding in the area and of the noise produced by the concerts

In the case of Genoa, there is also criticism since:
• The tourism is viewed as an element generating 'gentrification' in the Centro Storico.
• The cultural redevelopment of the area is seen as a "carnival", since what takes place has little to do with the neighbourhood.
• There is overcrowding in an area with narrow streets.

What are the main differences between the facilities of Lille, Barcelona and Genoa to explain this contrast in terms of results?

First: Who owns and manages the facilities?
• Barcelona: Public ownership; private sector manager
• Genoa: Public ownership; a foundation manages the facilities
• Lille: Public ownership; public service manager

Second: Who organises the programmes?
• Barcelona: The private sector decides most programming
• Genoa: A special committee
• Lille: A special committee, together with neighbourhood associations

Third: What kind of activities are involved?
• Barcelona: Concerts and conferences (mainly large-scale)
• Genoa: Exhibitions and conferences (mainly large-scale)
• Lille: All types of activity: exhibitions, concerts, workshops, conferences, theatre, cinema etc. (mainly smaller-scale)0

Fourth: Costs?
• Barcelona: Mostly, entrance is to be paid
• Genoa: Mostly, entrance is to be paid
• Lille: Entrance in almost all cases is free

Fifth: How long do the events last?
• Barcelona: after the celebration, 'social mixing' events ceased
• Genoa: short-term
• Lille: All public events have continued and have been consolidated

The success of Lille is clearly based on five factors: Public management, the participation of citizens in managing the facilities, free access to events, the variety of activities, mainly small-scale (i.e., many events but tailored for smaller numbers) and continuity

The large number of events at the Maison Folie and the variety of formats attracting different audiences are, in our opinion, fundamental in explaining the success of Lille. However, the Maison Folie seems only to attract visitors at local or regional level. To attract visitors from other levels more ambitious

events need to be organised. Lille achieves this goal through Lille 3000 - a body born directly from the organisation office of the Cultural Capital of 2004. Lille 3000 can organise large exhibitions, concerts and events capable of attracting visitors at regional and national level.

Through these two types of event, the cultural facilities in Lille are able to attract from dozens to thousands of participants. This should facilitate:
• Bringing together people from very different backgrounds
• Interaction between different sectors of the public
• Good media coverage
• Attracting tourists

Quite clearly, this helps to bring about the social mixing which we referred to, but public social mixing can probably only be achieved during the event period. Post-event, social mixing tends to disappear almost immediately. In short, the three case studies demonstrate the great difficulties for sustainable social inclusion in deprived areas depending on cultural events.

To achieve some degree of permanence, activities must continue beyond the end of the major event. The case of Lille, with the creation of Lille 3000 and the maintenance of the Maison Folie with its ambitious and interactive programming, is a good example of success which can be achieved.

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THE MEDIA DISCOURSE – CAN POPULAR CULTURE FIGHT AGAINST POVERTY AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION?

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In this short paper we deal with the effectiveness of popular culture in raising awareness of poverty and social exclusion. In relation to popular culture we focus on cultural content as conveyed by the media[1], and in this way the discussion will be limited to mediated cultural content. However, the aim of the paper is broad. In the first part we try to assemble the most general ideas in connection with media culture and their impact on everyday life, whilst the second part attempts to show how effectively media culture can fight against poverty and social exclusion – the latter supported by an analysis of some current media content. Further, we attempt to define precisely how these findings may contribute to the success of future European Capital of Culture projects.

Media and Culture: New Perspectives

We start with the widely recognised fact that today's media research is interested in a number of new and important directions, some of which are influenced by a higher level of social awareness. As Susanna Priest argues, a few of these approaches derive from the fields of international communication studies, which aim to explore how communication works between and among separate countries, how mass media systems cooperate within this international scene and how their common content circulates in time and space while reaching millions of people all over the world[2]. Priest adds that another frequently occurring field of media studies focuses on intercultural communication. This approach deals with communication between different cultural groups, communication by and about ethnic minorities within multiethnic societies and communication between cultures that takes place across political and social boundaries. In this paper we touch on both of these relatively new perspectives, whilst trying also to explain how these approaches can be associated with the struggle against poverty and social exclusion.

The Concept of Media Culture

In our opinion, when talking about combating poverty and social exclusion, the role of the media must be acknowledged as the leading one. Why is this so? To answer the question, we need to know more about the nature of our social-cultural environment - which is hugely affected by the media. Their effect as a tool for socialisation is a topic which has been discussed by many media researchers in the context of late modernism, one of the best known being introduced by Douglas Kellner in his book entitled *Media Culture* published in 1995.

In his concept of media culture, Kellner argues that, in contemporary culture images, sounds and spectacles help to produce the fabric of everyday life, dominating leisure time, shaping political views and social behaviour, whilst also providing the materials out of which people can form their very identities[3]. Kellner adds that – today - radio, television, film and other products of the cultural industries provide the models of what it means to be male or female, a success or a failure, positive or negative, moral or evil. In this sense, media culture also provides materials out of which many people construct their sense of class, ethnicity, race, nationality, sexuality, whilst the concept of the "Self" and the "Other" are also

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1 In this paper we use the term *media* to refer to different forms of mass media and various media technologies, including the Internet, television, newspapers, film and radio, which are used for mass communications, and to the organizations which control these technologies.

2 Priest: 1995 251-260

3 Kellner 1996: 1-16

based on this. Further, contemporary society and culture can be seen as being colonised by the media, which means that media culture is now a dominant form of culture which socialises us and provides materials for identity in terms of both social reproduction and change[4].

Many theorists claim that media culture is always political. From our point of view it is also important that media culture intersects with political and social struggles and helps to shape everyday life. It influences how people think and behave, and how they see themselves and others. In addition, it provides forms of ideological domination which help to reproduce the current relations of power, whilst also providing resources for the formation of identities and for empowerment, resistance, and struggle. In this way, according to Kellner and others, media culture can demonstrate who has power and who is powerless, who is allowed to exercise force and violence, and who is not[5]. Contemporary media scholars suggest that media culture is a contested terrain across which key social groups and competing political ideologies struggle for dominance, and that individuals live these struggles through the images, discourses and spectacles of the media.

Culture Explained in the Framework of Media Culture

In order to understand the notion of media culture more clearly, we need to examine its concept of culture. Kellner's model adopts the idea of culture from British cultural studies, which recognise that the notion of culture has changed constantly during the history of Western civilisation. Cultural studies indicate a turning point in this process also by shifting from culture as being the privilege of the elite towards culture as being common. This shift is marked by scholars such as Raymond Williams or Paul Willis. Williams, for instance, argues that culture is ordinary and varies in every human society according to different purposes and meanings. In his argumentation, culture means the whole way of life which embodies common meanings, arts, learning and the special processes of discovery and creative effort[6]. In Willis' interpretation, culture is common, vulgar and resistant - and is both shared and inclusive. He refers to culture as a form of symbolic creativity which is articulated through symbolic works with the help of our language, active body, drama and other types of symbolic creativity[7].

The above examples show that cultural studies expand the concept of culture; they use an anthropological view of culture in which culture is understood as a whole way of life. In this way cultural studies break down the traditional barriers between high and low culture. On this basis, the traditionally elitist concepts of culture, high art and literature are replaced by a wider, more liberal, understanding of culture, whilst, instead of the best self, focus is on the everyday self. Along with these changes, cultural studies open up new fields of study in connection with culture in which different forms of popular culture are studied - such as media, communication, film and further products of mass culture, whilst other research explores oral culture, popular art, club- and pub-singing, magazines, commercials and best-sellers.

Cultural studies also recognise the overall influence of the media. Due to the enormous influence of the media and other forms of mass communication, cultural studies view cultural representations at all levels such as production, distribution, mediation, reception and consumption, whilst focusing on marginalised, formerly oppressed and unheard groups of society such as women, members of different youth cultures, the working-class, immigrants, blacks, Asians, gays, lesbians etc.

As we can see, the project of cultural studies avoids strong differentiation between high and low culture, or between popular and elite. In this way we are able to study the whole range of culture without prejudice against one or another form of cultural text or practice. What is more, since cultural studies

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4 Kellner 1996: 1-16
5 Kellner 1996: 1-16
6 Williams 2001: 11-15
7 About this see: Willis, Paul. 1990. *Common culture: Symbolic work at play in the everyday cultures of young.* Milton Keynes: Open University.

focus on the representation of race, gender or class, they promote multi-culturalism and media peda-gogy which aims to make people sensitive to how relations of power and domination are encoded. In short, cultural studies provide comprehensive approaches to culture which can be applied to a variety of artefacts, from music videos to soap operas or talk shows. In spite of the fact that, in Western Europe, cultural studies have been a well established way of thinking about culture since the 1960s, it is still not in the forefront of academic thought in Central Europe, and especially not in Hungary, where more conservative approaches prevail[8]. This is why it is even more important to highlight the power of popular culture to raise people's awareness of social injustice and inequality.

The Power of the Popular

With the help of some illustrative examples, the main objective of the second part of the paper will be to explore how the concept of media culture can be applied to study the media and their popular content in order to determine whether popular culture can fight against poverty and social exclusion. Two brief examples will be given, both taken from the most popular fields of the media. It should be emphasised that these media products are part of the (often ignored) popular culture with no open references to any political or social movements. Yet, if people consume these with an open mind – in other words, as an active audience[9] - they can find numerous allusions which may raise their awareness of political or social inequality and injustice[10]. The examples discussed here were chosen almost randomly, the intention being to select media content which is universally popular and provokes impassioned discussion of certain social, cultural or political issues.

One is a Hollywood film and the other a daytime TV show – both taken from the international, or, let us say, the global media market available to the Hungarian public also. The research was carried out in two steps. First, the content was analysed in order to highlight the topics, which might have a connection with the issues of poverty and social exclusion. However, when interpreting these media products/media texts we not only examined their encoded messages but we also tried to understand how their audiences might interpret them. The concept of media culture uses the model of the active audience, which means that audiences create their own readings of media texts, by encoding and decoding various media messages. Following this line of thought, the second step was to study the reaction of the audience through an nalysis of related internet forums.

The film chosen is entitled *Babel[11]*. *Babel* is an international film drama directed by Alejandro González Iñárritum and focuses on four interrelated sets of situations and characters, although many events appear out of sequence. The four interlocking stories are connected by one single object – a gun; all converge finally to reveal a complex and tragic story of human lives around the world and so show how little we differ.

The first scene takes place in Morocco, where a troubled married couple are on vacation and trying to work out their differences. Meanwhile, a Moroccan shepherd buys a gun for his sons to keep the jackals away from his flock. At the same time a girl in Japan deals with rejection, the death of her mother, the emotional distance of her father, her own self-consciousness, and a disability (among many other problems); she faces modern life in the huge metropolis of Tokyo. **O**n the opposite side of the world the married couple's Mexican nanny takes the couple's two children with her to her son's wedding in Mexico, only to meet trouble on the return trip.

As is clear from this short synopsis, the story-line is quite complex. In each scene, with the help of content analysis, we can distinguish several topics which can be related to either poverty or social exclusion. For example, in the Moroccan scene we find references to tensions between the Third World

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8   Császi 2005: 21
9   Regarding this see: Hall, Stuart. 1980. Encoding/Decoding. In *Culture,*
     Media, Language. Hall et al. 128-138. London: Hutchinson.
10 Regarding this see: Fiske, John. 1987. *Television Culture.* New York: Routledge.
11 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Babel_%28film%29 (viewed July 3, 2011)

and the developed nations, tensions connected to terrorism, inequalities between men and women, bureaucracy, corruption, a lack of infrastructure, a lack of health care and a lack of communication systems (to mention only a few). In the Japanese scene we see examples of the problems of disabled people, drug-taking, broken marriages, single-parent families, suicide, sexual frustration, sexual abuse and miscommunication. The Mexican scene deals mainly with the tensions between South and North America, problems of illegal immigration, illegal labour, inferiority and superiority in terms of people and bureaucracy, men and women, immigrants and citizens, or even between different languages (English and Spanish) and various dialects of the same language.

From an academic point of view, we could say that the film is heavily loaded semantically - but how does the audience react to this? Does the film awaken viewers' consciousness to these social issues? A few lines, taken from one of the internet forums of *Babel,* might help to answer these questions. These are from the Tokyo scenario and refer to the Japanese girl, who is deaf:

> *'WOW! It must SUCK to be deaf. I never gave much thought about it in the past, but, especially the part in the nightclub, really hit me as how shitty it must be. She sees flashing lights and everyone jumping [to a beat], and everyone having a jolly old time, but she has no idea what is going on in the audio sense, and all I have to say is that she's missing out, I guess. People's voices and music, and just the sounds of...life. I dunno! This just never really crossed my mind in the past, but hit me like a stone when I recently watched it. Anyone else had an 'awakening'?*[12]

The above quotation, along with many others on the same page, can clearly reflect how highly successful cultural products from Hollywood can touch everyday people's heart, and raise their sensitivity towards others with physical or mental handicaps. In this case it is very likely that he had never before encountered such thought-provoking content in any other field of life - which might support our argument about the power of the popular.

The other media text which we would like to discuss here is taken from a very different segment of the popular media - the *Oprah Winfrey Show. The Oprah Show*[13] is a hugely popular American talk-show, hosted and produced by Oprah Winfrey[14] - the most highly-rated talk-show in American television history. The show appears on most ABC-owned stations in the United States (as well as various other stations through CBS Television Distribution), and is exported to other countries and continents.

The show is highly influential, and many of its topics penetrate into pop-cultural consciousness. The early episodes of the show followed a Phil Donahue-style exploration of sensationalistic social issues. Eventually, Oprah transformed her series into one with an image of a more positive, spiritually uplifting experience by featuring book clubs, celebrity interviews, self-improvement segments, and humanitarian expeditions into world events[15]. Oprah is the longest-running daytime television talk show in the United States, having run nationally since 1986, for over 24 seasons and nearly 5,000 episodes. Rather than attempt to mention all the issues raised in the show which might, in some way, be connected to poverty and social exclusion, we have chosen one recent topic from the show which started an animated social debate. The guest of the show was named Yvette Cade, and the introduction to her story from Oprah's own website reads:

> *Every 15 seconds, a woman is beaten by her husband or partner in the United States. Yvette Cade never thought she'd be included in this statistic...then she married Roger Hargrave. When Yvette first met Hargrave, she says, he always smiled and had a "great personality." As a single parent raising a young daughter, Yvette admired the care and concern Roger showed for his son from a previous relationship. Yvette soon married Hargrave, but their happiness began to fade after only*

12 http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0449467/board/ (viewed July 3, 2011)
13 http://www.oprah.com/oprah_show.html (viewed July 3, 2011)
14 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oprah_Winfrey (viewed July 3, 2011)
15 Császi 2008: 17

a few months. Yvette's aunt says that Hargrave started drinking a lot after the wedding and then began verbally abusing Yvette. Yvette's family feared that Hargrave's unpredictable behaviour would turn violent. Within months, their fears became a frightening reality. Hargrave's insults soon escalated into physical abuse[16].

The story goes on to explain how the couple separated but how incompetent the court was in its inability to protect Yvette. Finally, Yvette's husband committed a horrific crime; he poured petrol over her and set her on fire. Yvette survived but still needs to face several further operations. She says that, by telling her story on *The Oprah Winfrey Show*, her daughter and other women too will learn from her mistakes and be less likely to fall victim to abuse. How does the audience react? The show's own forum includes the following:

As saddened by the story as I might be, I am even more saddened by the latest Eminem song. It's a very catchy toon, and then Rhianna comes in with her fabulous voice and makes the tune in the middle of all the rap. Went high on the charts. But is anyone listening to the lyrics? It's just like this horrific story you have on your show. It's about someone being set on fire by a loved one. So WHY is it so popular? And Rhianna after her abuse in the headlines by singing her part sounds as though she is ignoring abuse. I love Rhianna's voice, and we don't know her upbringing, maybe it was violent. But people need to stand up to abuse and not pass it off as someone else's problem. Thank you for letting me voice my opinion, saddened by all the violence in the world[17].

As Yvette's case may show, different types of injustices, inequalities, and exclusion practices may emerge from a single example. It is also a good example of the way in which various popular media texts can interact with each other and how they can make up a whole map of interrelated fields of meaning, some of which have serious potential to raise awareness of serious social issues.

With the help of these examples we hoped to highlight how some of the most popular media texts of the present day might be involved in current political and cultural struggles. As we can see, these media texts articulate specific ideological positions and help to reproduce dominant forms of social power serving the interests of social domination or of resistance to the dominant forms of culture and society. These popular texts embody dominant political discourses concerning the major political issues and conflicts of the day[18].

McLuhan's global village is a reality. All but a few remote corners of the globe are connected by telephone, television reaches almost everywhere and popular media products have global-scale impacts that do not know cultural, political, or geographical barriers. As Susanna Priest claims, media theorists of the present day frequently question whether something is lost in the process with the world threatening to become a kind of international cultural confusion rather than preserving diversity[19] Is the growing complexity of the media going to create a whole new social gap between information 'haves' and 'have-nots'? In other words, can the media fight against poverty and exclusion or is the situation simply becoming worse as time goes by and as communication technologies develop increasingly rapidly?

These questions are difficult to answer. However, as we can see from the examples discussed, we can see some signs of hope which may sometimes derive from the (frequently ignored) field of popular culture. These products of global media industries may reach and influence millions of people, may give voice to those who have so far been muted, may raise the social awareness of those in favourable positions who have never faced the problems of the less fortunate. Perhaps, therefore, the message which should be conveyed is that the media should be monitored more closely than before, due to its huge social, political and cultural effects.

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16 http://www.oprah.com/oprahshow/A-Horrific-Crime (viewed July 3, 2011)

17 http://www.oprah.com/oprahshow/A-Horrific-Crime/5 (viewed July 3, 2011)

18 About this see: Fiske, John. 1989. *Understandig Popular Culture*. Boston: Unwin Hyman.

19 Priest 1995: 251-260

Is There a Place for the Popular in the European Capital of Culture Project?

All the examples discussed above prove that popular culture is able to raise people's awareness of social, cultural and political issues. Where, however, is the place for the popular in the European Capital of Culture project? Have the organisers understood the power of popular culture to reach wider audiences to convey deeper messages? The "European Capital of Culture" title was invented by politicians in 1985. Today it is well known that the programme aims to bring the peoples of Europe closer together by celebrating the key role played by cities in European culture. Since the economic, social and cultural power has been understood, the title has become highly sought after by cities and regions all over the continent[20]. As we learn from programme synopses, the sequence of various events is a unique opportunity to take part in a twelve-month project dedicated entirely to art and culture, with significant social and economic spill-over effects.

However, some of the misunderstandings about the programme may derive from the fact that the events aim to develop a high-quality artistic programme. Here again, however, the question may arise of what we can call high quality. For instance, in Hungary, high-quality art is automatically associated with high culture, so ignoring the fact that popular culture can be just as thought-provoking and as valuable as any other artefacts which are parts of the established canon[21]. Although the European Capital of Culture programme embodies the widest range of different art forms – dance, music, theatre, heritage, contemporary art etc. – most of these are still rather remote for many - which might be a reason for the relatively low attendance at the events in Hungary in 2010[22]. As a result, the programmes failed to fulfil their aim of bringing people closer and raising their awareness of each other's social and cultural differences.

Fortunately, some future projects seem to have a greater affection for the popular. For instance, Slovenian organisers have realised that popular culture (or pop culture) as well as culture which has been unjustifiably marginalised in the social and media field because of its unconventional views, are definitely one of the most important forms of cultural creation of our time. They claim that various conservative and purist views that these types of artistic expression are not compatible with (so-called) "high culture" are often stale and unproductive, and so they are trying to put more emphasis on pop culture, mainly on popular music, a battle already fought in the last century to gain a near-equal position in contemporary artistic and cultural practice. They also accept that, in popular culture, social and political awareness are emphasised and that the message represents one of the eye-catching ways of interaction between author/artist and user. As the hosts of the 2012 programme declare:

> *A mere look at the projects that have been accepted and elaborated within the field of non-classical music fills us with optimism and is the best response to those critics and sceptics, who define Maribor as a "dead city", at least as far as this kind of (pop)culture and artistic offer is concerned. Projects such as* Rockers Sing Poets**,** Garage Explosion Festival**,** Etnika Festival**,** MED International Festival of Electronic Music**,** *and some of the projects of the ECOC 2012 partner cities such as* Kunigunda *and the* Jazzinty Festival *prove the saying – the town may be asleep, but culture is never dead. So, LET US WAKE UP MARIBOR![23]*

We hope that this trend will prevail, and that, by realising the power of popular culture, and by giving it more space in the media, the events will be able to include more and more people in the future. We should also accept that pop music is not the only efficient tool to reach a great number of people and that the media provide a wide range of popular programmes (TV shows, talk-shows, soap operas, films, magazines etc.) which may help to promote the ideas behind the European Capital of Culture project.

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20 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/European_Capital_of_Culture (viewed July 3, 2011)

21 Császi 2005: 21

22 For instance, see the following article in Hungarian: http://index.hu/gazdasag/magyar/2011/02/24/
    turisztikai_bukas_volt_a_pecsi_kulturfovaros/ (viewed July 3, 2011)

23 http://www.maribor2012.info/en/index.php?ptype=0&echosub=1&menu=0&id=193

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INCLUSION THROUGH CULTURE

LIVERPOOL CULTURE CAMPUS:
LINKING HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE ARTS

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Aim

This paper describes and analyses the interaction between Liverpool City Council, the major cultural organizations of the city, the three universities of Liverpool and Liverpool Culture Campus.

Liverpool

For much of the nineteenth century Liverpool was a major city and port of the British Empire. It developed extensive trade links with the Americas, Africa and Asia, which reached their peak in the late nineteenth/early twentieth century - prior to the First World War. Most significantly, from a cultural and heritage point of view, this prominence produced a very rich heritage of buildings, institutions and events which continue to contribute to the cultural life of the city to this day.

Throughout the twentieth century Liverpool has been a microcosm of the United Kingdom in general, in that it has moved through its post-colonial and then post-industrial phases. The decline of the city was most marked after the Second World War (despite the success of the Beatles-led Mersey Sound and the achievements of Liverpool Football Club in the 1980s) with a rapid reduction in economic activity and employment. This led to depopulation, the deterioration of the inner city Victorian housing stock, increased Trade Union and City Council militancy and strikes which culminated in the infamous Toxteth Riots of 1981.

This socio-economic decline led to Liverpool and Merseyside receiving European Social Fund and European Regional Development Fund designation as one of the poorest regions of Europe. In many ways this has been instrumental in the renaissance of Liverpool during the last 2-3 decades. This has produced large-scale regeneration and rebranding of the city alongside a growth in confidence and self-esteem. The designation as 2008 European Capital of Culture and the success of the year are a vital part of this renaissance. (Garcia,B., Melville, G. And Cox, T. 2010)

Liverpool City Council and the European Capital of Culture

To manage the European Capital of Culture, the City Council established the Liverpool Culture Company. The Funding was managed by the City Council and 100 staff were employed by the Council, of which 50% were internal secondments from the City and 50% were new appointments to new posts

Prior to, and following, 2008, a major concern was the legacy of the Year as Capital of Culture as the city attempted to build on the success, commitment and energy of the city at all levels from major international private sector companies to local communities.

One major development was the Liverpool 2024 Strategy, which aimed to make Liverpool 2024 a thriving international city. This was produced by the Liverpool First Cultural Task Group, a consortium of businesses, government organisations, public sector agencies, and representatives from voluntary and community groups. Specific objectives related to higher education were the maximisation of use and access to University arts facilities, the completion of 50 undergraduate and graduate internships (by June 2012) and an improvement in co-ordination between the higher education sector and cultural partners to highlight routes for the progression of graduate and post-graduate students into this sector.

The Liverpool Cultural Organisations

The major cultural organisations of Liverpool form an umbrella group called LARC (Liverpool Arts and Regeneration Consortium). LARC comprises the Tate Gallery of Liverpool, the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Society, the Liverpool Biennial of Contemporary Art, National Museums Liverpool (including the Walker Art Gallery, the Mersey Maritime Museum and the International Slavery Museum), FACT (The Foundation for Art and Creative Technology), the Bluecoat Gallery, the Playhouse & Everyman Theatres, and the Unity Theatre. Sometimes called 'The Big Eight', these comprise institutions with a national and international impact (the first four), a national and regional impact (institutions 5-7) and a regional impact (the Unity Theatre, the last).

At a level below the Big Eight is a grouping of over 50 smaller institutions originally known as SMAC (the Small Arts Collective) and later renamed as COOL (the Creative Organizations of Liverpool). These organizations are small and often 'edgy', specializing in diverse activities ranging from annual events (the Liverpool Irish Festival, the Liverpool Somali Festival) to audio (Sense of Sound), visual (Hurricane Films), art (Open Eye Gallery), dance (Mersey Dance Initiative), gender (Homotopia), comedy (Comedy Trust), theatre (Collective Encounters) and to ethnically-focused organizations (Milapfest).

Liverpool's Three Universities

There are three universities in Liverpool: the University of Liverpool, the Liverpool John Moores University (LJMU) and Liverpool Hope University. Whilst in competition, they also offer complementary curricula and facilities and work in partnership (as exemplified by the Culture Campus). Liverpool University, has over 18,000 students and 1,400 academic staff with a turnover of £364m; LJMU 29,000 students, 2,700 academic staff and a turnover of £180m and Liverpool Hope has 7,500 students, 330 academic staff and £50m turnover. The University of Liverpool is part of the Russell Group of prestigious research universities and specialises in Medicine, Dentistry, Veterinary Sciences, Engineering and Biosciences. It has a modest provision in the creative and performing arts limited to Music. LJMU is a post-1992 former polytechnic with an emphasis on engineering and vocational activities, and its provision includes a large Art and Design Institute. Liverpool Hope is a former teacher training college (a new university) and has a liberal arts curriculum which includes Music, Art and Design and Dance and Drama.

Liverpool Culture Campus

The Culture Campus is a partnership between the Universities and the cultural sector in Liverpool involving senior academics and directors of cultural organisations. At the time of writing the Board comprises Christoph Grunenberg, Director of the Tate, Mike Stubbs, Chief Executive of FACT, Lewis Biggs, Chief Executive of the Liverpool Biennial, Professor Bill Chambers, Pro Vice-chancellor Liverpool Hope University, Professor John Belchem, Pro Vice-chancellor, University of Liverpool, and Professor Roger Webster, Dean Liverpool John Moores University. The aims of Culture campus are to: attract talent to Liverpool, enhance the employability of graduates, improve the retention of graduates on Merseyside, establish Liverpool as a centre for innovative, collaborative practice in the arts and culture, make Liverpool an international magnet for students, practitioners, academics and policy makers and support Liverpool's ambition to be a thriving international city by 2024. The Culture Campus is engaged in a variety of partnership and collaborative activities including networking seminars, collaborative doctorates, joint courses at Certificate, Bachelors and Masters level, joint bidding for research funding, commissioning research, joint and Honorary Professorships, teaching partnerships, resource sharing, partnerships and sponsorships, tenancy agreements, space, cultural sector venues, joint events and student showcasing.

Networking Seminars

Networking seminars bring academic staff and students in contact with each other, with professionals from the creative sector and with guest expert speakers. In recent years events have included information about the impact of the move of the BBC to the region on the creative sector, opportunities for creative academics to contribute to the public health agenda, opportunities for student volunteering and meetings to help identify research opportunities and develop collaborative bids. (Table 1)

'BBC North and Media City UK', Richard Deverell, Chief Operating Officer, BBC North
7 October 2010 AT FACT, Liverpool

'Culture and Health: Meeting Points and the Space Between'
7 May 2010 at The Capstone, The Creative Campus, Liverpool Hope University

Continuing Professional Development and the Cultural Sector in the Liverpool City region
27 April 2010 at the Bluecoat, School Lane, Liverpool

Arts & Humanities Research Council (AHRC) Seminar
4 March 10, at LJMU Art and Design Academy

Peter Ward, Chair of SMAC (Small and Medium Arts Collective), an umbrella body for forty-plus cultural organisations in the city. • 12 February 2110 at University of Liverpool

Student Volunteering, Placements and Internships in the Cultural Sector
Seminar/Workshop Session • 13 January 2010 at Liverpool John Moores University

The Leverhulme Trust Bid 'Beauty' Theme
Working session • 24 November 2009 at Tate Liverpool

Cultural Capital: Innovation, Investment, Implementation, Culture Campus Liverpool Conference
25 June 2009 at Liverpool Hope University, Cornerstone, Everton

The London Consortium Presentation and discussion with Professor Stephen Connor
20 May 2009 at Tate Liverpool

The Tate's Research Strategy and their collaborations with higher education institutions with Professor Nigel Llewellyn, Head of Research, Tate
3 December 2008 at Liverpool John Moores University

LCACE (London Centre for Arts and Cultural Enterprise) Seminar
Presentation and discussion with Sally Taylor, Director, LCACE • 5 November 2008 at Tate Liverpool

Arts Council and HE Strategy Session and discussion with Aileen McEvoy, External Relations and Development Director, Arts Council North West
5 September 2008 at University of Liverpool

Table 1: Networking Seminars

Joint Research and Degrees

The development of collaborative PhDs is another major outcome of the Creative Campus. These are either stimulated by the needs of the creative sector or the interests of the universities and individual researchers. National Museums Liverpool has partnered in projects including Cataloguing the Lady Lever Art Gallery's Chinese Collection; Sustainable Radiography and the Emotional Impact of Smell. The Tate Liverpool has commissioned PhD research into Tate's Interpretation and Education Policy; Colour Perception; and various PhDs within the International Centre for the Study of Transatlantic Slavery; The LJMU Art & Design Academy has been particularly active in developing collaborative

PhDs with the Biennial, FACT, Bluecoat and Tate. Liverpool Hope, is developing a practice-based PhD with the Tate and RLPO.

Joint courses have also been developed at a number of levels including Masters, Bachelors and Certificate level. Many of these have a large vocational component and provide both opportunities for graduates and for the creative sector to recruit and train their workforce. These include the following:

MA in Fine Art. LJMU, Tate, Biennial, FACT

MA and Post-Graduate Certificate in Art History and Curating.

MA Artist Teachers. LJMU, TATE, Biennial, NML

MA Curating New Media Art. LJMU

MA module Creating the Contemporary. LJMU, Staffordshire University, Manchester Metropolitan University, University of Central Lancashire, Liverpool Hope.

Certificate in Professional Development in Applied Music . RLPO and Liverpool Hope.

BA History of Art and Museums Studies. Tate and LJMU.

Teacher Training collaboration: Learning through Engagement with the Arts: Creativity in Initial Teacher Training. Liverpool Hope, LJMU, Edge Hill University, Chester University.

Table 2: Joint Degrees

Joint Bidding

With the development of joint research and teaching, increased opportunities have emerged for joint bidding combining the academic excellence and experience of the universities with the professional and artistic expertise of the cultural partners. Such collaboration is being actively encouraged by the funding agencies and so is potentially beneficial to both sectors. In 2010 three major bids were submitted. One, AHRC and Vitae Public Engagement Collaborative Research Training Scheme HAPPEN (Humanities and Arts PGRs Public Engagement Network) focussing on professional training and support for research students and their engagement with the public, was successful. The other, to the Leverhulme Trust, (a multi-disciplinary bid examining the nature of Beauty) was unsuccessful. Each bid, irrespective of success, brought university academics from a range of Faculties and the three Universities closely together with the creative sector and each other, sometimes for the first time.

The third (successful) bid - the JISC Culture Campus Liverpool CPD Portal - was funded by the Joint Information Standards Committee. This is a £227,000 partnership project between Culture Campus, LARC, City of Learning and SMAC and aims at developing an innovative portal for universities and cultural organisations to display in one place their CPD (Continuing Professional Development) opportunities and activities.

Research Commissioning

Another aspect of the work of the Creative Campus has been to commission its own research. It became increasingly important to examine the link between graduates and employment and so Liverpool John Moores Baseline Research and Survey team was commissioned to prepare a report into Graduate Employment and Liverpool's Creative Industries (2009).

Joint and Honorary Professorships

A tradition in British Universities has been to recognise the expertise and contribution of local and national artists to the city and regional academic and arts scene through the awarding of Honorary

Professorships or Doctorates. This may be simply a form of mutually beneficial recognition and public relations or may involve a significant teaching and research input to the lives of the universities. Recent examples have been the award to the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic's Chief Conductor, Vasily Petrenko, an Honorary Professorship at Liverpool Hope or the appointment to a working Professorship at LJMU of the Chief Executive of FACT, Mike Stubbs.

Teaching Partnerships

In addition to professorial inputs there are close links in respect of the design and delivery of courses and advice on staffing application, short listing and selection panels. All three universities use expert input from the creative sector on the design, validation, accreditation and assessment of new courses. In addition inputs from the practising professionals enrich the teaching of courses. For example, Liverpool Biennial staff teach at LJMU and Liverpool Hope, Tate curators and external experts train University of Liverpool Medical Students, staff from Merseyside Dance Initiative teach at all the universities, many of the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Orchestra run master classes for instrumental musicians at Liverpool Hope as well as playing their compositions. Collective Encounters Theatre Company runs workshops for drama and dance students at Hope, and the Everyman and Playhouse Theatres provide talks and master classes at LJMU, Liverpool Hope and the Liverpool Institute of Performing Arts.

Board Membership and Trusteeships

A form of reciprocity is also used to the advantage of many of the creative sector organisations and charities. For example the Vice Chancellor of Liverpool Hope is a Board Member of the Liverpool Biennial. The author is a Trustee of Collective Encounters Theatre Company and of MILAP, the South Asian Arts Organisation. This is repeated across the city.

Resource Sharing: Tenancies

The Universities provide physical resources for the cultural sector organisations. Liverpool Hope University has three arts organisations based at its Creative Campus – Collective Encounters Theatre Company, Weekend Arts College and the European Opera Centre whilst the University of Liverpool houses The Reader Organisation which promotes the therapeutic benefits of reading. Such sharing of resources is mutually beneficial, providing physical space for the organisations and income and practice, teaching and research opportunities for the staff and students of the universities.

Resource Sharing: Space

The sharing of space on a reciprocal basis is also practised. For example the Universities provide free studio space to Merseyside Dance Initiative, whilst they, in turn, provide free places on dance masterclasses to students.

The Cultural Sector also provides high quality professional venues for student activities and performances. For example some of the Art Galleries provide artefacts and paintings as exhibits for University exhibitions and also provide space for student exhibitions and performances. The Unity Theatre provides a performance venue for drama and dance

Joint Activities

Higher Education and Cultural sector organisations also share activities and the associated costs and kudos. So for example National Museums Liverpool and Liverpool Hope collaborated financially and academically on the inaugural conference of the Federation of International Human Rights Museums in September 2010 at the International Slavery Museum. The Tate-Hope Lecture and Dinner is an (almost) annual event with the 2010 event being delivered by Mark Leckey, the Turner Prize-winning

Artist. A major and long established partnership is that between the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic and Liverpool Hope. In return for financial support in cash and kind, orchestra teachers provide master-classes, tuition, the performance of compositions as well as concert series in return for sponsorship, a venue for the contemporary music Ensemble 10:10, Continuing Professional Development of orchestral players and rehearsal space for the Philharmonic Youth Choirs.

Student Development and Showcasing

The retention of students on Merseyside and the recruitment of high quality staff to the cultural organisations of Liverpool are major objectives of Culture Campus. To help achieve this apart from regular social networking events, the Culture Campus facilitated the publication of students work in a Culture Campus Magazine in March 2008. In addition there is a long-established programme of student volunteering, placements and internships at all the LARC partners. Many of these lead to student employment and retention on Merseyside.

Conclusions

Success

Culture Campus is a success and has attracted considerable national attention. Oakley and Selwood (2010) concluded that the Culture Campus provides a unique and growing forum… a space for ideas to flourish ... an innovation river.

Research carried out by LARC in 2009 described the substantial engagement between arts and cultural organisations in Liverpool and Universities.

The success has been attributed by LARC (2009) to long-term relationships and collaborative thinking (LARC 2009). Oakley and Selwood (2010) attribute the success to the breadth of disciplines involved in the collaboration, the complementary strengths and specialisms of the Universities, the high level engagement of Pro vice-chancellors and cultural organisations' artistic directors, the concentration and high profile of Liverpool's arts and cultural sector, including national institutions and one with an Independent Research Organisation status and an overall good partnership with the City Council.

Challenges

Following 2008, the year of Liverpool's tenure as European Capital of Culture a number of new organisations have emerged attempting to ensure a strong legacy. There is some degree of overlap and duplication of function and so it is important that the Culture Campus develops a clear remit and identity differentiating itself from Impacts08, the North West Cultural Observatory and the new Liverpool Cultural Institute.

As the recession bites into the economies of the University sector, the need for a sound financial basis is necessary since Culture Campus is almost completely funded by University contributions. The need for a full-time Secretariat is an ongoing cost if the creative energies and enthusiasms are to be developed.

Whilst much of the credit for the success of the Culture Campus can be attributed to partnership activity and collaboration between all three of the Universities it is also true that many initiatives originated as bilateral partnerships between one university and one cultural institution. In the current climate this bilateralism may pose a threat to the collaborative nature of the Culture Campus. This may, however, not occur given the complementary nature of the three universities. For example the University of Liverpool has a traditional University research and civic engagement interest in the arts, whilst the new former polytechnic university of Liverpool John Moores focuses on employability and the student experience as well as the vocational dimension of the arts, whilst Liverpool Hope University is characterised by its Liberal Arts tradition.

In the current climate of knowledge transfer and innovation between industry and the University sector the Liverpool Universities have been relatively unsuccessful in developing formal knowledge transfer partnerships. There has been little engagement in the knowledge exchange catalyst programme or the new Innovation Vouchers scheme.

Similarly, whilst the number of collaborative doctoral awards is increasing, they are currently limited to the organisations working within the visual arts and museums sector.

The Future

Oakley and Selwood (2010) are optimistic about the future of Culture Campus. They identify the flexibility of the Board, the long term personal relationships between individuals in the university and arts sector and the will to continue even without funding as positive influences.

LARC (2009) also takes a positive view. They believe that opportunities for expansion and for greater ambition are now emerging, and Liverpool-based arts and cultural organisations look well-placed to take them up. They believe that there is increased interest from HEIs in industry partnerships following changes in HE funding and RAE assessment which will reward knowledge exchange.

However they warn about the impacts of the Global financial crisis!

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CREATIVITY AT LUNCHTIME
INSPIRING WITH CULTURE IN A SCIENTIFIC ENVIRONMENT
CULTURE ON CAMPUS AND CULTURE TRADE, UMEÅ UNIVERSITY, SWEDEN

JONAS ERICSON
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Abstract

Culture on Campus

Culture on Campus is a unique project that delivers high quality culture to students and staff at Umeå University, Sweden. Free of charge, every week and always at lunchtime, we produce and organise events; music, author visits, theatre, dance, movies, photo, art and so on. We have been doing so since 2003. Last year we arranged 36 events and had 25,000 visitors. www.umu.se/cultureoncampus

Culture Trade

Culture Trade is a special project within the Culture on Campus framework where our aim is to trade culture with other parts of the world. European cities and strategic partner universities will be visited by artists from the Umeå region as we approach 2014, when Umeå becomes the European Capital of Culture. Every city visited will pledge to make a return visit to Umeå with a cultural act - Culture Trade is achieved.

Umeå and Umeå University, a background

Umeå, with its 116,000 residents, is situated in the northern part of Sweden. The city is known for the university and the birch trees; but also for the strong "Do-It-Yourself" culture among young people. The average age is in fact very low, at only 36 years. This means that the gap is often rather short be-

tween an idea for a project of some kind (let's say a festival) and the actual festival. Accordingly, there are quite a few festivals and festivities during a year in Umeå, all with different profiles.

Since the early nineties Umeå also has seen a substantial development in the field of Information and Communication Technology, and today we have one of the fastest broadband connections in the world and are ranked number one in Europe.

Further, Umeå is certainly a city of contrasts, and the four seasons are very distinct. In the long warm summer nights the sun hardly sets at all, and in the winter the darkness is lit by the famous Northern Lights, the Aurora Borealis.

Umeå University is the largest university in northern Scandinavia with 37,000 students and a staff of 4,500. Founded in 1965, it is Sweden's fifth oldest university. Today, we have a strong international and multicultural presence with students, teachers and researchers from all over the world. During the seventies Umeå University became known as the "Red University" a kind of radical place to be, and a legacy from that era is the strong encouragement to exercise the right to speak freely.

In 2014 Umeå will become the European Capital of Culture, and the fact that my city has been campaigning for that title during the last couple of years, has had a great impact on my work as a producer of culture. I have also had the opportunity to represent my university in work for that nomination.

Culture on Campus
It all started on the spur of the moment - truly.

Concept
Culture on Campus is a unique project that delivers high quality culture to students and staff at Umeå University - free of charge, every week and always at lunchtime.

The aim is to inspire through cultural events, and we believe that the use of culture on unofficial and open arenas fuels the creativity process. We also feel that this brings people from different backgrounds, professional as well as ethnic, closer together.

So what we do is produce and organise events. We do music, author visits, theatre, dance, movies, photo, art, and so on, and we make an effort to make it easily accessible. Therefore we choose different locations for different events all over campus.

Last year, in 2010, we arranged 36 events and had over 25,000 visitors. This was our second best year so far, after 2009 with nearly 28,000 visitors.

Marketing
28,000 is certainly a large number of people, but since we have several thousand new on-campus students at our university each semester, marketing the project is still of the greatest importance. For this

we use our website and social media; we put up posters before every show in every building on campus; we advertise in the student magazine and use our well-read newsletter. Today we have about 1,500 subscribers to our newsletter, and the number is increasing every day. For some shows, when the seats at a certain venue are limited, we also tickets, and students and staff pick them up, free of charge, in advance.

Another way in which we market ourselves is through the use of films on the web. We film some events and put them, of course, on our own website, but also on YouTube. This also creates good publicity for the artists, and so the costs for making the films stay fairly low.

Conditions

Funding is, of course, a major issue in something like this. It is reassuring to have a university management that is open to new ideas and willing to put some money into it. But perhaps the management does not finance this only because of their love for culture. It also generates good publicity for the university. One way of measuring success is by looking at media coverage, and there we have been doing quite well. In 2010 Culture on Campus made the news 47 times, and since the academic year is only about 36 weeks, this means more than once a week.

Another condition, so obvious that I overlooked it at first, is a comprehensive campus. This is a campus where things are more or less situated in the same place. Some universities, of course, have faculties and facilities scattered all over town, and that makes it hard to do something like this. We need a lot of people at the same place, a melting pot if you like. I think that a comprehensive campus is a necessity.

Making it happen

we always aim for quality and we book well-known Swedish artists, as well as high quality local and international acts. The last couple of years we have had international performers from Ireland, England, France, Norway, Finland, Chile, Slovenia, Australia, the United States, and Canada. Our intention is

to provide on a regular basis - on campus, in Umeå - something artistic from another culture, from another country.

Culture on Campus is all about making it happen. Of course, making the events happen, but also doing our bit in creating good conditions for students, researchers and others. There is a metaphor about a rifle shooter that I like to think of. He is at shooting range, training for a big competition, but, if he tries too hard, focusing on the target, the target will escape him in a blur. What he needs to do is to look away for a moment and then the target will appear again.

That is what I feel Culture on Campus is about. You leave your workplace for short while, take part in something completely different, let yourself be inspired, meet other people, and then when you get back to work, your chances to perform better than before, I think, are increased.

History

Today, Culture on Campus is a significant player in the cultural life of Umeå, but we have not always been at this level. Like many good ideas that eventually become airborne, it started with two people getting together. Back in 2003, my friend-to-be, Per Rylander, and I met at a culture event, and we started talking. Soon enough we decided that together we should book a band for a lunch show on campus, and that was the start. It truly was a 'spur of the moment' thing.

We kept on doing this informally, since we both had other jobs at the university (I as editor of the in-house magazine and the University magazine). But as time passed, we developed and expanded our concept. In 2007, we asked for - and received - the right funding from the university management and now the scale has grown from very small to rather big. Today, Mr. Rylander is occupied with other things professionally, and so my colleague and co-worker for the last few years is Mr Martin Gustafson, a former professional musician and festival crew member.

Keys to success

An important key to our results is the way we work. The organisation and infrastructure that we have been building up rely entirely on cooperation and networking; both inside and outside the university. For example, if someone books an interesting artist for a venue downtown, we book them for a lunch gig on campus - or the other way around. This means we both pay less, and the performers get two gigs on the same trip. We have a triple-win situation.

Another example of cooperation is when the university, together with the city of Umeå, each year invites citizens and students to the biggest Walpurgis Eve celebration in our part of Sweden. It is a festival really, with music, singing and a large bonfire to welcome the spring after a long winter. This takes place on campus. Culture on Campus is responsible for everything concerning the different stages and the artists performing on them. This is a big happening in Umeå, and this year we had about 7,000 people on campus that night.

However (and that's really my point) we could never do what we do if we didn't work together with a vast number of organisers and producers in Umeå and throughout Sweden.

Culture on Campus is, as I mentioned previously, a unique project. There is nothing like this in Sweden, and nowhere else in the world, as far as we know. We feel that we have created a solid platform, and we now want to take this a little further. Our new ambition is cooperation and cultural exchange across borders. This means that there's an offspring for Culture on Campus and we have named it Culture Trade.

Culture Trade

Culture Trade is a special project within the Culture on Campus framework, and, as the name suggests, the goal is to trade culture with other parts of the world. As we approach 2014, European cities and strategic partner universities will be visited by performers from the Umeå region, and, in connection with these events; marketing efforts will be undertaken for Umeå as a European Capital of Culture, as well as for Umeå as a student city. Every city visited will pledge to make a return visit to Umeå with a cultural act - Culture Trade will be achieved.

The strength of this project is its flexibility. We are not boxed in, and there is no set format whatsoever. We can choose a smaller size for the event, or a bigger. It all depends on level of ambition. The city of Umeå is also engaged in the project, and we plan to do several trades together as we move toward 2014.

Culture Trade has been launched on a smaller scale. We made our first trade in June 2009, with Wurzburg, Germany. Our second was with our strategic partner university in Canada, the University of Manitoba, Winnipeg. The next one which we hope to do some time soon, is with Riga in Latvia. Collaboration with Riga is, of course, of special interest since they will share the title as European Capital of Culture in 2014.

The project Culture Trade is still under development, but for us the project is a concrete attempt to start new collaborations, as well as to shorten the distance between European cities. If we can help to promote curiosity for other cultures, I feel that we have succeeded in our effort.

Culture on Campus and Culture Trade are both projects in which we try to accomplish enhanced conditions for creativity and collaboration. Researchers focusing on creativity also prove that, to achieve the best possible conditions for creative work, is to take short breaks[1]. Specifically, the breaks are when you do something entirely different. In other words, the key to creativity is taking in new inspiration. Therefore, I believe, culture does indeed have a purpose in the scientific environment.

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1   Waterworth, E L and Waterworth, J A (2003). The Illusion of Being Creative.

FROM AUDIENCE TO PARTICIPANTS

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The authors explore the possible impacts of the European Capital of Culture project in a post-communist country currently recovering from years of state socialism. The paper focuses on the manifold benefits of volunteering for the local community. Sustainable networks and reconstructive processes generated in the project may have a favourable long-term influence on the communities living in the city of Pécs, a European Capital of Culture in 2010.

The post-communist legacy

Elemér Hankiss, in his most incisive summary on the recent situation in Hungary, claims that the political system, similarly to the business sector, has been flawed but has displayed a very great capacity to look after its own interests - unlike the third actor, society, which has, in practical terms, been powerless throughout the past two decades. [1] Strengthening society, a complex of diverse communities, is a key to a more balanced and liveable life. Addressing the problem of social atomisation, deficiencies in social solidarity and social justice [2], as well as building trust in society[3] are an appropriate response to the lasting but urgent challenges of the communist legacy.

Szakolczai identified the perpetuation of chaos as a plausible explanation for the major defects experienced in communist societies. [4] Chaos can be maintained only if the creative and reconstructive powers are curbed by military oppression and manipulation. Following the years of open dictatorship, certain discursive techniques of the Kadar regime undermined social collaboration. Further, grassroots initiatives were considered a menace to the "people's democracy" and were not tolerated. Due to unpredictable, inconsistent rules and conventions, passivity as a safe survival strategy prevailed.[5]

Szakolczai argued that accession to the larger community of European countries with their rich democratic traditions could help Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries "to return the normal rhythm and mentality of everyday life to those who, under normal circumstances, are simply taken for granted." [6] At the same time, he warned that accession may not produce the positive outcomes hoped for, due to the excessively economistic orientation of the "hosting" states. In CEE countries, the success of the recent transition and subsequent accession does not solely depend on economic and political strategies but on the possibility of accompanying socio-cultural change also. Therefore programmes that serve this purpose have a special significance in these post-communist countries.

At local level, the legacy of state socialism is interpreted as the survival of the feudal techniques of the previous Soviet (council) system. New, more democratic forms, networks of collaboration and partnerships are now being learnt in local communities in CEE countries, which work to distance themselves from authoritarian, centralised modes of political existence.[7] Urban regeneration, including the reconstruction of community ties and the renewal of city culture within the frameworks of the ECoC project, contributes to the renaissance of local communities.

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1 Hankiss 2009
2 Hankiss 1983
3 Fukuyama 1995
4 Szakolczai 2001
5 B. Erdos 2010:73-101.
6 Szakolczai 2001
7 Brachinger 2008

The significance of weak social ties

To explore an important feature of volunteering, understood as one element of the learning process towards democracy, the authors rely on the theory of weak social ties (WST) [8] and the influence of such ties on social stability. [9] Strong ties build a solid structure within society. Order and convention make our lives predictable, which is a prerequisite for social collaboration and survival. Strong ties imply strong motivations to assist close friends and relatives in need and to ensure the availability of help under almost any conditions. Marginalised individuals, as with upper layers in society, are inclined to build strong ties only. The reasons differ from group to group: whilst the rich usually have no problems in accessing the resources they need, for those living on the margins the strategy is a consequence of social exclusion, a lack of accessible, reliable support other than from close relatives and friends.

Strong ties do not represent resourceful intergroup connections. Granovetter explains how closely related persons who belong to different in-groups are connected within the broad social arena, "The weak tie between Ego and his acquaintance, therefore, becomes not merely a trivial acquaintance tie but rather a crucial bridge between the two densely knit clumps of close friends." [10] The importance of weak ties can hardly be overestimated. Weak social ties contribute to successful problem-solving and to a more democratic mode of existence by combining diversity and tolerance. People learn to appreciate each others' views while relying on their own initiatives. Social stability, cohesion, solidarity and trust depend on the existence of weak social ties that connect people from different social layers and different cultures. Trust, in turn, will reinforce and multiply weak ties and contribute to social innovations. Weak ties ensure access to new types of knowledge that are necessary to solve new problems in unexpected crisis situations.

Culture and community

Sperber in his theory on cultural evolution makes the claim that, "From here on, cultural means social-cultural." [11] Although common sense conceptualizations often identify culture with "high culture", a "luxury for the happy few", a more feasible, social constructionist formulation highlights shared knowledge and beliefs through mechanisms of social learning. Peterson defined culture as a map for action [12]; a set of conventions that govern our behaviour and help answer such questions as "How do we solve our problems?" "What boundaries do we define?" "What makes our life meaningful and liveable?"

Philipsen in his 'Speaking Culturally' on cultural conventions emphasises shared interpretations and identifications on the part of the members of that culture,

> [...] in terms of answering questions of ultimate meaning, in terms of providing individuals and societies with ways to answer questions about why they exist and where they fit in a scheme of sense and meaning, a code of speaking provides the resources, for creating a sense of coherence and form. Codes of speaking are, from this vantage point, rhetorical, interpretative and identificative resources. [13]

In Philipsen's view, a speech code (the conventions of the community culture enacted by speech) is a broad framework to explore and explain social phenomena. Members of the speech community are continuously engaged in construing and interpreting meanings; and in the same recursive process, they reconstruct the given code itself. Every distinct speech code provides the speakers with alternative views of the world, where explanations for and solutions to basic human problems are different and

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8   Granovetter 1983
9   Csermely 2005
10 Granovetter 1983:201
11 Sperber 1996:9
12 Peterson 1979:137-166
13 Philipsen 1992:16.

may be unintelligible to outsiders. 'Modern societies are a conglomeration of competing cultures and subcultures'[14]

The participation theory of communication focuses on our human potential in problem-solving. [15] Agents in communication do not merely exchange and reconstruct existing frameworks, concepts and techniques, but are involved in constructing new knowledge that is more eligible for solving the problems they encounter. In terms of the participation model, communication is a basic human condition in which the types of knowledge necessary for problem-solving become accessible. To communicate is to participate in communities of knowledge.

Initial conceptualisations in Pécs ECoC projects focused on "high culture" attractions and large-scale construction investment; undoubtedly these top-down, centralised approaches were necessary, but they were not sufficient. To complement these, community initiatives soon gained ground. Local NGOs and social professionals in the city helped shape the programmes to establish a more balanced and inclusive approach, understanding culture as a diverse context for active citizen participation.

Generativity

Generativity is one's personal contribution to the process of cultural reconstruction. As Erikson formulated in his psychosocial theory on human development, generativity is the "concern for establishing the next generations"; guiding and caring for them to promote their well-being. [16] Without shared goals and positive visions on future, a society's development is blocked. Positive contributions to the next generation may be manifested through parenting, teaching, mentoring, leadership, creativity, and care in order to leave a constructive legacy of the self for the future.[17] By mutuality of benefit[18], generativity may serve as a bridge among the generations, strengthening social solidarity and relational responsibility [19]; and transforming learned helplessness attitudes into a more active, constructive and resourceful stance. [20] "There are a series of studies that have shown that generativity is linked to greater social and political engagement […] volunteering in charitable organisations, fighting for civil rights, voting etc."[21] Generativity that is manifested in the above actions is a precondition for participatory democracy. Beyond its marked significance in social and community life, several studies identified generativity as an important factor of psychosocial well-being and life satisfaction of the individual. [22]

Penezić and his associates note that, in Croatia (as in Hungary) the level of development that the country used to have before transition has not yet been reached. As their study has revealed, the shortfall is seen as useless effort and a failed contribution on the part of earlier generations, and so experiencing generativity is a major challenge in most CEE countries.

Volunteering

Active citizenship and participation are key terms of democracy: volunteering "constitutes democracy in action."[23] As an activity, it is beneficial for both volunteers and beneficiaries. Volunteers can realise their own generativity and contribute to the social and cultural reconstruction of the community. Volunteering establishes weak ties within society and connects people regardless of their age, ethnicity,

14 Marshall 1998
15 Horanyi 2007: 246-264
16 Erikson 1950:267
17 McAdams 2006
18 Slater 2006
19 McNamee, Gergen 1999
20 B. Erdos 2009
21 Penezic et al 2008:239
22 Grossbaum, Bates 2002
23 Volunteering in Europe

nationality or social status. Consequently volunteers are most successful in reaching out to vulnerable groups, facilitating their social reintegration.

Although we tend to think in terms of distinct roles concerning volunteering, no dividing line exists between providers and beneficiaries: e.g., the elderly, the unemployed, homeless persons and persons with learning disabilities. Although they are recipients in several contexts, they may become very successful providers in another. The interchangeability of these roles produces a resourceful social network by emphasising reciprocity, an important component of social justice and social cohesion. Recognising the "shadow of the future" (receiving help and/or being helped subsequently) and ways to generalise reciprocity (help provided to someone is compensated by a third party) are correlated by a dense and cohesive social network with a rich diversity of reserves and benefits to improve the welfare and well-being of all. [24] Therefore, volunteering is an excellent way to increase social capital and trust in society.

There are several relevant factors that influence the spread of volunteering, such as the state economy and administration. In countries with highly developed welfare services, regulatory environment (laws, tax relief) and infrastructure, more people are involved in volunteering as they have more spare time to be so. [25] The role of tradition is another important factor: in CEE countries, compulsory, unpaid and centrally organised work, named "voluntary work" or "social work", done on "Communist Saturdays" to "support developing countries in the third world" has preserved its pejorative connotations. [26] [27] Forced volunteering, one of the many paradoxes of communist societies, dampens self-determination and lessens one's trust in one's own competence. The possibility of free choice and ones own initiative included in volunteering [28] are crucial in a society recovering from open or soft dictatorship.

In the state socialist era people were sometimes called to "volunteer" for their own local community. This type of "volunteering" had more beneficial effects than the above form: although such work was also centrally planned and "strongly advised", participants could directly experience the positive outcomes of their own activity in their own lives. After the transition, state (community) material values created by volunteering were often privatised and the results of community work became the private property of the lucky few. Many saw this as a violation of the principles of social justice and, on very good grounds, stopped working for the welfare of the "public".

Even with these difficulties in the background, volunteering is gaining momentum in most CEE countries including Hungary. Due to conceptualisation problems (e.g., formal or informal volunteering) statistical data are not directly comparable; the rough rate of volunteering in CEE countries is between 10 and 30%.[29] In addition to the clear social benefits detailed above, some of the personal benefits include fighting personal isolation, learning new competencies and gaining work experience. The Law on Volunteering, providing the legal framework for formal volunteering in Hungary, was enacted in 2005. The Pécs Volunteer Centre was established in 2004, with the assistance of the Istenkút Community Association as an experienced hosting NGO.

Volunteering in the framework of the Pécs ECoC project

The ECoC project in Pécs was among the first initiatives to introduce new, more flexible forms of volunteering where the volunteer is not committed to a given organisation but to a specific case. Registration of ECoC volunteers started in May, 2008. At that time, the city did not have a clear-cut volunteer policy. Parallel to registration, new needs arose concerning management and forms of collaboration among participating organisations. As formal volunteering is relatively new in Hungary, hosting organisations were not always prepared for working with volunteers and could not respond to their basic

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24 Bekkers 2007
25 Volunteering in Europe
26 Czike, Kuti 2006
27 Nyitrai 2004
28 Karr 2007
29 Volunteering in Europe

needs or provide them with meaningful activity and adequate feedback. Even with these shortcomings, drop-out was modest (some 27% in the period between May, 2008 and December, 2010, the end of the ECoC year in Pécs).
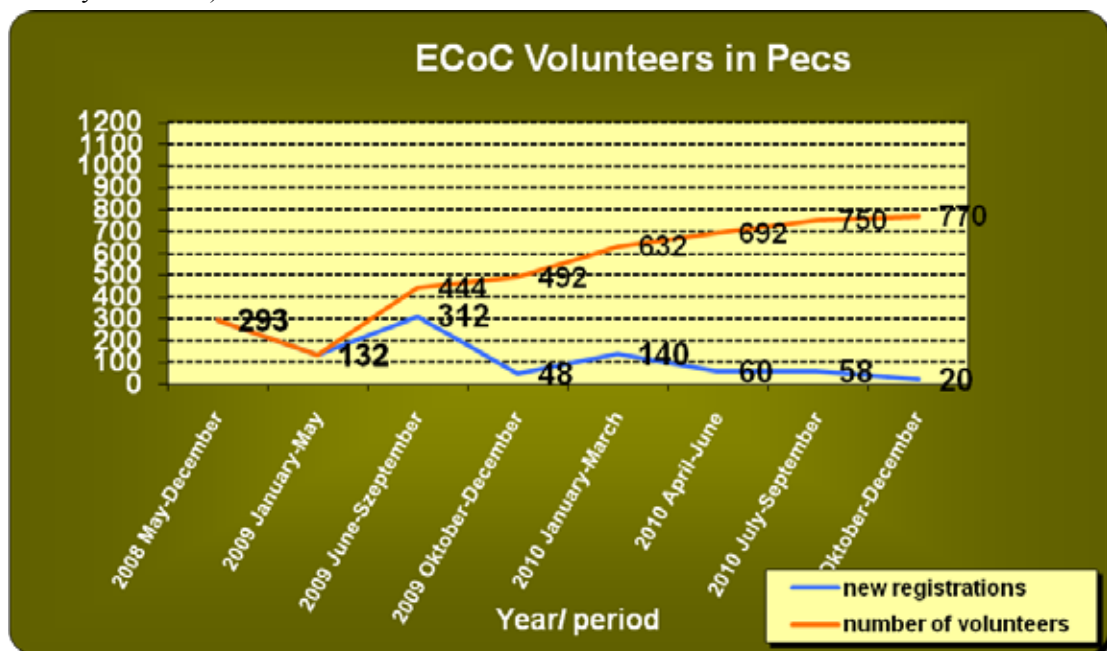

Figure 1. Number of new registrations and number of volunteers between May, 2008 and December, 2010.

The ECoC project attracted volunteers from all age groups, with old-age pensioners some one-third of all volunteers. 70% of the ECoC volunteers were women, the youngest was 13 and the oldest was 76 years old. As regards competencies, volunteers represented a wide variety of formal and informal qualifications; and all the sectors (state, business, NGO) were represented. With the help of volunteers, communities could occupy the spaces that were newly created or reconstructed in the city in the ECoC project. City spaces came to life through community development projects such as "Mural Painting", "Bring a Tree…","Neighbours' Festival", "Retextil Community and Art Festival" etc., in which local citizens could explore and appreciate the positive changes.

A special motivation for the volunteers (and other citizens) was to attend cultural programmes free. This is related to Hungary's current economic situation: if the rate of material deprivation [30], a balanced and informing statistical measure is considered. the poverty rate is rather high, presently 37% in Hungary. [31]

> *Case: A 58-year-old homeless woman registered as an ECoC volunteer. She had been a quite successful, self-employed entrepreneur, but, in spite of hard work and high qualifications, she lost everything - money job and home. She did not want to move to the homeless shelter and so she lived in a garden-shed. After joining the project, she proved to be a very committed volunteer and successfully integrated into the growing community of ECoC volunteers. In addition, with the help of the informal social network which she is now part of, she is on her way to finding a more secure home-base.*

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30 Including arrearages; the inability to spend an annual, one-week holiday away from home; the ability to afford meat or fish every second day; the ability to afford adequate heating; and the ability to afford a phone, a TV, a washing machine, and a car.

31 Világgazdaság online 2010

The ECoC project has multiplied and strengthened the links within local, national and international collaborating networks and among the different sectors and organisations involved. Several umbrella organisations joined the project, such as local government offices, social care organisations, academic and education institutions, art organisations, organisations for the development of democracy, youth organisations, environmental conservation organisations and representatives of the for-profit sector, each with their own broad networks. The Pécs ECoC project has become a model for inter-sectoral collaboration. In addition to the network of formal relations, informal, personal connections established and developed by the city volunteers significantly contributed to fruitful co-operation.

2011 is the European Year of Volunteering with four major objectives: to create a facilitating environment for volunteering in the EU; to empower volunteer organisations and improve the quality of volunteering; to recognize and reward volunteering activities; and to raise awareness of the value and importance of volunteering. [32] The network of volunteers established in the ECoC project in Pécs may serve as a solid basis for such achievements. Seventy percent of all the registered city volunteers (currently 286 strong) who had started their work in the ECoC project decided to continue their work after the completion of the project. In 2011 the Baranya County Volunteer Centre was set up to respond the management needs of the participating organisations and people and to ensure the sustainability and spread of 'best practice'.

Conclusion

The Pécs ECoC project has significantly contributed to establishing a complex and stable social network by improving formal and informal inter-sectoral collaborations. Volunteering, as a means of realising such improvements, has come into the focus of public interest and has been broadly thematised both in political discourse and in academic research.

Free cultural programmes, as well as opening the space for citizen initiatives, promoted social inclusion by multiplying the number of encounters among the different social and cultural groups living in and coming to Pécs, "the city without borders". In this respect, ECoC served the general purpose of European integration. Volunteering has a major role in developing social dialogue and strengthening intergroup and intergenerational solidarity via the establishment of weak ties. Reliance on weak ties enables people to move towards the centre from the margin: it is weak ties that make a society strong.

Shortly after World War II, Jean Monnet distinguished between two dynamics as possible foundations for Europe's future development: one of hope and the other of fear. [33] As Beck demonstrated in his analysis on risk societies, the choice has already been made; but this is a choice we are not very comfortable with. [34] It is debatable – and is to be debated. To switch from the dynamics of fear to the more promising dynamics of hope, we need trust. Fukuyama, connecting culture, trust and social capital in his analysis, claims that the interaction of different cultures is not only a source of conflict and threats but can be reinterpreted as the onset of creative change. [35] Collaborating networks that have been established in the Pécs ECoC project ensure sustainable development and facilitate building resourceful social contexts that are based on dialogue, reciprocity and trust.

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32 European Year of Volunteering 2011
33 cit. Van Beek 2008
34 Beck 1992
35 Fukuyama 1995:3-13

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SAMI IDENTITY IN THE CROSS-FIRE
BETWEEN POLITICS AND CULTURE

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The Sami is a native people living in an area covering parts of northern Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia - in the Sami language known as Sápmi. From the eighteenth century it has been said that the Sami population lives under the threat of extinction. Different opinions have been expressed in efforts to create the best circumstances for the Sami to be preserved as an ethnic group in the area. During the nineteenth century the idea that they ought to be culturally incorporated into the Swedish nation and change their nomadic lifestyle was replaced by an ideology stating that the only way for them to survive was to remain isolated and unchanged. This political strategy was replaced by an assimilation policy, resulting in cultural stigmatisation, the loss of Sami languages and a weakened ethnic identity. The last decades have, however, witnessed a cultural revitalisation process coupled with a better acceptance of a multi-cultural society in the north.[1]

Figure 1. Reindeer herding Sami in Westerbothnia, Sweden • Photo: Torbjörn Jacobsson.

On 8 September 2009 Umeå, a city in northern Sweden, was appointed to be a European Capital of Culture in 2014. It is a unique happening that the Sami were active partners and had a prominent role in the planning and implementation of Umeå 2014. Never before, since the project "European Capital

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1 Lundmark 2002.

of Culture" started in 1985, has an indigenous population or an ethnic minority had such a prominent role.[2] The Sami contribution is interesting and challenging for several reasons.

Historical background

The Sami were traditionally hunters and gatherers. In the mid-sixteenth century the Swedish King began tax collection in Sápmi. Most commonly, taxes were paid in furs and dried fish. There was an increasing demand for furs in Europe, and so the King also traded these. Dried fish was used as payment for the soldiers who were constantly involved in different wars, but taxes alone could not cover the needs, which is why the Sami also sold fish to the crown. In return they received food products, such as butter and flour that until then had been relatively rare in the Sami culture. As a result of the improved nutritional supply, the population grew considerably, but the fur market shifted and the lakes were soon almost depleted of fish. The result was then a population crisis. Sami society could not supply the increased population with sufficient nutrition when the import of butter and flour stopped, and there was less fish to catch. At the same time, i.e., the early seventeenth century, the Sami became reindeer herders. This, to a great extent, can be seen as a response to the population crisis.[3]

At the beginning of the century the Swedish state began paying interest to the distant regions in the north. Churches were built with the intention to convert the Sami to Christianity. Courts were held annually, market places were built, and the first printed books in the Sami language appeared. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Sami were forbidden, on pain of death, to practise their religion, which was characterised by a cult of the dead, the worship of gods and goddesses, sacrifice, pantheism, and shamanism.[4] Foreign regents who had blamed their defeat during the Thirty Years' War on Sami witchcraft brought an affronted Swedish government to act against the Sami. Also declaring that the Sami had to be saved from the effects of alcohol abuse, in 1723 the government passed a law prohibiting the import of hard liquor into the area and banned its sale throughout the province; the legislation was not repealed until 1898.[5] Further interest in the area was stirred in the late seventeenth-century by the discovery of silver, but the mining epoch lasted for only 50 years. The Sami remained very isolated, not only because of their economy and culture but also because of the great distances between households and the intense cold of the region for most of the year.

At the end of the seventeenth century the state also tried to encourage settlers to move to the area, offering free land and fifteen years free from taxes. This had, however, a limited impact on inward migration, a trend that did not change until the mid-eighteenth century. From this time the process of colonisation can be said to have begun, and during the next one hundred years the ethnic balance in Sápmi changed, turning the Sami into a position as a minority. Their culture and society underwent major changes also.[6]

Sami vulnerability

The concept of vulnerability is, to say the least, complex in a variety of meanings and contexts. Looking at the scientific context, it is when the elderly, chronically ill, children and disabled people are discussed that the concept of vulnerability has been highlighted. The concept is a common starting point in catastrophe research and social medicine - and when we talk about indigenous peoples.[7] The relationship between these areas may not be crystal clear. Nevertheless, vulnerability is a relevant issue for the Sami. Not least for indigenous peoples has vulnerability been a hallmark throughout history.

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2   Palmer / Rae Associates 2004.
3   Sköld 1992.
4   Rydving 1993.
5   Kvist 1994.
6   Nordin 2009: 25-42.
7   Schröder-Butterfield and Marianti 2006.

Hundreds – thousands - of indigenous peoples have experienced vulnerability to such an extent that today they no longer exist.[8]

Figure 2. Sami family exhibition at Skansen, Stockholm in the early-twentieth century.
Source: Nordic Museum, Stockholm.

From the eighteenth century onwards it has been said that the Sami population lives under the threat of extinction. Different opinions have been expressed in efforts to create the best circumstances for the Sami to survive as an ethnic group in the area.

Ethnicity can be seen in different perspectives. From a Sami point of view the importance of identity has been increasingly stressed, not least the political and legal consequences of the different concepts of identity. There is no present-day consensus of the interpretation of who is to be considered as Sami. This is true for both the Sami and the official Swedish opinion. The definition of a Sami has varied over time in the nomenclature of Swedish population statistics. Varying priority has been given factors such as kinship, surnames, language and connection to reindeer herding in the efforts of the official statistics to classify the Sami. The lack of any substantial or systematic investigation of the sources leaves us today in a situation of uncertainty, irrespective of the principles we want to follow.[9]

A discussion of Sami vulnerability necessarily includes relatively broad generalisations. It is not only vulnerability, but also the meaning of concepts such as culture, indigenous people and the Sami. There is no internationally recognised list of the world's indigenous people today. Most are based on self-identification, common cultural values, the experience of some kind of colonisation process, a minority

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8 Rouf 2004: 411-424, Shi and Stevens 2005: 1.
9 Axelsson and Sköld 2006.

position and limited self-determination. Sometimes it is argued that indigenous peoples must have a non-dominant position, which basically contradicts what many indigenous people are fighting for. The concept of culture has, of course, more pages and changes in time and space. Relevant for the Sami is the complexity that has always characterised their culture. Frequently used terms such as "the Sami want" and "the Sami believe" reveal the stereotype conceptions that have been present. We should remember that Sápmi crosses a number of borders, cultural and national. There are nine Sami languages, which are divided into three main groups, and between these language groups there is very limited linguistic understanding. There are Southern and Northern Sami. There are reindeer-herding Sami, forest Sami and Sea Sami. There are different groups in the four different countries including Sápmi. There are Sami in all counties and districts in Sweden. At the first elections to the Sami Parliament in Sweden, there were 17 different political parties represented. The Sami people do not like, and have never liked, the same thing. This cultural diversity within the Sami society has often been hidden to the general public.[10]

Indigenous culture and the European Capital of Culture 2014

The Sami are Sweden's and northern Europe's only indigenous people and one of Sweden's five minority peoples. The rights of the Sami as an indigenous people are protected by both national and international law. Despite this, the Swedish Government and Swedish society have repeatedly been criticised by, among others the UN special rapporteurs for health and for indigenous affairs, and the European Court for discrimination against Sami and for not defending their rights as an indigenous people.[11] According to the Ombudsman against discrimination[12], discrimination against the Sami is based on the majority society's negative and stereotypical beliefs about the Sami as a group. Several studies show that Sami culture is generally portrayed as one-sided, exotic and unchanging. This is especially true of textbooks and the media, which are the public's main sources of information about the Sami people.[13]

In Umeå – European capital of culture 2014, the majority community in cooperation with the Sami organisations are trying to create a European arena for issues and cultural expressions from an indigenous perspective. It could be an opportunity to change the majority society's beliefs about and representations of the Sami and offer increased possibilities to defend their rights. There is, however, a risk that Umeå 2014 will further consolidate Sami stereotypes such as if the exotic design of the Sami culture is allowed to dominate.

The planning process for Umeå 2014 is significant since it is an arena where different conceptions of the Sami meet and form the forthcoming representations. The concept presumes that the creation of images is a social representation of the world. According to this view, the world is given concrete meaning through symbolic processes such as storytelling, classification and categorisation. These processes carry an element of power and domination, in the sense that it is conducted in an ongoing struggle for the right to "represent someone or something in a certain way".[14]

The process can be studied through various representations of Sami culture and identity as they emerge and evolve in the context of the planning and work for the Culture Year 2014. This might include identifying and analysing in various ways key people who are involved in the joint creation of meaning in terms of Sami culture and identity. For example, local politicians, project managers, representatives from the Sami organisations and tourism organisations, cultural producers, the public and the media. We know from previous research on media coverage of public/political-initiated efforts such as this that media reporting and monitoring play a critical role in the degree to which people perceive themselves

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10 Ibid. Lehtola 2002.
11 DO 2008; Lantto and Mörkenstam 2008.
12 DO 2008.
13 Jordbruksdepartementet 2004; Karlsson 2004; Rönnqvist 2008.
14 Hall 1997: 259.

as actively involved in how the intended project's intentions are realised. We also know that newspapers, and especially local newspapers, have a key role in the coverage of these kinds of cultural activity.[15]

A successful and responsible project has to be aware of what conceptions of the Sami, the Sami culture and identity characterises the various stages and activities in and around Umeå 2014. How are Sami culture and identity portrayed? Will the multicultural, complex and dynamic, or the simplified and stereotyped culture be given most space? What are Sami and non-Sami positions on the use of Sami culture in Umeå in 2014? Is it a Sami identity that is rewarded - which may give voice to Sami culture, or allow Umeå 2014 the identification of various categories of Sami? How do representations of Sami in the project and in the media affect Umeå municipality residents' perceptions of the Sami?

The representations and beliefs about the Sami people as expressed in the context of the emergence of Umeå in 2014 does not occur in a vacuum but has a historical presence. Representations either challenge or reinforce existing beliefs about Sami culture and what it means to be a Sami and an indigenous people. Therefore, a comparative perspective is important.

Previous research on major cultural events and festivals

There is research showing that more cultural events and festivals, where Umeå 2014 can be included, are important venues for expressing political opposition for minority groups in society.[16] The Umeå 2014 Sami representative Ellacarin Blind, suggested in a radio interview that this may be one reason for Sami involvement in Umeå in 2014:

"- This is a great success for us. We want to disseminate information about the Sami and reduce prejudices about them - and hope to bring issues such as land and land rights, says Ellacarin Blind, representative of the Swedish Sami National Association of Umeå's delegation".[17]

Meanwhile, the major cultural events also serve as venues to create a common cultural identity. Montserrat Crispi, Vallbona and Greg Richards (2007) found in interviews with political leaders and cultural producers of major festivals in Catalonia that cultural identity, participation, integration, globalisation, localisation, and commercialisation were common targets for participants, even if the conceptual meanings differed between policy makers and cultural producers. The instructions to the cities that want to apply to become European Capital of Culture shows that the project highlights participation, integration and globalization, but, nevertheless, it is likely that the municipality of Umeå in addition also has location and commercial goals. An interesting question is whether these overall objectives affect the Sami opportunities to assert their rights as a unique indigenous people.

An overwhelming majority of the studies that have evaluated the effects of major cultural events have primarily examined the economic impact for the localities or places that are organising events while it is relatively uncommon with studies of the social impact (Langen and Garcia 2009). One reason may be that it is difficult to evaluate the social impact when they are retrospectively studied. Umeå University has the ambition to scrutinise the ongoing process in order to gain better understanding of the mechanisms and their effects.

Media representations of indigenous peoples

There is a vast amount of international research on the media representation of indigenous peoples, ethnic and cultural minorities and "races".[18] A recurring theme in these studies, which generally has had a critical approach, is that ethnic minorities are underrepresented, marginalised, stereotyped and presented in a less nuanced way in the media than the majority population.

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15 see eg. Langen and Garcia 2009.
16 Crespi-Vallbona and Richards 2007; Fernandez 2006; Snowball and Webb 2008.
17 Ullberg 2009.
18 see, eg, Alia 1999; Arellano Álvarez 2007; Borker, et al 2001; Hall 1997;
    Cottle 2000; Pietikäinen 2003; Skogerbø 2003; Tufte 2003.

Media power lies both in the sample, in which people, issues and events are given space and in their portrayals of people, places, events and situations in certain ways. Representation of indigenous peoples in the media is important because the majority of the population defines what it means to be indigenous. Thus the media have the potential to influence attitudes towards the Sami as an indigenous people and, by extension, their ability to assert their rights.[19]

Australian research shows that the press representations of Australian aboriginals have gone from being openly racist to contain significant elements of covert racism.[20] By failing to challenge hidden racism or prejudiced assumptions about indigenous peoples, the media assists in the social classification of indigenous people as "The Other", thereby contributing to their marginalisation.

In Scandinavia, research has primarily been centred on the mainstream media representation of non-European immigrants, while studies of national minorities and indigenous peoples are largely absent. This is interesting, given that previous research has shown that there is a correlation between media coverage of ethnic minorities and a majority population's attitude toward these groups[21]. These are among the few Nordic researchers to have studied Sami representation in the media. Their research shows that news media reporting about the Sami is polarised and patronising, which, according to Pietikäinen, affects the Sami opportunities to pursue a politics of identity, and to assert their rights and status as an indigenous people.[22]

There are also some non-scientific studies that indicate that the media has had and has great importance for Sami status in Sweden. The Ministry of Agriculture survey "The Swedish public's knowledge about the Sami" from 2004 showed that the media was the Swedish public's single most important source of information about the Sami, followed by textbooks. Other surveys made of Swedish media coverage of the Sami suggest that the media has failed to give a fair picture of the Sami community. They conclude that the Sami are often described in a standard manner, as particularly exotic or aggressive types of carbon.[23]

19 Roberts 2008; Scott 2006.
20 Meadows 2001; Roberts 2008; Scott 2006.
21 See, eg, Pietikäinen 2003; Skogerbø 2003.
22 Pietikäinen 2003.
23 Idivuoma 2009.; Karlsson 2004.

Figure 3. Reindeer herding woman.
Photo: Torbjörn Jacobsson.

Conclusion

Assuming that the complex Sami society is fully taken into account, it can be argued that the Sami, in comparison with most indigenous peoples around the world, is in a relatively good situation. Several of the key points of vulnerability have been eliminated in the Sami language context. Health is another striking example. The Sami in Sweden have experienced a unique and positive health development over the years, which has taken them from very high mortality and low life expectancy rates to levels on a par with the normal Swedish population.[24] Demographic vulnerability is not a current threat for the Sami, although we should remember that reindeer herding is one of the most risky occupations with major accident hazards and that there are worrying trends in high suicide rates among young reindeer herders. However, compared with other indigenous peoples, who often have a significantly higher mortality rate than majority communities, the Sami have succeeded very well. The same can be said to some extent regarding political influence. Since the early 1900s a relatively successful political mobilisation has occurred in the Sami society. The Sami Parliaments in Norway, Sweden and Finland are unique in their context and the Sami indigenous people have been granted a certain political influence which other indigenous peoples often lack. Nevertheless, the Sami are still dependent on decisions by the State and the majority society on most issues.[25]

24 Hassler 2005.
25 Johansson 2008.

There is still vulnerability in Sami society. Reindeer herding, which is an important part of the Sami culture, is operating under difficult economic and legal conditions. The Sami languages are fighting for survival. We know that language and identity are closely linked. A stereotyped image of the Sami is still prevalent today and general ignorance has been due to inadequate teaching and to ignoring learning materials. This is an essential part of the Sami issue today. Traditional knowledge and values threaten to be lost in a shrinking cultural space, while Sami complexity and modernisation has meant that more and more lose their Sami identity. Officially there are 20 000 Sami in Sweden, but genealogical research shows that there are more of 60 000 people showing Sami kinship. Some of these have been encouraged by the Sami, whilst others have probably never been made aware of their Sami roots.[26]

Good dialogue and better forms of cooperation are needed to counteract Sami vulnerability. Teaching must take better account of the Sami and research must be given the means to develop solutions for the problems that currently exist. What is happening in Sweden is of great interest to other indigenous people and so this research owes some responsibility to the international community. The state must show a greater interest in the Sami and ensure that a difference is made. It is some 13 years since the Supreme Court investigated the 'Tax Mountains' case relating to reindeer grazing areas in the Jämtland district. We have now waited 20 years for a Swedish government to ratify ILO 169 - relating to the rights of indigenous peoples. Instead, we have seen a parade of government investigations, but no real change has been made. Nevertheless, we can close on a relatively positive note: there is a Sami dynamic, Sami culture is constantly finding new forms of expression and the Sami are gaining a growing influence in policy and research. We should also remember that the Sami are an essentially positive example internationally.

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26 Sköld and Axelsson 2008.

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Notes

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