EUROCULT21 Integrated Report

EURO CITIES

ENERGY, ENVIRONMENT
AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

City of Helsinki
Cultural Office

EUROCULT21
Integrated Report

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Chapter 1

EUROCULT21 – *Urban Cultural Profile Exchange Project in the 21st Century* – was a thematic network financed by the EC-DG RESEARCH under its *Environment and sustainable development programme – city of tomorrow & cultural heritage.* It brought together representatives of 19 city authorities, 6 academic and research institutions from 12 different European countries and 2 Europe-wide networks (EUROCITIES and ENCATC) to examine the state of play of cultural policy within European cities and make recommendations for the future.

The impetus for EUROCULT21 came from the growing concerns of members of the EUROCITIES Culture Committee that, whilst the role of culture in cities appeared to be gaining in significance in terms of urban governance, the availability and quality of quantitative and qualitative data at a local level to support the future development of urban cultural policies was very uneven across Europe. Over a period of two years (March 2003 to March 2005), therefore, the partners were involved in an extensive programme of information-gathering and exchange of knowledge, experience, ideas and good practice in areas ranging from policy - making mechanisms and strategic planning to the nature of cultural provision and methods of evaluation. Their aims were to provide a 'bank of resources' (data, stories, comparative analysis etc) and a set of policy and research recommendations based on all this material which could be used both to highlight issues which were in need of further detailed investigation and to inform the future thinking of policy-makers at urban, national and European levels.

Foreword

The communication entitled "Sustainable urban development in the European Union: A Framework for action" underlines the need for EU policies to be sufficiently 'urban sensitive'. There are many barriers that limit the implementation of sustainable development at city level, one of which is the lack of relevant tools. To create them, however, we need shared knowledge, information and research.

Eurocities Culture Committee has proved to be a network of excellence for sharing expertise and information. All members are strongly involved in the cultural sector in their respective cities and both formal and informal discussions have strengthened the European dimension of the work and given clear common targets. When the City of Helsinki was in the lead a small study was launched comparing urban cultural practices called Portraits of City Cultural Policy. It gave an insight to the characteristics of the cities based on their own traditions and political and social histories.

This process brought up more questions than answers and it was evident that such work had to continue. Furthermore, the work would have to concentrate on gathering relevant data and descriptions of cultural structures of the cities in a systematic way. After all, if and when the aim of urban cultural policies is to be integrated into all policy-making areas, then these findings must be able to convince other actors. The traditional separation of urban activities at the level of the city authorities, however, does not make this an easy task.

EUROCULT21 is a project designed to give tools for 'urban sensitive' policies. The results can be studied from the reports it has produced, but there is also an underlying agenda which has been built through the various meetings held over the past two years: the Scientific and Management Committees have discovered the need for, and the importance of, working closely together in order to design relevant recommendations for policy makers.

In its Recommendations, Agenda 21 for Culture, (an undertaking by cities and local governments for cultural development), asks local government to fulfil before 2006 a proposal for a system of cultural indicators that support the deployment of Agenda 21 for Culture, including methods to facilitate monitoring and comparability (number 49). EUROCULT21 has worked successfully towards this aim and we are proud to present the results.

❧ *Marianna Kajantie*
Acting Cultural Director
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Executive Summary

Setting the Scene

Introduction

The Integrated Report of the EUROCULT 21 project describes the working methods of the project, offers analysis and comments on the material gathered from the participating cities and, finally, draws together a set of policy and research recommendations based on the findings of the work undertaken by all the partners within this EUROCULT 21 consortium over the past two years.

Working methods

The work was organised around an initial Training Event in Helsinki which set the framework for the information gathering and analysis which followed, a series of national workshops (one in each country represented in the project) which identified key concerns as well as examples of good practice and a Final Event in Barcelona. Alongside the national workshops, research was being carried out into the range, quality and methods of collection of cultural statistics in member cities.

Concern over the comparability and transferability of existing indicators led to EUROCULT 21 partners 'road testing' a questionnaire based on selected variables of the Urban Audit project. The consensus was that the indicators on culture and recreation did not meet the knowledge and policy needs of cities and that more research was essential. However, it was possible to construct a questionnaire which would enable new cultural profiles of the participating cities to be created. This was then supplemented by the gathering of 'stories' of cultural initiatives which could provide valuable additional insights into their cultural scene. Throughout the project, the website was used to gather extra information from cities, to stimulate debate and to provide access to data e.g. through the development of an on-line bibliography.

Governance of Culture

The responses to the questionnaire are to be found in the EUROCULT 21 Compendium of Urban Cultural Policy Profiles and include a wide range of issues relating to governance and urban culture. In spite of the limitations of the material in terms of the range and geographical spread of the cities involved, it is possible to gain an insight into the state of urban governance with regard to culture in 'European cities'. This chapter begins with a consideration of the nature of 'governance', since 'governance' in the context of the aims of EUROCULT 21 is the political side of urban culture and runs though all other aspects of urban culture.

It goes on to suggest three broad 'governance indicators' (Cross-cutting activities; Steering; Externalities) which could be used to analyse the information provided by the cities. It is clear that the interpretation of 'culture' varies considerably between cities and that the administration of 'culture' may well cut across departmental boundaries. Decision–making, therefore, often relies upon collaboration with other sectors within the city authority. Moreover, cities' cultural policies show a growing awareness of the significance of culture for the overall development of the city and one may consider that 'culture' itself has become a new form of influencing and steering the urban economy and society. In addition, city administrations are increasingly part of wider cultural partnerships which have developed their own life and thus the city becomes more of an enabler than the organiser of the use of urban culture.

Why Urban Cultural Policy?

At the same time as examining the governance of urban culture, EUROCULT 21 members felt the need for a more theoretically based overall model to provide a framework for debate about cities' present and future cultural policy. Thus, the model of the Four E's: Enlightenment, Empowerment, Economic Impact and Entertainment was adopted. It reflects current discussions on rationales for cultural policy in European cities, but should be viewed more as an analytical tool rather than a picture of cultural political reality. For no city or institution is likely to find itself within one rationale alone but may find that it operates across or in a cross-field between several different rationales.

This chapter sets out the thinking behind the Four E's and then goes on to explore some of the issues relating to cultural activities which appear to exist in the cross-fields between the rationales or at points where they clash. For example, 'amateur arts' are placed between Enlightenment and Empowerment. The move from what business can do for the arts towards what the arts can do for business sits between Enlightenment and

Economic Impact but the creative industries are in the space between Economic Impact and Entertainment, and festivals and other local celebrations are examples of activities which cross the borders of Entertainment and Empowerment. All four rationales are instrumental and focus on what art does rather than what it is. What is really needed is an argument which is not instrumental but is still persuasive in dealing with politicians and administrators, hence the development of the Fifth E: Experience; the arts are valuable because of the aesthetic experience they offer, not because they make us 'better'. Basing cultural policy on the rationale of Experience can help broaden it from the traditional high arts to a whole world of aesthetic experiences including the self-expression of amateurs, social and ethnic groups and local communities.

Analysis of the findings

Arts Production and Performance

In the context of the Four E's, public support for arts production and performance is originally related to Enlightenment i.e. that 'the arts' are intrinsically good for society. But it is hard to find such explicit policies concerning artistic production in the objectives of cultural policy-making. Arts production is much more likely to be linked economic and city image objectives (Economic Impact) Bearing this in mind, the chapter looks at the ways in which different EUROCULT 21 cities nurture existing creative impulses in individuals. These range from providing an environment in which creative production and its intangible assets (ideas and visions that feed into creativity and multiply when transformed into art) can flourish and support measures for 'amateur artists' to active intervention to assist artists from different social backgrounds and different fields compete in a free market (affordable studio space, opportunities to perform and exhibit work, project grants etc). The chapter also exam-

ines cities' approaches to the need to ensure a diversity of cultural offer in terms of different art forms, use of different spaces, balance between activities in the city centre and local neighbourhoods and so on. It highlights some of the challenges which policy makers face in their use of festivals as a 'policy tool'. Finally it offers some observations on the role of city authorities in the promotion of cultural events to the public.

Arts Education

This chapter relates to the Enlightenment rationale and focuses on the cities' efforts in arts and cultural education not only with regard to children and young people but new targets under the headings of 'access' and 'developing new audiences'. It acknowledges that awakening children's interest in arts and culture at an early age, is key to valuing their city's cultural assets as adults. There are many examples amongst the 'Stories' of innovative ways in which city policy makers seek to make connections between children and the cultural institutions and activities in their city. Both Stockholm and Malmö have cultural plans for children and young people. Düsseldorf seeks to use schools as mediators between young people and culture in a number of different ways, including a module whereby a cultural institution "adopts" a school and its pupils for a year.

Citizens' access and participation are crucial issues for all cities, and local cultural policies need to provide access to the widest possible programming and to promote diversity in demand, thus increasing the public's cultural activities, habits and consumption. But there is a general concern about how to reach those outside the 'official' cultural sector and how to determine what they want. This mirrors the concerns of policy makers with regard to young people. Festivals, discount schemes, non-typical locations for events are amongst a range of 'audience development' measures taken in cities. However, the challenge of integrating ethnic minorities in the

cultural life of the city, whilst relevant to all, was not widely dealt with in the project. Yet, arts and culture should be key to promoting mutual understanding between different cultures within schools as well as in the wider community.

Community Arts as means of Empowerment

Community arts are linked with citizen participation and involvement where the process is the aim rather than the artistic product. As such they are linked with the objective of Empowerment (Four E's rationale). Projects can be community-led or initiated from above but they all show an intent to promote social change, social cohesion, diversity, identity and self-realisation. This role for culture is clearly expressed in a number of cities' cultural policies (particularly in English cities where it reflects the goals of national cultural policy), whilst in others it is an implicit rationale. However, what cities say and what they do can be different. The EUROCULT 21 stories offer cases from the 'real' world and can be seen as examples of practice which underpin empowerment and social change: cultural diversity (Helsinki's Veranda project and Migrating Memories from Malmö); social cohesion and community building (Ring of Sound intergenerational Choir project from Birmingham and Barcelona's Mercè Festival); health and wellbeing (sampad's South Asian ante-natal music project in Birmingham); individual identity and self-expression (Stockholm's A quick coin grant scheme for young people and Leeds' Get Creative programme). All the stories cited in this Report illustrate three major dilemmas for policy-makers:

1) How to meet the expectations of grass roots activities, often initiated by young people;
2) How to underpin the rationale of empowerment without 'colonialising' the inherent vitality and innovative powers of the artistic endeavours in civil society;
3) What criteria of quality and ex-

cellence – if any – should be applied to artistic activities involving non-professionals outside established arts circles.

Culture an engine for urban economic development

Culture is increasingly seen as having an impact on the economic development of cities (Economic Impact rationale) but the complexity of the links between culture and a city from an economic perspective makes it difficult to analyse. Nevertheless, this chapter seeks to explore these links and focuses on what seem to be emerging as key elements: positive benefits on the cultural offer; job creation; image; virtuous cycle of culture and tourism; creative industries and cultural clusters.

It is possible to see from the evidence of EUROCULT 21 that supporting the development of the cultural sector both increases the variety of cultural products and services available and facilitates job creation at the urban level. Unfortunately, only a few cities were able to deliver specific employment data for the cultural sector at this level. They were, however, able to give examples of policy initiatives taken to stimulate job creation in the cultural sector and to develop local competencies relating to specific cultural activities e.g. Helsinki and contemporary dance. A number of examples are also quoted where cultural activities and initiatives have been positively exploited to transform the image of a city and its urban landscape and thus achieve positive economic impacts.

The chapter goes on to examine the relationship between culture and tourism in EUROCULT 21 cities. It draws attention to the need to manage the trade-off between the economic benefits from cultural tourism and the costs related to the use of a city's cultural assets. There are, however, other opportunities based on culture. It can contribute to a city's creative dynamics and so enhance its competitiveness. It can also play a significant role in urban regeneration. The EUROCULT 21

national workshops also offer insights into how cultural policies can contribute to the development of distinctive cultural clusters.

Partnership and co-operation

This chapter examines the way in which cities develop cultural policies based on the participation of a wide range of different actors: political authorities, professional cultural institutions, associations, informal citizens' groups, sponsors and benefactors. It begins by setting out the theoretical dimensions of co-operation systems. The trend has been towards the development of bilateral agreements between the state and cities which have then become multi-lateral. For example, local budgets move to cover those cultural costs which the State can no longer meet and, in some cases, the city has then sought other partners to spread the financial load. This is the beginning of a contractual co-operation system within which the cities have become key players.

The concept of partnership has also taken root and has become a practice of actors in cultural policies. The chapter goes on to identify the different types of partner and then to analyse different forms of partnership. Social inclusion projects appear to be mainly public/NGO whereas projects with a strong patrimonial and tourism impact are predominantly public/private. If policy making is to work in this new form then local politicians have to make visible certain values which can be shared and can form the basis of agreement: proximity of cultural institutions to inhabitants; transparency of and responsibility for decision-making; reactivity to local demands; understanding of the importance of identity. However these all become more difficult to achieve as the partnerships or networks expand. There is also the danger that the apparent watering down of decision-making and the lack of direct, visible political accountability will lead to a lack of interest of citizens in the policy in question and

a consequent drop in the politicisation of cultural affairs.

Urban cultural spaces

Cities are cultural spaces as a multitude of cultural activities take place in cities all the time. However, the definition of urban cultural space is not an easy task. One way is to map the variety of spaces within which cultural activities happen: established cultural spaces e.g. museums, recognised performance and exhibition spaces, schools and public libraries; open air spaces e.g. public space and spaces for leisure and sports; temporary spaces e.g. in local neighbourhood for community events or disused industrial buildings within regeneration areas; commercial spaces e.g. privately owned galleries, nightclubs, bars offering cultural experiences; alternative spaces e.g. non-commercial and independently run venues and clubs. Two contrasting examples are given of the function of cultural space. Festivals make use of public space with temporary infrastructure, invest resources in activities and so support the local cultural economy and artistic scene. Flagship projects on the other hand, may attract major media coverage and be a magnet for tourists but probably have less to do with cities' cultural programmes and more to do with city-marketing, planning and real estate development.

A significant development in a number of EUROCULT 21 cities has been the transformation of old industrial spaces into cultural venues and the use of culture within urban regeneration programmes. The improvement of areas resulting from the influx of artists into low cost spaces and creating a vibrant artistic alternative scene brings with it the potential problem of gentrification and a challenge to cultural policy makers.

One further issue for policy makers is that of accessibility of urban cultural spaces. With changes in people's working patterns further consideration needs to be given to the opening hours of existing cul-

tural institutions and also the utilisation of public buildings such as schools for cultural activities during non-school hours. Consideration should also be given to providing cultural services closer to where people live.

Indicators for Culture

The Four E's can be regarded as a guiding strategy to integrate existing knowledge about cities (as in EUROSTAT) and to develop new tools for indicating the reality of culture in different European cities. First, however, it is necessary to understand the difference between indicators and statistics: an indicator implies something about a phenomenon and a statistic merely describes it. Secondly, indicators can be used for a variety of purposes – monitoring or evaluation. 'Performance indicators' are used to evaluate cultural policy whereas 'culture indicators' are used to monitor cultural policy.

The chapter sets out some of the key activities which have been undertaken at European level on cultural indicators by EUROSTAT and Urban Audit and Urban Audit II. It explains the problems which EUROCULT 21 members had in applying Urban Audit indicators to their cities' situation. A major issue was the lack of comparability of the data. Another was that the data requested was not easily available in cities. What statistics were collected by cities were, however, considered as essential tools for policymaking and for advocacy. Most cities collected quantitative data on their cultural provisions and on their use but this was largely confined to the public-funded sector and there were wide variations in the definitions and methods used.

EUROCULT 21 members wanted indicators which would enable a cross-national comparative perspective on urban culture and would help assess the vitality of urban cultural life. Their wide-ranging expectations of indicators are set out in the chapter but one common denominator emerged: participation in culture as an intrinsic goal. A number

of potential indicators for participation were identified and they were piloted by the University of Venice. The pilot revealed problems over the lack of available data and ambiguities in the definitions used. In the cities' anxiety to develop indicators which had real meaning and value for them, they had been over ambitious in theory and in practice. One of the lessons learnt for the future is that existing research strategies cannot be developed simply by adding more indicators on top of them. Moreover, before formulating a research question at the local level, it is essential to take into account existing data and existing resources for cultural indicator work.

Policy and research recommendations

The findings of EUROCULT 21 reveal a number of common threads running through the cultural policies and practices of this diverse set of cities and the recommendations attempt to address some of the shared concerns. Where possible they have been set within the model of the Four E's. Inevitably, there is some cross-over between rationales, but the application of the Four E's is still considered valid since 'it has been used as an attempt to create order in a chaotic world' (D. Skot-Hansen – Chapter 4).

The recommendations include the need to understand and develop emerging new forms of governance and partnership working, the importance of long-term planning and the need to take into account a broader concept of culture that includes non-institutionalised activities and events. They also urge greater cross-sectoral working, particularly between education and culture and the need to ensure the widest access and widest range of experiences possible to all people at all stages of life in order to come closer to the goal of democratising culture.

It is also seen as important to assist cities to monitor and evaluate their policies more effectively through being able to 'benchmark' against others. Thus it is recom-

mended that one central European data office on urban culture be established and help be given for exchanges on definitions and concepts used in the gathering of urban statistics between different urban, regional, national and European institutions.

The research recommendations are formulated according to the Four E's and the Fifth E of Experience. The aim is to develop new quantitative and qualitative indicators of 'The Vibrant City', a city where the citizens' possibilities to participate in and express themselves through divers high quality experiences are maximised and the potentials of arts and culture in evolving a dynamic urban environment are sustained.

Of particular note are recommendations relating to the Fifth E: Experience including the need to construct a) quantitative and qualitative indicators of 'experience' on the level of unique experiences (as festivals and events), cultural institutions and at the city level as a whole and b) a model and an index based on the citizens' possibilities to participate in and express themselves through divers high quality experiences.

More generally, given the added value of the exchanges between academics and experienced cultural administrators, the European Commission is urged to retain a mobility strand within Framework Programmes to enable researchers to benefit from the 'hands on' knowledge and experience of those working in the field.

Part I

Setting the Scene

Chapter 1

❧ Giannalia Cogliandro

Introduction

Culture plays a strong strategic role in urban society and in the governance of European cities. After all, cities are where cultural institutions and cultural activities are concentrated. They serve not only their own citizens but many more who live in the surrounding areas. The role of culture seems to have grown and have links into virtually every aspect of urban life. Indeed, the EUROCITIES Position paper 'Culture, the engine of the 21st century European cities' (2001), states that "Culture means City and City means Culture" and that "Culture is the new urban driver". It also states that "the process of urban transformation is eminently cultural" and that " Knowledge-based cities will be recognised by the role of culture and contents in urban development". Thus, cultural institutions and organisations are called upon by new media and Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) to provide content for an overwhelming amount of information: by tourism boards to give attractive content to new visitors; by urban regeneration strategies to breathe new life into former industrial buildings and/or derelict districts, and cities in general; and by local development agencies to foster entrepreneurship and train younger generations, the unemployed and risk groups to be more adaptable, flexible and creative. Culture is also key to social welfare departments and contributes to diversity and creates a sense of belonging. The vitality or health of the cultural sector within cities, therefore, should be a concern for all those who are interested in urban society and governance.

The role of the public sector is particularly crucial in the area of culture, especially in Europe. The cultural field is an acknowledged area of market failure, and whereas public resources are particularly scarce and co-operation with the private and third sector are indispensable, there is still a basic and strong need for effective guidance and policies. This concerns all institutional levels, from the EU to the city district. Today, the double role of culture, as both the object of targeted policies and a basic criterion for policy making, calls for a renewed effort in the planning-evaluating capability of the public sector. Hence, the long-standing interest of the EUROCITIES Culture Committee in learning more about member cities' development strategies and best practice in the cultural field. Under the chairmanship (1999 to 2000) of Marianna Kajantie, Deputy Cultural Director of the City of Helsinki, a working group was established to draw up "Portraits of City Cultural Policy" drawing on data from 10 cities in Europe. This was a start, but it rapidly became clear that a much more extensive and in depth project was needed in order to gain a clearer understanding of the urban dimension to culture in Europe. Thus, a proposal was submitted to the European Commission under the Fifth Framework Programme of

EC-DG RESEARCH [1] (*Environment and sustainable development programme – city of tomorrow & cultural heritage*) for a thematic network

focusing on urban cultural policy within European cities.

EUROCULT21 – *Urban Cultural Profile Exchange Project in the 21st Century* – aims to promote discussion, identify challenges, exchange best practices and disseminate knowledge concerning the current role of culture in urban governance, from city objectives (policy making and programmes) to methodologies (strategic planning or public-private partnerships); to identify new research and funding needs of urban cultural policy in the years to come; to formulate innovative cultural strategies in collaboration with other European cities and university centres; and finally to prepare a set of recommendations on cultural policy and research for the European institutions and Member States.

It brought together a unique combination of urban cultural practitioners and academic specialists in a consortium comprising 19 public authorities, 6 academic and research institutions and 2 Europe-wide networks (EUROCITIES and ENCATC). They were drawn from 12 different European countries and together they designed and implemented this project, which took place between March 2003 and March 2005.

EUROCULT21 focused on the concept of "culture" and the need to find suitable comparable indicators embedded in EUROSTAT and UNESCO cultural statistics. The project also sought to establish a comparative framework for analysing and making accessible research and urban policies that are placing culture at the centre of urban governance. The need for com-

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1) European Union – Directorate General Research

parability of data led the project consortium to adopt a broad definition of culture, as UNESCO had done, which would not stop at the arts and so-called "live culture", but would extend to information and cultural industries, with an emphasis on new technologies. This broader definition of culture also accorded with the definition of culture that Member States agreed upon at the close of the LEG EUROSTAT proceedings that activities incorporated within cultural policy are those dealing with the conservation, creation/production, dissemination and trading of, as well as education in, all cultural goods and services in the following domains: Cultural Heritage, Visual Arts, Architecture, Archives, Libraries, Books and Press, Performing Arts, and Audio and Audio-visual Multimedia. Also included are activities which cut across all or some of these domains, such as the building or management of cultural centres, support for cultural associations, the promotion of national cultures abroad, and so on. These sub-sectors are incorporated within an additional inter-disciplinary domain.

Having first agreed on the definition of "culture" to be used, the consortium embarked upon the work plan of EUROCULT21 which was organised around three main strands of work: a two-day training event; 10 national workshops; and a major final dissemination event.

Phase 1: Training Event

The aim of the Training Event, held in Helsinki in June 2003, was to deepen knowledge amongst the partners of the role of culture in urban governance by understanding the current implementation and management of cultural policy at a local level (history, future challenges, successes and failures). It also provided European cities and neighbouring urban areas with comparative urban statistics and indicators, with a view to enabling standard evaluation of urban cultural policy in European cities in the future.

Phase 2: National workshops: comparative analysis of the current situation and potential challenges for the future

Following the Training Event, the public authority partners organised 10 National Workshops (one in each country represented in the project). Each workshop brought together all the partner cities involved in the project as well as a selected list of academics, cultural managers, cultural actors and non-governmental organisations (NGOs). The results of these 10 National Workshops were analysed by the Scientific Committee of the project under the direction of the City of Hagen. This method afforded a clear understanding of the main challenges that the European cities have to tackle in the future. The partner cities were also able to identify best practices and to compare their policies using a unique and innovative approach.

Phase 3: Final European Event

The project culminated in a major European Event in Barcelona in March 2005 that brought all the project partners together with several European experts and representatives from the European institutions and major European associations. The aim of this Final Event was to present and debate the results of the project as well as to hand to the European, national and local policy makers present in Barcelona a general set of policy and research recommendations.

EUROCULT21 was not the first exercise, however, in gathering information on strategic approaches linking culture, governance and citizenry and the need for renewal of public planning and management in this sector. This had been done by FACTUS, a structural programme inside INTERARTS, the European Observatory of Urban and Regional Cultural Policies, based in Barcelona. However, due to lack of access to the relevant information and because the project partners were nev-

er able to meet to analyse the project outcomes, FACTUS could not provide a mechanism for policy development.

Another important European project was the extensive research on National Cultural Policies begun in the 1990s under the auspices of the Council of Europe. The results of this research were compiled in a rich compendium: *Cultural Policies in Europe: A Compendium of Basic Facts and Trends,* which is a web-based and constantly updated information and monitoring system detailing national cultural policies in Europe. In this document, however, evidence of the collection and analysis of data on urban cultural policies is completely absent.

Furthermore, academic research has been conducted for more than 10 years on comparative cultural policy review. Publications arising from this have been a great help to city developers in understanding current mechanisms for action and in evolving their practice. But they have their limitations. Most of this work has been focused on analysis of public policies which were developed in the past. The academic research is not directly implemented in cities' strategies. Most of the work is very difficult to find on the Internet, and, finally, no database presenting the results of this long period of research is available.

So what does EUROCULT21 offer that is different from what has gone before? In its current form, EUROCULT21 represents a "resource bank" of policy alternatives which exist to respond to the same issue occurring in different cultural contexts, and it anticipates the possibility of "action research" policy development. Access to this information is easy, free of charge (the information is available on the Internet as well as in printed form) and will provide a mechanism for policy development which corresponds to the rapidly changing economic and social contexts of today's world.

Moreover, one of the outputs of EUROCULT21 has been the publication on the Internet of a detailed bibliography of all the existing re-

searchers and publications on this topic. Since there is no bibliography available in Europe or indeed in the rest of the world on urban cultural profiles, collecting information and best practices on urban governance in the cultural fields, EUROCULT21's bibliography is a very important asset vis-à-vis the European Commission, national, regional and local public authorities, cultural organisations/institutions, universities, and the general public.

The added value of the EUROCULT21 project has been the transnational and interdisciplinary dimensions of bringing together for the first time the experience, expertise and state of the art/best practice at city level across Europe with cultural experts and academic specialists. It has also enabled cities in different countries to benchmark results against each other in the fields of cultural policy and provision.

Finally, EUROCULT21 has resulted in common definitions and statistical classifications, progress towards new indicators valuable at the urban level to be tested, and precise recommendations on policy and research needs that will contribute to a better quality of life for the European cities of tomorrow. These documents, available on the Internet *(www.eurocult21.org)* as well as in printed form, should help

European, national and local policy makers to identify future challenges and needs in the field of cultural policy and promote a sustainable role for public authorities in urban governance.

In its broadest definition, culture equals "civilisation" or "way of life". All public policies have an impact on the "way of life" of people and citizens, from urban planning to social policy, from economic promotion to citizen participation. Consider, for example, urban planning: this urban policy determines how territory is managed by society through the location of activities (production, housing, rail and road infrastructure ...) and, consequently, conditions the mobility, the use of time of citizens and thus the way of life. Different uses of territory create different social structures. Equivalent examples could be found in the social services, economic development, and all domains of public policies as understood in a welfare state according to European models. During the last decade, many European cities have established closer links between cultural policies and other urban policies: social services, urban planning, economic promotion and entrepreneurship, and tourism. One could therefore say that culture is playing a central role in society.

This is why the members of the EUROCULT21 consortium believe

it is vital to gain a better understanding of how cultural policies are developed and implemented at the urban level and to ensure that the wealth of information and experience within cities is made available to everyone concerned with creating the successful cities of tomorrow. We hope that EUROCULT21 will stimulate further debate, particularly through the content of this Report. In the next chapter we set out the various methods that were used to gather information and views on what was needed at the various levels to enable policy makers and those responsible for the management and delivery of cultural services in cities to respond to current and future challenges. This is then followed by a series of chapters of analysis and comment, drawing on the material gathered from the participating cities. These range from fresh reflections on why we should be concerned with cultural policy and the governance context in which such policies are developed to an exploration of the nature and role of partnerships and ways in which culture is used as a means of community empowerment. Finally, we draw together a set of policy and research recommendations based on the findings of the work undertaken by all the partners within this EUROCULT21 consortium over the past two years.

Chapter 2

❧ S a t u   S i l v a n t o

Working Methods

The methodology for the project was conceived during meetings of the EUROCULT21 Management and Scientific Committees. It was based on discussions at the initial EUROCULT21 Training Event but has been refined throughout the course of the project. The EUROCULT21 events (the training event, national workshops and the final event) mentioned in the Introduction were important arenas for discussion of the main issues concerning cities' cultural policies, but central to EUROCULT21's ability to increase our understanding of urban cultural policies has been the data gathered by the Management and Scientific Committees over the course of the project. This data includes stories about cultural initiatives in the partner cities, information on cultural statistics gathered by the cities and the indicators they are using, and the urban cultural policy profiles of the partner cities.

Training Event

The EUROCULT21 Training Event was held in Helsinki on 12–13 June 2003, hosted by the City of Helsinki Cultural Office and the University of Helsinki. As has been stated in the Introduction, the objectives of the event were to deepen knowledge among the partners of the role of culture in urban governance and to provide European cities with comparative urban statistics and indicators.

The programme consisted of workshop sessions and lectures given by both renowned and younger urban researchers, as well as visits to local cultural institutions. The working groups convened around the following themes:

- Urban Cultural Policies
- Real Estate and Development of Urban Culture
- Urban Communities
- Information and Indicators

Most of the project partners, as well as some external organisations, attended the event. All participants were provided with background material for the meeting. This information package had been prepared on the basis of information on municipal cultural administration provided by the EUROCULT21 member cities. The aim of this package was to give an overview of how cultural administration is organised in the member cities, what its priorities and future plans are, and thus to provide a starting point for discussions at the Training Event as well as to set the ground for further research to be carried out in the framework offered by EUROCULT21.

The results of the discussions at the Training Event are summarised in the Training Event Report written by the main organiser of the event (available on the EUROCULT21 website: *www.eurocult21.org*). The report consists of three main sections: first there are summaries of the lectures given in the seminar; the second part presents the conclusions of the workshop sessions; and the third part is a proposal for the next steps to be taken in the framework of EUROCULT21. These are: (1) to collect "best practice" stories, (2) to collect urban statistics on culture, (3) to create a compendium of urban cultur-al policies in Europe, and (4) to make use the EUROCULT21 website. All of these will be discussed in more detail below.

National workshops

The discussions held during the Training Event also set the stage for a number of questions to be explored in the 10 national workshops organised in the framework of EUROCULT21. The aims of these national workshops were to explore the future challenges for the role of culture in urban governance in the 21st century; to compare at national level the available information on urban cultural policy (e.g. institutional and financial structures, strategies for development, types of social and economic consequences, functions of cultural policy in the urban environment, etc); to assess the potential barriers to and possibilities for adopting existing cultural indicators and methodologies in each participant city or urban area; and to make recommendations on future policy and research to the European institutions and Member States.

As the leader of this work package, the City of Hagen was responsible for preparing a common agenda for all the national workshops, monitoring the way they operated and collating and analysing the outcomes. According to the meeting agenda prepared by the City of Hagen, the national workshops would be two-day events. The theme of the first day would be *Local cultural administration: decision-making, good practices and key challenges,* and the second day would be dedicated to *Cultural indicators.*

It was proposed that the agenda of the meetings should consist of lectures given by cultural experts and working group sessions. The working groups could convene around the following topics:

- Arts Production
- Arts and Education
- Community Initiatives
- Cultural Spaces
- Partnerships.

The first national workshop took place in Venice, Italy, in October 2003. This workshop served as a pilot, and the experiences it provided helped to formulate the final background paper for the other national workshops. The background paper highlights the role of the national workshops in analysing the functioning of urban governance in the different member cities in cooperation with local research. Each workshop would bring together all the partner cities involved in the project as well as a selected list of academics, cultural managers, cultural actors and non-governmental organisations (NGOs).

With the exception of the Italian workshop, all of the national workshops were organised in 2004:

- United Kingdom: Birmingham
  5–6 February 2004
- Sweden: Malmö
  4–5 March 2004
- Poland: Tarnow
  25–26 March 2004
- Germany: Leipzig
  27–28 April 2004
- Finland: Helsinki
  2–3 September 2004
- Denmark: Aarhus
  20–21 September 2004
- Spain: Barcelona
  6–7 October 2004
- Greece: Athens
  1–2 November 2004

(The Dutch workshop was cancelled due to the withdrawal of the Dutch partner cities from the project.)

All the workshop reports summarising the contents and the main conclusions of the national workshops,

as well as the background document and the meeting agenda prepared by the City of Hagen, are available on the EUROCULT21 website *(www. eurocult21.org).*

Final Event

The project culminated in a major European Event in Barcelona that brought all the project partners together with several European experts and representatives from the European institutions and major European associations. The aim of this Final Event was to present and debate the results of the project as well as to hand to the European, national and local policy makers present in Barcelona a general set of recommendations and funding requirements.

Management and Scientific Committees

After their first meetings at the Training Event, the EUROCULT21 Management and Scientific Committees decided to join forces and conduct joint meetings in the future. This decision facilitated cooperation between the leading cities and universities/research centres/research networks participating in the consortium and has made open dialogue, which was such an important feature of this project, possible. The Committees convened six times during the project to discuss its current developments. The minutes of these meetings can be read at *www. eurocult21.org.*

Stories

Inspired by Robert A Beauregard's lecture at the Training Event, the EUROCULT21 Management and Scientific Committees decided at their joint meeting in Brussels, in September 2003, to collect "stories" to gain more knowledge about the cultural scene of the cities participating in the project. The term "stories" was chosen instead of "best practices" as the latter was seen to limit too much the range of stories the cities could tell. Besides best practice sto-

ries, the cities were invited to tell of failures and horror stories, too.

Every city participating in the project was invited to send between 1 and 5 stories concerning cultural projects in the city. Anne Haila from the University of Helsinki wrote the invitation for story-telling, which stated:

"The stories can concern cultural products (like dance, theatre, music, literature, statues), events (like festivals, concerts), or space (conservation of buildings, new buildings). The projects can be large or small. They can be institutional (museums, libraries) or amateur and spontaneous. The stories could be success stories or failure stories. You can decide the person or institution which will tell the story (administrator, urban planner, project leader, or activist). Your description can contain the following elements: project's name, initiators, organisers, financiers, effects, audience, success, criticism."

Dorte Skot-Hansen from the Centre of Cultural Policy Studies (Copenhagen) proposed a format for telling stories. The format included:

- Vision and Aims (why)
- Partners Involved (main and other partners)
- Target Groups
- Organisation (including personnel and budget)
- Contents
- Results

Most of the partner cities sent in at least one story and several cities told many stories. All of the stories were, however, success stories as the cities seem not to have been willing to share their bad experiences in the field of culture. Some of the cities used Skot-Hansen's format in telling their stories, others preferred to tell their stories more freely.

The themes of the stories vary from a description of the processes involved in formulating cultural policy for the City of Aarhus to the creation of an ante-natal music and movement project realised in Birmingham with the South Asian community. All stories have been

published on the EUROCULT21 website, and in printed form. The first edition of the EUROCULT21 Stories book was published in June 2004; it contains the stories sent in before the end of May 2004. The final edition containing all the stories was published at the Final Event.

Statistics and indicators

One of the key drivers behind the development of the EUROCULT 21 project was the concern which had been highlighted in the EUROC-ITIES Position paper on 'Culture, the engine of the 21st century European cities' (2001). It stated: "more attention should be dedicated to deepen the suitability of comparable and transferable indicators that deal with culture. In fact cultural indicators are key to analysing, measuring and enhancing the quality of life of European citizens." The Management and Scientific Committees stated in their joint meeting in Brussels (September 2003) that, to move forward in their work on cultural indicators, it was necessary to form a better picture of the cultural statistics being collected by the partner cities and the rationales behind their statistics-gathering. The City of Helsinki promised to take responsibility for carrying out an inquiry on the subject within the partner cities.

After the meeting, every partner city was asked to provide a list of the types of statistics they were collecting in the field of culture, to answer a questionnaire on the EUROCULT21 website based on a set of selected variables of the Urban Audit project, and to respond to some questions concerning statistics-gathering practices. In addition, the city officials could say what kind of new quantitative indicators would be useful for the cultural administration of their city.

Finally, in February 2004, 10 cities out of 22 had provided all the information required and almost all the cities had answered the Urban Audit Questionnaire. On the basis of this data, the City of Helsinki prepared a report which included a table on the answers to the Urban Au-

dit Questionnaire. Both the report and the answers to the Urban Audit Questionnaire are available on the website.

The report concluded that more qualitative information on the cultural administration systems of the cities was needed before the data presented in the report could be properly interpreted. It was also stated that it was not possible to develop common indicators in the field of urban culture without systematically collecting qualitative information on the cultural administrations – and the cultural scene in general – of the EUROCULT21 partner cities.

Representatives of both the Management and the Scientific Committees raised concerns that the indicators of the Urban Audit project on culture and recreation, which were used as a basis for the Urban Audit Questionnaire, did not satisfy their knowledge needs. However, due to limitations of time and resources, it was not possible to meet all their concerns and so it was decided to focus on one area for further development. The Committees decided to tackle the question of cultural participation.

They prepared a proposal for a new set of data to be gathered in order to measure access and participation in the cultural life of a city. The idea was to complete the results of the Urban Audit Questionnaire with this new data. The City and University of Venice made a pilot study using the model proposed. In the process it became clear that not all the data requested were already available and had been collected in a research process. The most common problems encountered related to a lack of available data and ambiguity in definitions used. In the next meeting of the Committees these indicators were further discussed. It was concluded that the participation indicators proposed were too broad, too ambitious in theory and impractical in reality. Following the advice of an Urban Audit representative, therefore, the Scientific Committee decided to narrow the scope of the study down to one subject area: publicly funded museums.

Urban cultural policy profiles

As the project moved on, it became clear that, besides the information that stories and quantitative indicators could provide, more elaborate and systematic information on the cultural strategies and the structures of the cities' cultural administration was absolutely essential. The Management and Scientific Committees decided to adopt *Cultural Policies in Europe: A Compendium of Basic Facts and Trends (www. culturalpolicies.net)*, a transnational project compiling countries' cultural policy profiles, as a model for a so-called *EUROCULT21 Compendium* which would contain the cultural policy profiles of the partner cities.

The country profiles in *Cultural Policies in Europe* are based on several years of studies on national cultural policies by independent researchers. Since, due to the scarcity of time and resources of the EUROCULT21 project, it was not possible to hire researchers in every partner city to make an in-depth analysis of the cultural scene of the cities, it was necessary to ask the cultural administrators of the cities to make the analysis themselves. So it was decided that the *EUROCULT21 Compendium* would be based on the partner cities' answers to a questionnaire which the Management and Scientific Committees prepared on the basis of the questions included in the structure of *Cultural Policies*. The Committees removed some questions used in *Cultural Policies* as these could not be adapted to city level. The Committees also added some questions, which were absent in *Cultural Policies* but seemed relevant at city level, to the structure of the *EUROCULT21 Compendium*.

All the partner cities received the "Compendium Questionnaire" together with instructions on how to answer the questionnaire at the Interim Partners Meeting in Brussels in June 2004. Almost all the cities provided answers, which were published as Urban Cultural Policy Profiles in the *EUROCULT21 Com-*

pendium in both electronic and printed form. As cities with very different cultural administration structures and divergent cultural policy priorities have been able to write their profiles following the structure of the questionnaire, it can be concluded that it works well in the context of different European cities. In addition, one can say that the questionnaire covers all the relevant areas of culture in cities.

Bibliography

One of the main objectives of EUROCULT21 was to collect publications and texts relevant to the project itself as much as to the concept of urban culture in general. The Scientific Committee decided, instead of producing an endless list of references in PDF-format, to produce an Online Bibliography. An interactive website was developed by the Bauhaus-University in Weimar in cooperation with the Lasipalatsi Media Centre in Helsinki. The database not only includes hundreds of books, articles and policy papers relating to urban culture and cultural policy making, but offers the user sophisticated search options to find

literature specifically on the subject they are looking for. A keyword system was developed, which allows the user to search for specific subjects (eg empowerment, youth or museums), texts by a certain author, words from the title, or works published in a particular language.

The bibliography is an open and interactive tool founded on the idea of knowledge sharing. Besides the search options, every user – once registered – has the opportunity to add more texts to the database via the "Add a New Book" link. In this way, expertise from the most diverse sources is recognised and integrated to make the bibliography a vivid and ever-growing database of information exchange, potentially for years to come.

Users can also write comments on the literature available, which will be displayed together with the title. To prevent misuse, all new texts/books and comments entered are first validated by the Bauhaus-University, which currently administers bibliography content before it goes online. There is a useful "Links" page, which provides information on other cultural policy and urban culture databases on the World Wide Web.

The EUROCULT21 bibliography is accessible to everyone and is free of charge: only (free) registration is necessary. If administered with care and promoted widely, the bibliography will become one of the central points of interest on the EUROCULT21 webpages after the project finishes, steadily growing and serving as a research base for academics, policy makers, students, practitioners and other interested individuals all over Europe.

Website

The Eurocult21 website (www.eurocult21.org) has played, and continues to play, an important role in disseminating information on the project to project partners and all other people interested in urban cultural policy. As mentioned above, all of the important project documents can be found on the website. It is updated on a regular basis, which ensures that only the latest information is provided. In the future, the website will continue to serve as an open forum for discussion where both practitioners and academics can meet to develop urban cultural policies.

CITY OF JENA

Chapter 3

✤ F R A N C K E C K A R D T

Governance of Culture in European Cities

I. Introduction

As a result of the EUROCULT21 project, 13 cities gave information on a wide range of issues relating to the field of governance and urban culture.[2] In advance, the Scientific Committee had developed a questionnaire that, if all questions were answered, would sketch a "profile" of each city involved. Whilst the information actually recorded in these questionnaires rendered many areas comparable, as desired, the responses were uneven in some regards, leading to the position where some data could not be compiled and evaluated satisfactorily. For example, each city paid sometimes more, sometimes less attention to different parts of the questionnaire. Nevertheless, as is common in the evaluation of open questions, the redundancy of some areas was counter-balanced by a focus on those points that were addressed by a significant number of cities. This chapter will deal only with aspects that were addressed by at least half of the cities.

A general limitation of this evaluation is the fact that it is necessarily determined by subject and a general interest in particular issues relating to the governance of culture. That is to say, the context of cultural governance will be neglected as the chapter unfolds. By so doing, this strategy seeks to out-line a general perspective on urban governance with regard to culture which is valuable for more cities in Europe. In order truly to reach such a conclusion, a more representative participation of cities in this project would have been needed. In general, however, the cities engaged in this evaluation do give an insight into the situation of "European cities". It can be said that cities from North, East, South and West Europe are integrated. This evaluation furthermore argues that the results are representative with regard to the mixture of smaller and bigger cities. The same is true concerning the "type" of cities and "urban culture" reflected. While some cities such as Barcelona or Venice can be seen as representing a "classical" form of urban culture, other cities such as Jena or Aarhus do not share this international perspective.

Nevertheless, the selection of cases for this contribution has clear limitations. First of all, there is, with the exception of Tarnow, no Eastern European city included in the study, which leads to the obvious fact that the specific situation of those countries in transition is not covered. Leipzig and Jena might be considered as bringing in this particular perspective, but they do so within the framework of German reunification.

A second critical point is that those "urban regions" which constitute a major part of the economic strength and social importance of Europe are not covered. We do not offer an insight into the governance of those cities linked to metropolitan areas such as the Randstad, Greater Paris, Frankfurt, Berlin, Lisbon, and others. In other words, whilst this evaluation does include "big cities" such as Stockholm or Birmingham, it does not go the administrative limits determined by the existing national definition of "cities" nor recognises the growing tendency in Europe of "métapolisation" (Ascher 1995) where the majority of the European population lives.

II. Research and policy interest

A march through a jungle of information can only lead to the goal if there are clearly defined guiding questions. It is the major objective of this contribution to use the urban policy profiles of the 12 cities to reach an analysis in a framework that is motivated by overarching research interests which are useful for the formulation of policy recommendations. According to the intentions of the EUROCULT21 project, the evaluation is motivated by the objective of identifying both future research and policy activities. In this chapter, the existing scientific literature will be selectively reflected with regard to relevant guidelines for the issues of EUROCULT21. These are laid down and analysed in the framework of the 4 Es, which we have accepted as representing the basis of what urban culture is. The "governance" of urban culture does not stand outside the processes included in these concepts: it is the political side of urban culture and it thereby cuts across all other aspects of urban culture. That is to say, this perspective on "governance" neither sees politics as one of the oth-

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2) These cities are Leipzig, Stockholm, Helsinki, Catania, Bologna, Barcelona, Venice, Jena, Düsseldorf, the London Borough of Camden, Birmingham, Tarnow and Aarhus.

er parts of urban culture nor does it intend necessarily to stand above or outside those processes which characterise the dynamic of culture in cities.

The very concept of "governance", however, remains a term that has different connotations in scientific and political debates (Eurocities 2001). While there is analytical interest in political science looking at urban politics in a certain way, to understand more about the mechanisms and consequences of changes in governance (often understood as transition from government to governance), documents of the European Commission and of national governments search for examples and ways to achieve "good governance". In other words, while the scientific analytical view keeps its distance from formulations of normative estimations, the political decision-making actors need criteria to achieve common goals.

III. Reflecting urban governance

Governance can have different meanings in social science. It is assumed that in general the term is used to express the strategy adopted by a political system to adapt to external constraints, so that the role of politics can be reshaped (Pierre 2000). Deriving from an American economic theory, governance was first used to explain the manoeuvres that firms undertake to coordinate all means to increase their efficiency (Williamson 1995). In the following debates on governance within the particular setting of "politics", a theoretical approach has been evolving which includes the sociology of organisations and law. A crucial point of debate has been that the state (and the city) is looked at in terms of its capacity to regulate processes in society. During the 1990s, Mayntz's position was widely held in political science: the state is increasingly incapable of enforcing regulations, incapable of responding to the refusal of some groups to recognise its legitimacy, has a poor appreciation of

the relationship between means and ends, and lacks competence and suitable instruments of government (Mayntz 1993). As a consequence of this insight, the scope of what must be considered the "area of politics" and which should be covered within the term "governance" has been enlarged, so that the analysis does not restrict the view to the institution of government. In this way, we can understand governance as:

"All these interactive arrangements in which public as well as private actors participate aimed at solving societal problems or creating societal opportunities, attending to the institutions within which these governance activities take place and the stimulation of normative debates on the principles underlying all governance activities." (Kooman 2000)

In this definition, the horizontal aspect of political processes is central. While this broadened perspective includes forms of political arrangement that are seen in classical analyses of political science, it spurns other aspects that are crucial to understanding the development of urban politics. Governance has not replaced government and networks have not abolished decision-making processes (Le Galès 2001).

IV. Guiding questions

As a consequence of many reflections on urban governance, other levels of the political system have become relevant as important spheres of influence. In particular, the relationships between nation states and the European Union are regarded as crucial. Processes on both levels are interlinked with local politics and therefore need to be taken into further consideration. While there is already a broad debate on what changes in the political systems of nation states mean with regard to urban governance, there are only few scholars who look at the effects of the Europeanisation process and its impact on local policies (Atkinson and Eckardt 2004).

In general, the principles of subsidiarity and area-based politics are at the core of what should be on the research agenda for Europeanised cities in the future. Far from being in a state of first conclusions on this subject, it is widely assumed that urban governance, in the light of the increasingly intensified process of Europeanisation, will lead not to a superficial homogeneity of forms in urban governances, but to a variety of governances in the framework of commonly agreed values and principles.

A look at the rich debate on the modernisation of the state in many European societies (Benz 2004) hints at the questions to which the term "governance" might lead if used in the context of local politics:

What is the relationship between urban governance and local government?
— If there is progress in the development of government forms (in the sense of the above definition), how are these innovations related to the established forms of administration and politics? A broader debate here is motivated by the hypothesis that elements of governmental tasks are replaced by those less formalised activities of "governance".

What are the major values behind the introduction of governance forms?
— In one way, the "promise" of governance is that it contributes to the efficiency of the local political system, but this was not necessarily the intention of governance protagonists.

What policy objectives are motivated by the shift to governance?
— In many cases, cities have developed governance activities to activate local potential. This has created, for example, new forms of co-operation within the private sector and empowerment strategies for deprived neighbourhoods.

What democratic legitimacy has been produced by forms of urban governance?

— The introduction of governance as a principle for local administration has to be contextualised within the debate on political representation and control. An analysis of urban policies must include those processes where "governance" is linked to a change of political paradigm towards an associative or deliberative democracy.

V. Methodology

To answer these questions, a clear empirical picture about the development of urban governance in cities is required. The picture of what is really happening on the ground in local politics is still lacking a defined methodology. This is true not only with regard to the comparative approach needed and executed in this study, but even at the foreground of theoretical discussions in which parameters signal the evidence of "governance" in urban politics. In the search for indicators, the following three points might be helpful:

Cross-cutting activities:
Can we find co-operative forms which cross the existing division of labour in the political system?

Steering:
In what ways do political authorities aim at steering processes within urban societies?

Externality:
Has the relationship with the outside world of the political administration taken on an altered form?

It appears that the governance of "culture" especially requires those three research questions to be left as open as they are. In contrast with what is often termed the "hard" aspects of urban politics, culture has a broad societal footage. As set out in the theoretical concept of EUROCULT21, culture is neither a product of the political and administrative system, nor does it have a clearly defined relationship with these institutions. It can therefore be assumed that culture might be one of the pol-

icy fields where, on all three indicators, traditionally high scores should be found. On the other hand, set against the background of the growing significance of culture for the urban economy, the expectation can be raised that culture has become an increasingly important issue within urban politics. If this experience can be supported, the counter-hypothesis would be that the high degree of existing (uncontrolled, disassociated) spheres of culture is increasingly incorporated into the existing political process of steering and the administrative division of labour.

The questionnaire issued in the evaluation addressed the following issues:

1. History of municipal cultural administration after 1945
2. Competencies, decision making and administration
3. General objectives and priorities of a city's cultural policy
4. Financing of culture
5. Cultural infrastructure
6. Cultural partnership, industries, employment and training
7. Information and ICT
8. Short overview of the city
9. Other important issues.

While there were sub-titles under these headings, I will concentrate on those broad areas in discussing the evaluation interests outlined above. Relevant information in any chapter (especially 9) will be linked to the appropriate indicator. In general, however, the analytic evaluation will be systematised as in Table 1.

TABLE 1 – Links between Governance indicators and Compendium topics

Governance indicator	Compendium chapter
Cross-cutting activities	• Competencies, decision making and administration
Steering	• General objectives and priorities of a city's cultural policy • Cultural infrastructure • Financing of culture
Externalities	• Cultural partnership, industries, employment and training

VI. Descriptive evaluation

As a first step in the intended analysis, the description of the empirical data given in the compendia is necessary to attain a clear picture of general trends in those cities included in the study.

1. History of municipal cultural administration after 1945

The evolution of the cultural administrations of the cities has been dependent on major structural developments that reflect general historical and social changes. This is especially true in those cities where the country has undergone a political transition such as the end of dictatorship in Spain (Barcelona), or the downfall of a socialist regime such as in East Germany (Leipzig, Jena). To a lesser extent and in a different form, political changes in the nation state have also been identified in the other European cities. The administration of culture is thus influenced by general assumptions and perspectives on what administrations should do and how they are integrated into local democracy.

National legislation is an important factor that enables or restricts the activities of the local administration of culture. This is especially reflected in the organisation of local cultural administrations that have undergone significant alterations. There is a tendency to include more stakeholders and actors from different cultural spheres. Meanwhile, the professionalisation of local cultural administration has been increased as well.

The compendia show at this point that cultural administration has a strong legacy in all the cities. This is mostly demonstrated by an impressive output in terms of cultural institutions. The cities have been able to create, maintain and further develop institutions such as museums, libraries, opera houses and theatres. It can be said that, in general, culture has become increasingly important for the public administration of the cities. Even in cases such as Venice or Bologna, where "culture" has long been an integrated part of local society, awareness of and engagement in culture has been put higher on the agenda since the early 1980s, or in some cases even before. This obvious development seems to be linked to a new understanding of culture as a strategy for urban development. While there are cities which have included "culture" in their urban planning visions, for others the question of how to sustain their cultural heritage has become crucial.

Although the increase in variety and colourfulness of culture in the European cities cannot be pinned down to individual issues, there seems to have been a tendency in many cities to pay more attention to certain parts of cultural life than others in the last 20 years. It appears that cultural administrations have concentrated on the subjects of public spaces, improvement of young people, special support to artists and the organisation of cultural events.

2. Competencies, decision making and administration

Detailed information on this topic has been supplied by all participating cities. The very rich description shows, foremost, that the structure of the administration of culture can follow different forms and can be organised according to local circumstances. In many cases, cultural management is one of many departments in City Hall (or the local equivalent) and thereby has a status equal to other departments. In its administrative position, the department of culture is embedded in the city administration and has direct responsibility to and is controlled by the mayor, the director of the administrative service or the city council. Decision-making is embedded in the local organisation of politics but leaves some space for autonomy (which obviously varies from case to case). In this way, the cultural administration has a certain room for manoeuvre, just like other departments within the administration. Financial decisions are to be taken at departmental level within a fixed margin. Nevertheless, cultural departments cannot be regarded as equally "important" as the other unities in the administration. There are fewer staff, a smaller budget, and their role is generally not seen as being so crucial. Some questionnaires stated, however, that the significance of the cultural department has increased in recent years.

Regarding the competencies of the cultural departments, the scope varies significantly among the cities. In some cities, important elements of urban cultural management do not form part of the cultural department (youth, education, sports, tourism, heritage, etc). It seems that "co-operation by project" is the general method of establishing and realising co-operation in this respect. Other examples show that the department has interventionist competencies over other administrative units, which are important in achieving the cohesive management of cultural affairs. (It can be assumed that this inter-administrative co-operation is not established in all European cities. The survey has not addressed this issue.) In addition, relationships with artists and cultural actors are organised in a whole host of ways. A few cities have established special institutions and have even give some rights to these bodies, as in the case of Düsseldorf. The Council of Arts in Stockholm, another example, decides on cultural grants. Other cultural administrations foster weaker ties with the cultural sector of the city.

Some of the activities undertaken by the cultural administration are the following:

- Definition of the cultural objectives of the city;
- The promotion and realisation of public events and activities;
- Management, control, support or maintenance (budget) of public cultural institutions;
- "Open door" for the cultural actors of the city;
- Support to the general administration;
- Advice for relevant aspects in urban management regarding culture (e.g. tourism);
- Co-operation with regional and national partners in the field of culture.

Moreover, many cultural administrations have some responsibility with regard to the decentralised cultural infrastructure (and to a lesser extent to decentralised activities): examples of this are the neighbourhood library or cultural education in schools.

Some cities have positioned their cultural administration in a wider terrain of political objectives. In the case of Bologna, for example, cultural administration is included within the "Social and Economic Development" area. Also important is the role of regional and national strategies for cultural development which can have an influence on tasks and day-to-day activities in some cases. This is especially true with regard to the management of cultural institutions that are of regional or national significance. In other cases, the city council has established special cultural administrations, such as the Institute of Culture in Barcelona, so as to give

more significance to culture in urban development processes.

Modernisation and a more flexible structure have been on the agendas of many city administrations for the last decade. This has affected the workings of the cultural departments in many cases. Efficiency and an improvement in quality of service have been central issues for the cultural management entities. In some cases, long-term planning has also resulted from reforms in cultural management.

3. General objectives and priorities of a city's cultural policy

The cities' priorities in the field of cultural policy are diverse, but some aspects seem to be common to the majority of cities. These objectives are generally explicitly declared in documents that have passed a legislative body, such as the local council. The objectives are intended to be of long-term significance (often for five years) and contain a more general description of the self-image of the city and its relationship to its cultural history and potential for future development. Some cities have accompanied these general objectives with a more specific strategy that defines more concise guidelines. In some cities, the objectives have been defined with precise information on start and end dates and with a budget. As important objectives of cultural policy, the following aspects are frequently mentioned:

- Support, maintenance and promotion of the cultural development of the city, especially with regard to the cultural heritage of the city;
- Creation, use and further development of the values of culture for the city, especially with regard to educational objectives;
- Integration of cultural aspects into broader urban development;
- Establishment of culture as an integral part of the city administration;
- Support and/or management

of important cultural features of the city (institutions, monuments, artists, etc);
- Special attention to certain groups (mostly youth);
- Relationships with the private sector and the "world of arts";
- Realisation and introduction of festivals or cultural events;
- Social objectives (solidarity, integration);
- International co-operation.

Besides these, several cities had particular objectives that were not common to others, such as the promotion of digital culture in Barcelona.

Recent debates about the further development of cities' cultural policies address issues such as:

- Intercultural debates and initiatives;
- Privatisation of cultural institutions;
- New forms of administration;
- Inclusion of new cultural aspects of urban life ("creative industries");
- Sustainability of the cultural sector of the city (especially in financial terms);
- Co-operation with national and regional bodies;
- Participation, democracy and access to culture.

In almost all cases, the expectation that culture should contribute to the overall development of the city has been expressed as a motivation for declaring the general objectives of cultural policies. It is obvious that many cities have renewed their objectives only recently (that is, in the last five years). The expectations are based on the premise that culture can create a positive image of the city, which contributes to the attractiveness and competitiveness of the city in general. Furthermore, culture is in itself an important economic factor that creates jobs and increases economic growth within the city. In particular, tourism is seen as a crucial meeting point between the city's culture and the local economy. Some concepts of cultural policies are therefore linked to marketing concepts, or are influenced

by them.

Only scant information is given on whether other actors have been integrated in the formulation of the general objectives of cultural policies. In the case of Venice, the universities, the Chamber of Commerce, trade union organisations and a vast number of public and private actors have taken part in this process. In some cities, the cultural policies are embedded in a wider policy field. This is the case in Helsinki, for example, where culture is referred to in other policies such as the local Agenda 21.

4. Financing of culture

Detailed information has been given on this point by all cities. According to the data delivered, the financing of culture in cities reveals the following characteristics:

- The majority of the budget is spent on the maintenance of cultural institutions and infrastructures (such as museums, libraries and orchestras);

- The pattern of expenditure shows important cycles of increase and decrease but, seen from a long term perspective, it holds a relatively stable position in the budget of the city administration. Some cities have spent more money over the last five years;

- The proportion spent on culture is, in terms of the entire administrative budget of the city, in general a minor one;

- There is substantial financial aid from other state institutions, sometimes as a lump sum or ear-marked for specific activities or organisations;

- Many cities have an elaborate system of supporting artists and granting awards.

TABLE 2   Expenditure on culture per capita and as percentage of the city's total budget

City	Expenditure per capita(€)	Expenditure as percentage of the total city budget
Helsinki (2003)	138	2.7
Bologna (year unclear)	102.67	7.8
Barcelona (2000)	37.76	5.4
Venice (year unclear)	39	11.45
Jena (2003)	133	n/a
Camden (average last 5 years)	n/a	11.0
Aarhus (year unclear)	n/a	n/a
Stockholm (average last five years)	141.4	4
Birmingham (2002/3)	67.72	4
Catania	n/a	8.1
Leipzig (2003)	222	8.8
Düsseldorf (2003)	157.99	3.44
Tarnow (2000)	n/a	2.14

NB n/a – figures not available

5. Cultural infrastructure

One obvious factor plays an important role in the maintenance and development of the cultural infrastructure of cities: in some cases, the cities are capital cities and are thereby fulfilling a national function. Many "national" theatres, operas, museums, etc contribute to the local cultural infrastructure in cities such as Stockholm or Helsinki. However, some other cities host institutions of national importance or institutions that receive national support. For the majority of cities in Europe (and those included here), this is not the case. According to many cities, the cultural infrastructure includes private and public institutions. Infrastructure is often provided at a central as well as decentralised level. In an overwhelming number of cases, the cultural infrastructure of the city consists of the following institutions:

Libraries

This category includes different types of libraries, such as those in schools and colleges. In general, municipal and teaching libraries are listed. In Tarnow, libraries in factories are also included. Financing is often organised in co-operation with other institutions.

Festivals and events

Special occasions which are organised annually or to celebrate local traditions are mentioned as being of major importance. Furthermore, events in the different fields of culture (music, theatre, film) are supported. In addition, events for particular groups such as youth and student festivals are included.

Opera houses, concert halls and theatres

These three institutions play a special and very important role in many cities. They are part of the "city pride" and have their own tradition and legitimation. In most cases, they are seen as a significant booster to the general attractiveness of the city.

Professional artists

Only a few cities could provide figures. Helsinki referred to a recent study which estimated 8,300 artists living in the city. Some cities offer special facilities to professional artists such as working spaces in favourable conditions. Co-operation with associations of professional artists and individual actors are commonly an integral part of the activities of the cultural administration.

Arts amateurs

Support for arts amateurs is organised within many cities, although it is not necessarily regarded as the responsibility of the cultural administration. In Aarhus, for example, the Sports and Leisure Department distributes grants for activities and facilities for different associations.

Arts education

A broad spectrum of activities are supported or organised by cities in this field, such as the "City Lab" in Catania where artists work together with young people. Generally, activities are organised in co-operation with kindergartens and schools. In many cases, special services are offered or supported and organised in particular boards.

Participation and audience development

In many cases, both of these elements have only recently been integrated into the cultural strategies of cities and are often left to the individual institutions to manage. As a means of promotion, offering ticket "deals" is regarded as important. For example, a visitor with the "Jenacard" is given free entry to a variety of cultural places. Marketing ploys such as cultural calendars are widespread tools. Statistics-gathering or regular evaluation of participation in individual institutions is undertaken in nearly all the cities.

Heritage and memory

It is overwhelmingly evident that the cities consider many objects to be part of their cultural infrastructure. Museums, buildings of a certain historical period, architectural ensembles and the visual appearance of the city are all factors that contribute to the urban heritage. Museums and their teaching services are a crucial element of the heritage infrastructure of the cities. The Internet is used increasingly, for example in Bologna. Some cities, such as Barcelona, have a dedicated heritage department.

Other subjects

Some cities listed institutions that were not included by others in the questionnaire. This was especially true with regard to sports facilities in the case of the British examples and the Adult Education School (Volkshochschule) in German cities. Some cities have created special institutions for dealing with certain aspects of the cultural infrastructure, such as the "Council for Protection of Ecological and Aesthetics Matters" in Stockholm, which is concerned with the townscape in a broader context.

6. Cultural partnership, industries, employment and training

As the private sector, civil society and cultural industries are oft-quoted examples of the redefined profile of the cultural administration, it was hoped to secure a significant sample of key information from this part of the questionnaire.

Private-public partnerships

Many prominent examples are given here. Cities are increasingly taking advantage of co-operating with the private sector in many fields. The relationships between cultural administration and private actors can be manifold. Often companies sponsor particular events or institutions; in some cases the co-operation is framed for the long term and is legally organised (ie with a contract and governing board, etc). Helsinki, however, has stated that private-public partnership is not important for the city and examples in that city are scarce.

Cultural industries

Jobs are created in different parts of the cultural industries (architecture, design, art, art facilities, art and book shops, production and distribution of newspapers, media industries, advertising companies, the distribution and production of music, amusement establishments, entertainment, and recreation). Barcelona includes the revitalisation of neighbourhoods in this chapter. Special events, such as the *Biennale* in Venice, create further economic opportunities. Some cities, such as Birmingham with its "Creative Development Team", are trying to link the sectors of the cultural industries to a broader urban development strategy and are using the potential available in these industries. Only a few cities have been able to deliver figures or other relevant information on this topic. Figures on job opportunities in the cultural industries vary enormously and most of them do not relate to the definition of the "cultural industries" included.

TABLE 3   Jobs in the cultural industries

City	Number of jobs
Helsinki (2000)	31,788
Barcelona (2000)	29,199
Camden (no year)	approx 40,000
Leipzig (no year)	48,000

Training

Most cities have educational and training facilities for the cultural sector. In some cases, these focus on certain arts (such as the Robert Schumann College of Music in Düsseldorf), and some are of a general kind. In other cases, training is provided as standard in educational institutions without a specific relationship to arts.

7. Information and ICT

Information and marketing are increasingly included in the activities of public administrations. In many cities, the marketing of culture is organised within a wider marketing strategy for the promotion of the whole city. This marketing is often outsourced and organised outside the city administration, though the administration retains elements of control and influence. Special services for tourists are common and professionally organised. Their organisation is generally excluded from the normal cultural administration. Information is provided in different forms such as tourist leaflets, city magazines and websites. The location of this information varies great-

ly between cities. Libraries, museums, tourist offices, and public and cultural institutions are the main spots.

Information is often related to certain aims such as ticketing or "business to business" (Birmingham). ICT is increasingly becoming an integral part of the information policies of cultural administration, and some cities, such as Stockholm, are in the process of developing their own ICT strategy to inform users about the city's culture. Barcelona offers a special multimedia channel, "Canal Cultura". Cooperation with other administrative entities on the regional or national level, such as the linkage of Camden to the "Totally London" website, is increasingly important. Homepages for specific events set apart from general web information, such as Jena's information on the "kulturarena", are also becoming common. In particular, calendars and lists of cultural institutions are the main point of information on the general websites of cultural administrations. Moreover, many offer special information, such as databases of activities and projects that can be found in Venice. The same can be said of mailing lists.

8. Short overview of the city

This section provided important, mainly statistical, information. With regard to the guiding questions of this chapter, however, the answers given do not lead to particularly interesting insights.

9. Other important issues

In this part of the questionnaire, some cities took the opportunity to underline some main issues of their work or their challenges for the future. Barcelona emphasised the importance of its three main concerns in the Agenda 21 of Culture: that is, citizenship, co-existence and participation. Stockholm underpinned the strong tradition of democratisation of culture and its social value. Tourism is regarded by Venice as an economic invariant, for which

"horizontal networks" of information and the sustainability of the system are crucial future elements. The strengthening of competitiveness was a common answer.

VII. Analytical evaluation

An understanding of the data in the context of the urban governance of culture is linked to the question of whether the findings show considerable evidence of "governance" in the sense of an extension of the political system into the field of cultural life:

Cross-cutting activities
Culture remains a policy field where activities target different parts of the public administration. It has been shown that the cities involved in the study allocate a place for cultural activities within the administrative structure in various ways. In particular, the fact that "culture" includes differing and diverse activities in many of the examples given makes it obvious that culture can be framed by an administrative organisation in many ways. Efficient and sensible competencies and decision-making processes relating to cultural activities are dependent on collaboration between different sectors of the public administration.

Steering
Although "culture" in terms of outcome might be regarded less as a product of the respective cultural administrations, the objective of generating a certain output from the city bureaucracy has become increasingly important. It is not appropriate to discuss whether a highly ambitious cultural policy and administration leads to a better cultural output here, as this was not raised by the questionnaire. However, the general assumption that only an effective cultural administration responds to the cultural necessities of the city was common in all the cities. The general objectives of the cities' cultural policies reveal a remarkable awareness of the significance of culture for the gener-

al development of the city. Culture is thereby often linked to economic growth, objectives of sustainability, social cohesion and democratic society. The administration of culture in many cities has shifted from an "underdog" position to forming the core of urban politics. This is illustrated by the fact that the cultural infrastructure is seen not as an obstacle to but as a prerequisite or even motor for the overall strategies employed in achieving common goals such as economic competitiveness, quality of life and sustainable development. Since we have understood "governance" as a move towards other forms of steering, it has to be considered that "culture" itself has become and is increasingly becoming a new form of influencing and administering the urban economy and society. Although the financial situation is a serious issue for many cultural institutions in the cities that took part in the research, there is no general drawing back from the responsibility of the city towards its cultural heritage and cultural life.

Externalities
It is seemingly the already existing networks between different actors in the cultural sector, the general public and the city administration that have enabled these new forms of networking politics to find fruitful ground here. Cultural partnerships are very common phenomena in most cities, although they take different forms. The term "public-private partnership" suggests a certain institutionalisation of this cooperation and these networks. For this reason, it might be misleading to analyse this aspect of cultural administration generally as proliferating a so-called neo-liberal style of partnership between the public and private sectors. Such a perspective cannot be supported by this evaluation. Instead, it is adequate to point at the many partnerships that aim at longer or shorter term co-operation. Cultural life develops according to its own rules and the cultural administration plays only a part in it. The emerging and sometimes already very prominent cultural in-

dustries underline this view impressively. Although only a few cities could give a clear picture of how culture is now setting the agenda of urban life, many statements in the compendia are predicting an ever-growing significance of cultural life. The public administration thereby becomes an actor which is no longer delivering but enabling the use of urban culture. This is especially visible in many cities with regard to employment and training for cultural competencies.

VIII. Interpretation

While the analysis has shown the degree of governance that cities have in the field of culture, the over-arching interest of this evaluation is to contribute to the debate on the consequences of potential processes of governance. Returning to the four main questions of the reflection on governance, the results of this evaluation can be seen as giving partial answers to these principal debates in politics and political science.

Relationship to the existing political urban system

Whilst the externalisation of activities in the cultural sector is undeniable, the administration of culture has probably always been further from the centre of City Hall than other departments. In this sense, development of the cultural administration increasingly embodies the principle of a governance style that requires cross-sectoral integration, awareness of public and private interests, flexible forms of management, and network competencies.

The "normative" vision of the governance of urban culture

The increasing importance of culture for development of the city has set cultural administration within a wider field of politics. In this sense, expectations have been raised. A contribution to local competitiveness and the reform of the public administration as such are frameworks mentioned in some questionnaires. Furthermore, state pol-

icies are playing an important role. A general "normative" streamlining, however, cannot be observed.

Objectives of cultural governance of cities

Many cities have described general objectives regarding the cultural governance of cities. For the most part, these objectives are formulated in a holistic way and include a variety of aspects. In general, issues such as economic growth (especially tourism), attractiveness, cultural heritage, sustainable development, social inclusion, and ethnic diversity are listed.

Democratic impact of urban governance on culture

The development of urban governance within culture (in the sense outlined above) has not been regarded as critical for the development of the city. There is widespread acceptance of communicative integration of external actors into the cultural administration. Forms of networking are present in the different stages of urban politics regarding culture. These processes and procedures, sometimes uncommon and difficult in other fields of urban politics, are taken as "self-evident" and they are generally not reflected with regard to their impact on local democracy.

IX. Further research interests

The analysis presented in this chapter is based on a compendium which is restricted by the above-mentioned factors. In this way, the answers given on the analytical questions are to be considered as first indications only. Nevertheless, the examples provided by EUROCULT21 provide strong incentives to formulate further research questions. It is obvious that urban culture is a major issue regarding the future development of European cities. Therefore, the scientific knowledge base for the formulation of policy recommendations needs to be both broader and deeper:

Broader research

The foundation for understanding the processes of cultural governance needs to be based on a larger number of cities and a more balanced representation of different types of cities. Not only are many member states not presented in this survey, but also the very large cities such as Paris and London and the majority of small cities are not adequately represented, making it necessary to conduct the research again.

Deeper research

The general information provided by the member cities of EUROCULT21 is a sound basis for developing research that would indicate possible strategies for further/deeper research. It appears that the intensification of future research could follow the line of comparative studies with case studies on specific topics. These could be related to issues of governance (steering, externalities, position in the institutional framework of the state and the European Community).

X. Policy implications

As the limitations of the analysis are obvious, what follows below must be regarded as very preliminary conclusions for policy making. Some very basic principles are as follows:

- Recognition of the overall importance of culture for urban development;
- Inclusion of cultural objectives in the broader political visions;
- Sustainable and coherent planning and financing principles;
- Development of the cultural administration to act cross-sectorally;
- Understanding the administration of culture as a means to enable cultural activities;
- A broad and common understanding of the cultural objectives of the cities;
- Acceptance of a broader concept of culture that also includes non-institutionalised activities and events;

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- Improving the knowledge base on urban culture and cultural governance.

This non-exhaustive list has to be broken down to the levels of policy and decision-making which has to be held over for further debate on the other results of EUROCULT21, as laid down in the following chapters.

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Chapter 4

✦ D O R T E S K O T - H A N S E N

Why Urban Cultural Policies?

> *"We live in a era of priorities, not ideals. Under any form of government, there is not enough public money available to fund everything worthy of support. Money spent on art and culture needs, like everything else, to be justified against other areas of subsidy. ... Without a substantial increase in all forms of public spending, it is socially irresponsible to spend money on arts and culture, if it cannot be rigorously justified."*
>
> (Lewis, 1990:1)

Rationales in European Cultural Policy

Why is cultural policy conducted in cities? What is the overall goal and how do politicians legitimise the fact that taxpayers' money is spent on purposes that are obscure to a large segment of the voters? Policies always come with a rationale – so should cultural policies. Conventional sources of public funding are re-assessing why they give money to culture and for what purposes, and are demanding that culture provides a reinvigorated rationale of its aims and goals. The question is whether these rationales are explicit or implicit. And whether these rationales are used for governing cultural policy in practice. Or are they solely statements of intention that are aired on ceremonial occasions and polished up when cultural schemes are to be revised and politicians re-elected? What do we want with culture and art – and what does culture, and art, want with us, you could ask.

The rationales underlying cultural policy have changed during the last 10 – 20 years, or put more correctly: more rationales have appeared. In current cultural policy research the *instrumentalisation* of culture is increasingly discussed. Instrumental cultural policy can be defined as "to use cultural venues and cultural investments as a means or instrument to attain goals in other than cultural areas... the instrumental aspect lies in emphasizing culture and cultural ventures as a means and not an end in itself" (Vestheim 1994: 65).

On the basis of data and information from nine surveys conducted by CIRCLE, UNESCO and ERI-CArts in the 1990s Ritva Mitchell has mapped the mainstream changes in European cultural policies. Even though she concludes that few national policies have managed to harness the arts and culture to serve economic and social development, she emphasises: "One should note that an increasing number of cultural policy decision-makers are now ready to argue that cultural policy is not worth being called a policy, if it is not intended to have a role in the economic and social development of European societies, regions and local communities. In more general terms, effective cultural policy is expected to strike the right balance between the traditional promotion of the arts and culture and their contribution to economic and social development" (Mitchell 2004: 459).

In the report on *The Nordic Cultural Model*, Peter Duelund uses the concept of *performative management* to explain this tendency and he writes: "The post-war role of the welfare state in Nordic cultural policy was basically to regulate the economic institutions in order to ensure artistic freedom and cultural diversity. But today, the state, regional and local authorities have entered into a symbiosis with the private sector to give a higher priority to the economic basis of arts and culture. Experience and turnover have gradually replaced the original goals of cultural policy, i.e. participation, education and enlightenment" (Duelund 2004: 52–21).

Duelund's point is that the financial and political institutions have *colonised* the inner values of art and culture. The discussion does not possess a special Nordic flavour, but is currently influencing cultural policy related discussion on a European level, where the concern over the integrity and survival of art has ranked high on the agenda since the late eighties. "Instead of new Mozarts and Rimbauds, France can now boast only events, prestige building and statistics on the volume of visitors" was the assertion of the French critic Marc Fumaroli (Fumaroli 1991: 20).

Also British cultural policy has received strong criticism for its instrumental features (Belfiori 2003). Whereas the economic rationale became explicit with the rise of neoliberalism during the 1980s, the rationale towards the end of the century shifted at least partly from the economic to the social. It was supposed to solve the problem of social exclusion as well as stimulating enterprise.

The question is whether cultural policy has fundamentally changed its rationale today through replacing a humanistic by an instrumental rationale or whether several ra-

tionales are co-existing at the same time, a sort of layer on layer cultural policy, or rather that cultural policy is being constituted in the cross-pressure between the different rationales. As Béla Rátsky (1998) concludes in her analysis of the evolution of national cultural policy debates, there is no single simple narrative that would help us understand the development of national cultural policies in Europe.

The same is true of the development of the cultural policy for European cities. Here one will often find a more complex rationale referring to more than one objective or, in other words, a multi-rational approach. In his article *Remaking European cities: the role of cultural policies* Franco Bianchini states: "The consolidation of cultural policy's function as a strategy for economic development, city marketing and physical regeneration does not mean that older arguments for interventions in this area of cultural policy-making have been abandoned. Rather, old and new, social and economic, community and elite-orientated arguments coexist, often uneasily, within the agenda of city governments" (Bianchini 1993: 2–3).

The Four E's – A Model for the Analysis of Rationales in Urban Cultural Policy

In the context of EUROCULT21, we have been working on the basis of a model that reflects the discussion in progress on rationales or on legitimisations of the cultural policy in European cities and urban areas. The EUROCULT21 model is based on The Four E's: Enlightenment, Empowerment, Economic Impact and Entertainment. The model has emerged from the theoretical and practical problems that were raised at the EUROCULT21's Training Event June 12-14 2003 in Helsinki. This event showed a clearly expressed need for a more theoretically based overall model as a platform for future discussions and analyses.

First, the aim of the model has been to serve as a framework for the discussion of European cities' present and future cultural policy, i.e. as an attempt to structure a debate, which may easily become diffuse. Here it has been used as background material and a presentation for discussion of the trends and problems of cultural policies in cities posed in the 21st Century in connection with the ten national workshops that were conducted in a EUROCULT21 context. In presenting the model, a large number of questions were put forward. These questions should be seen as sources of inspiration for debate rather than serving as a regular checklist since, partly, time available has been limited and, partly, questions have been of differing relevance to the cities involved. The questions presented are the following:

What are the overall rationales (goals) of the cultural policies of the cities?
- Do these rationales reflect the actual goals of the cities?
- Which are prioritised?
- Have they changed over time?
- Are they implicit or explicit (formulated in official statements, plans etc.)?
- Are they in conflict or do they live side by side?
- Does the allocation of city funding reflect the chosen goals?

How do the cultural activities reflect these rationales?
- What activities in the cities underpin the Four E's – and are they public funded?
- What are the interactions between the Four E's and which partnerships are evolving?
- "Best practice" examples in all fields – and where do innovative practices happen?
- Do the cultural institutions/projects/events fit into one "box" or are the boundaries more "blurred" – and is this a new tendency?

Which venues/spaces in the cities are specific for each of the Four E's?
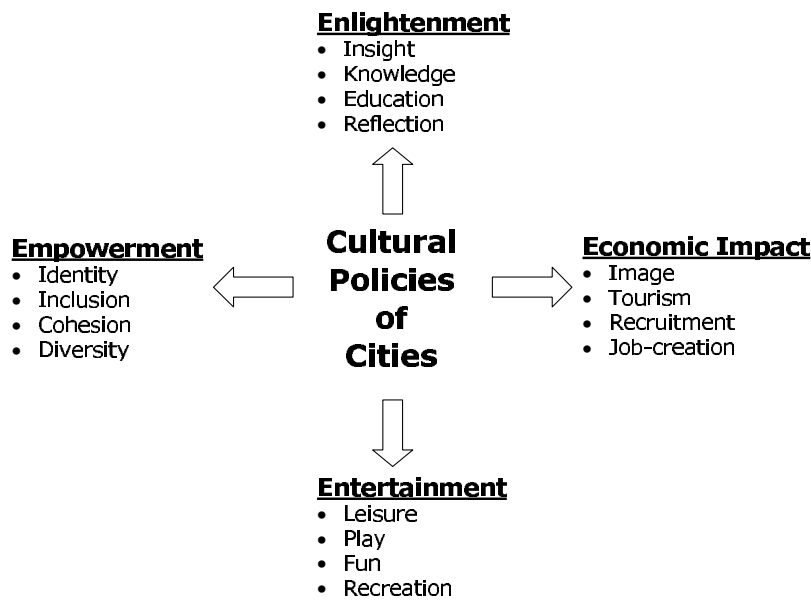- Which type of venues/spaces have the cities prioritised?

- Examples of new venues/spaces?
- Partnerships and new hybrid uses of space?

Second, the model was used as a setting for the analysis of the qualitative data, which were gathered in the context of the project, that is, the reports on the national workshops, the collection of "Best Practice" stories and the Compendium. The rationales of the model should be viewed as a set of ideal types in the sense that the individual rationales do not necessarily exist in a state of pure cultivation, and probably no city will be able to find itself within one rationale. The individual cultural institutions and activities can also, in many cases, cut across different rationales and perhaps they will not recognise themselves as being placed in one category. On the contrary, a salient feature of cultural institutions, and not least creative industries in the late or postmodern society, is that they operate in a cross-field between different rationales. Consequently, the model should be viewed as an analytical tool rather than a picture of the cultural political reality, and in this connection it has to a higher degree been used as an attempt to create order in a chaotic world rather than been considered as a true operational model.

Third, the model serves as EUROCULT21's contribution to a forward-looking discussion of the cultural political rationales of European cities. In this context, the 5th E: *Experience*, which is expounded at the end of this chapter, should be seen as a possible response to the question about the *meaning* of the cultural policy rather than its *impact*.

See *Model 1: Rationales in Cultural Policies in Cities* on the following page.

Model 1: The Four E's - Rationales in Urban Cultural Policy

Enlightenment
- Insight
- Knowledge
- Education
- Reflection

Empowerment
- Identity
- Inclusion
- Cohesion
- Diversity

Cultural Policies of Cities

Economic Impact
- Image
- Tourism
- Recruitment
- Job-creation

Entertainment
- Leisure
- Play
- Fun
- Recreation

Enlightenment

Public cultural policy, both nationally and locally, emerges from the Enlightenment thinking, with roots back in the 18th Century European time of Enlightenment (in German 'die Aufklärung' and in French 'les Lumières') which builds on humanism, reason and development. Enlightenment and education should, according to this rationale, serve to strengthen the democratic process, and knowledge of art, culture and cultural heritage can offer a contribution to this process. If the "good" culture (which builds on a universal aesthetic hierarchy) was made available to all the population, it would slowly supersede the "bad culture" (the commercial or "low culture"), and all would become informed and educated citizens.

Publicly financed cultural institutions are viewed as the framework facilitating the mediation of and absorption into the culture, which in the end leads to new cognition. The artists are the key persons in this comprehension process since they can, as the modern "seer," both express the modern individual's experiences and open up new horizons. Former French Minister of Cultural

Affairs André Malraux in establishing his *Maisons de la Culture* in the 1960's stood out as one of the principal ideologists behind this view with his belief that only great culture could make up for the loss of faith in God. For him the Maisons de la Culture were more places of worship than learning: "If culture has replaced religion in a secular society, the Maisons would be its 'cathedrals." (Looseley 1995)

Democratisation of culture is the strategy, which should extend political and economic equality to cover the cultural sphere so that all the population – irrespective of place, of residence or social status – is allowed to share the benefits of high culture. And even if, over time, the 'classic' cultural institutions have absorbed other rationales, they have maintained their anchorage in the enlightenment rationale. Access is a keyword in this context and the efforts to achieve this goal cover both decentralisation of activities and some forms of audience development. Audience development can be seen as an activity aimed at widening access and reaching new audiences in relation to the traditionally defined high arts, but it can also be seen as an instrument for the devel-

opment of cultural diversity in the arts. Here it is more an offshoot of the empowerment rationale.

The enlightenment rationale has become visible and manifests itself in the cultural policy of the cities through subsidies for the production of the arts, the preservation of heritage, access to the arts and high culture in cultural institutions (theatres, institutions for dance- and music performance, museums, libraries, heritage etc.) and through arts education both for children and young people in arts education programmes and more specific arts education for professionals.

Empowerment

This rationale is interconnected with the strategy for *cultural democracy* from the 1970's, a concept, which was put on the cultural policy agenda in Europe in the light of French culture researcher Augustin Girard's book entitled *Cultural Development: Experience and policies* (1972). In urban cultural policies in the late 1970s-early1980s, local politicians and policy-makers used this cultural strategy to achieve social and political objectives. As Franco Bianchini states, "they radicalised the traditional welfarist objective to promote individual and group self-expression and widen access to cultural facilities and activities to all citizens." (Bianchini 1993:10)

As opposed to the effort to support high culture, the purpose of cultural democracy was to promote the self-expression of special sub cultures, that is, culture should be used for confirming the identity and self-worth of groups and communities. Based on a broader, more pluralistic concept of culture, the idea now was that all forms of culture should be considered equal: different social groupings such as women, workers, gays, children or individuals of ethnic origin could now gain opportunities themselves for expressing their own culture within the organisational frameworks made available by the cities. Culture should give new identity to the marginalized and oppressed groupings.

The tendency to view culture as a route towards *empowering* citizens, and especially those citizens who for some reason or another are excluded from the community, has again received a place on the cultural policy related agenda as a strategy for achieving social inclusion and nurturing local citizenship (Stevenson 2004). Culture and arts are viewed as a vehicle for achieving a wide variety of goals such as social cohesion, community empowerment and self-determination, local image and identity, imagination and vision, health and well-being.

This tendency is discernible, especially in British cultural policy, where cultural institutions have been reinvented as 'centres of social change'. In the Department of Culture, Media and Sports' report on local cultural strategies (2002) it is stressed that cultural services "can help tackle the problems of social exclusion, promote a wider social inclusion and assist with regeneration". Here consideration is given to libraries and museums as agents for social inclusion, but community art is also regarded as a tool for social change. The range of practice stretches from community-led projects where the initiative for arts activity comes from local people or communities, to arts or community-based organisations, to that of established arts organisations who are relatively new to this area of work (Jermyn 2001). An array of British studies have tried to demonstrate the effects of these efforts as, for instance, Francois Matarasso's frequently cited, but also strongly criticised report entitled *Use or Ornament? The Social Impact of the Participation of the Arts.* (Matarasso 1997, see critique by Belfiori 2002 and by Merli 2002)

Also, the tendency can, to a varying degree be found, and with different expressions, in other European countries. In his article on *Social Development on the Local Level: Art and Culture as means of Empowerment* Antti Karisto describes a range of examples of socially oriented culture projects in Helsinki. In this connection, he characterises

the role of art as implicit or "invisible social work", and he concludes that, "art may help to put social and moral issues on the agenda, which is the first step in modern policy-making." (Karisto 2001:250)

According to David L. Looseley's paper *The return of the Social: French Cultural Policy and Exclusion, 1993-2003* the social exclusion agendas in French cultural policy are wide-ranging, including decolonisation of communities and deconstruction of established notions of national heritage and collective memory. Also the linking of the official cultural policy with the NTA's ('New Territories of Art') – emerging urban forms such as hip-hop, techno music, graffiti or video and computer arts - is an interesting development. He concludes: "They may therefore both be read as explicit or implicit attempts to 'decolonise' contemporary culture: to treat to the 'public' as agent not object, to remove the missionary element that has been present in cultural policy since the beginning, and to deconstruct cultural space so that artists and those excluded from art can meet as equals, not as producers and receivers, centre and periphery, self and others." (Looseley 2004:9)

Cultural activities which underpin empowerment manifest themselves in a wide variety of frequently locally-based projects and venues, and this is also the case in contexts that are not necessarily cultural in the daily sphere where they occur. Examples in this direction include community arts, art projects that involve more specific social, ethnic or sub-cultural groupings, local media and the above mentioned NTA's.

Economic Impact

Since the 1980's, public investment in culture has been justified increasingly on economic grounds. John Myerscough's *The Economic Impact of the Arts* (1998) and his related city-based studies were influential not only in Britain but throughout Europe: "In a period of de-industrialization he sought to demonstrate

that investment in the arts had an effect in stimulating economic activity generally. The interest in demonstrating the relationship between investments in culture and regional and urban development was derived from both the cultural sector itself, which searched for renewed arguments for arts advocacy in times of financial cutbacks, and from politicians who were looking for new areas of development and opportunities of development in a time where global competition has created an intense race between the cities when it comes to attracting businesses, employees and tourists." (Skot-Hansen 1998)

A multitude of strategies have been adopted ranging from investments in flagship projects (or 'les grands projets') such as the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, the resources fed into mega events such as the European Capital of Culture and specialisation strategies such as the Gaudi Year and the Dali Year in Barcelona. This tendency has accelerated with the advent of the New Millennium, since, as put by Graeme Evans in his book on *Cultural Planning: an urban renaissance?* "The symbolic and political economies of culture have arguably never been so interlinked." (Evans 2001:2)

Quite a few attempts have been made to measure the returns on these investments, relying on approaches such as economic impact and cost-benefit studies of either single standing cultural events or the cultural life of a whole city or region. The issue here is that it is not only about measuring whether the investment is contributing to economic growth as such, but whether the investment might have yielded a larger return in another area (Hansen 1995). However, the problem is that all cities are now competing with each other, with the in-built tendency that the image-creating flagships are drowning in this competition and it becomes more and more difficult to hold one's own. Some projects, like for instance The Millennium Dome in London, can rather be characterised as cultural disasters. As Jim McGuigan writes

in his analysis of this phenomenon, "The Dome was a vehicle for old delusions of national grandeur allied to corporate power." (McGuigan 2004:91)

As more positive examples, the establishment of the three icons in Newcastle/Gateshead (The Baltic Centre, the Gateshead Millennium Bridge and the Sage Gateshead) should be mentioned. According to the findings of Bailey and others, they have caused a radical change in the perception and role of the arts in people's lives in the area. But as they state, "these developments were underpinned not by economic imperatives, but by a will and determination on the part of local activists and politicians to provide the area with the cultural facilities that they deserved… These developments appear to be having such a marked impact on the Newcastle/Gateshead precisely because economic benefits were not their primary motivation force." (Bailey, Miles and Stark 2004:61)

The discussion about culture-led regeneration has taken a new turn after the emergence of Richard Florida's more differentiated approach to the relations between culture, life style and economics, which is developed in his book *The Rise of the Creative Class* (2002). His concept about *creative cities* has spread like wildfire within town planning, and the three T's (Tolerance, Talent and Technology) have become the new mantra for developing regions as well as cities. His main thesis is that economic growth takes place in cities that are tolerant, multifarious and open towards creativity, and that the life conditions of the new creative classes should be financially supported. This has provided new fuel for the discussion about urban development. In this respect, we are far removed from the more trivial flagship and specialisation strategies and thus Florida's broader view of what needs to be provided as a prerequisite of attracting talents and technology can be viewed as an alternative to the more hardcore-like instrumentalisation of the cultural policy.

But at the same time Florida is criticised for the fact that the analysis of power conditions and structures, perceived as the relations between the various classes or social segments in the city, is largely absent in Florida's thinking. That which is good for the creative class appears to be good for everybody. Only a few questions are asked with reference to the trend that the special subsidising of the life style of members of this class is, in many cases, undermining the needs of other classes, for instance the need for reasonable housing rents or opportunities for cultural realisation.

Entertainment

Maybe entertainment is not viewed as a truly formulated goal for public cultural policy, but it is rather related to the capitalisation by the market of our needs for playing and relaxing. Still, the entertainment value of culture has had a greater implicit impact on cultural policies in the cities. The tendency can be traced to the period of French Minister of Culture Jacques Lang that has been labelled *The Politics of Fun* in David L. Looseley's book with the same title. Here he states that "the post - 1968 concern with cultural democracy was translated into a highly publicised binary policy: a festive approach to amateur practices and participation, and a *tout-culturel* approach directed at professional creation and the cultural industries." (Looseley 1995)

In the cultural policy of cities, the entertainment rationale can be found when centres of culture, as centres for experience and adventure, give a stronger priority to play at the expense of learning. The tendency of prioritising entertainment above enlightenment in museums corresponds to changing audience expectations. The audience seem to be looking for "emphatic experiences, instant illuminations, stellar events and blockbuster shows rather than serious and meticulous appropriation of cultural knowledge", as asserted by Andreas Huyssen, and he continues by pointing out

that the current museum scene "has buried the museum as a temple for the muses in order to resurrect it as a hybrid space somewhere between public fair and department store." (Huyssen 1995: 14–15)

The question is whether enlightenment and entertainment must be seen as opposites or if enlightenment can be obtained best through enlivenment? Is it also outside the realm of cultural policy to subsidise activities that are experienced as fun and recreation as for example circus, theme parks, playgrounds, parks, skateboard-ramps and many other facilities underpinning the quality of leisure time? When is cultural policy which aims at establishing "Fun City", a disneyfied world of fun and entertainment and when is entertainment an integrated part of agendas of "info"tainment and "edu"tainment? This question cannot be answered by cultural critics embedded in the enlightenment rationale – for them culture is a serious matter.

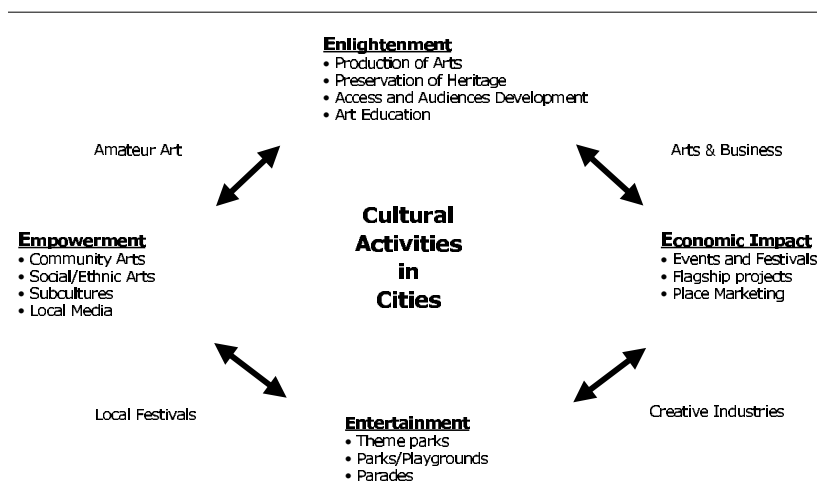## Cultural activities crossing the Rationales

If you speak about networks, co-operation and partnerships, the situation appears less difficult in cases where two or more potential collaborative partners share the same rationale, as might for instance be the case within the enlightenment rationale. Here they speak the same language, have adopted a joint frame of reference and conceptual framework. Two libraries should not start from scratch trying to define their activities if they are going to collaborate – nor is this the case if art museums or cultural history museums are included. Rationales and legitimisations look alike and even if these are also exposed to verbal attacks, the same issues and perspectives will be recognised and often we are faced with an implicit understanding.

But settings or situations where conflicts may seriously occur are those where institutions, organisations and companies with different

rationales have to co-operate. Here it is crucial that you are not only conscious of your own starting point, but that you are able to change "optics," so that you can put yourself in another person's place. It is all about being reflexive; that you can see yourself from outside.

Maybe the most interesting activities taking place in the development of culture in cities in these years are exactly in the spaces between the rationales, or where they clash. Because it is often the case that the possibilities of conflict become more obvious when we are navigating in the collaborative space between different rationales. In the following, we shall outline a few examples of cultural activities and commercial firms that are placed in a cross-pressure of this nature.

EUROCULT21

Model 2: Cultural Activities in Cities

Enlightenment
• Production of Arts
• Preservation of Heritage
• Access and Audiences Development
• Art Education

Amateur Art

Arts & Business

Cultural Activities in Cities

Empowerment
• Community Arts
• Social/Ethnic Arts
• Subcultures
• Local Media

Economic Impact
• Events and Festivals
• Flagship projects
• Place Marketing

Local Festivals

Creative Industries

Entertainment
• Theme parks
• Parks/Playgrounds
• Parades

Between Enlightenment and Empowerment

In the model, the *amateur arts* are placed in between the two rationales, Enlightenment and Empowerment. On one hand, the 'arts' amateurs are striving to fulfil their aspirations to the highest possible level of artistic expression, often building on the repertoire of the professional scene. Here the product is in focus and the Enlightenment rationale is overruling the Empowerment rationale.

On the other hand, amateurs may define themselves as 'voluntary arts', e.g. the arts and crafts which people undertake for self-improvement, social networking and leisure with the process as the main focus. These groups play a vital role in promoting community cohesion and they are strongly associated with the Empowerment rationale.

A third type of amateurs are the often young and more sub-culturally orientated networking groups floating somewhere in between the two rationales with their never- ending dream of becoming professionals and their disdain of the more social aspects of the voluntary arts. For them, artistic expression becomes a lifestyle or even the meaning of life, even though it seldom makes a living. These new 'independent' layers of growth are an important creative force in urban cultural life, being part of a vibrant youth culture, even though they are often overlooked in the cultural policies of cities.

Between Enlightenment and Economic Impact

"The arts are the new secret weapon of business success" it says on the homepage of Arts & Business. Arts and business have been connected sectors in arts policy through many years, especially through sponsorship of the arts. What is new is the strategy to embed the arts more deeply into individual businesses, and new partnerships are evolving as an integral part of business culture. It is not only what business can do for the arts, but also what the arts can do for business. Whether you like it or not, the concepts of *creative alliances* and *culture partners* have come to stay and many European cities now do as the American cities have done for years.

Co-operation can be difficult because, where arts policy has its focus on the *creative individual* and cultural policy has turned its focus onto the *citizen*, trade and business-related policy has put its focus on *the consumer*. What do you do to make these policies form a synthesis? Here, it is all about creating a win-win situation – that means accepting that both parties should be enabled to benefit from the collaboration. But at the same time, it is all about maintaining the cultural orientation within the commercial sphere, because if you start reducing your quality requirements here, you will be emptying the activities of the energy which should be inherent in the collaborative undertaking. As Adrian Ellis expresses it, the impacts of arts organisations on the economy are incapable of full realisation unless their *cultural* purposes are effectively fulfilled. (Ellis 2003)

Between Economic Impact and Entertainment

Here you find the *creative industries* – a concept that has emerged during recent years in connection with cultural policy and planning and which is much broader even than the notion of *cultural indus-*

tries. Creative industries are defined as "those activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property." (UK's Department of Culture, Media and Sport)

They cover, among other things, advertising, architecture, design, fashion, film, video and other audiovisual production, television, radio and internet broadcasting, the popular music industry, and publishing. All that which could also be termed the economics of adventure, that is, put briefly, cultural companies which produce and sell aesthetic experiences and adventures on commercial conditions. They cut across a large number of sectors or as *Creative Clusters*, a network for creative industries, states "strategies for growth in this sector should address the whole creative ecology, challenging traditional boundaries between art, business, education and science, between for- and non-profit enterprise, between economic, social and cultural policy."

The inclusion of cultural or creative industries in the area of cultural policy is not new – film, TV, radio, publishing and other mass media have received public subsidy, especially at the national level. Here the aim has been to secure the excellence of the artistic content and ensure the principle of public service. Investing in the creative industries as part of urban regeneration and development, such economic reasons are often used to justify the public investment and creativity is seen as a parameter of economic success rather than an inherent quality of arts and culture. This is an important issue to discuss whenever public funding is allocated to the creative industries.

Also, the lack of "financial muscle" of the arts is a dilemma of the creative industry: When it comes down to money, the arts cannot, in any way, compete with other components of the broad creative industry spectrum such as the communi-

cation and IT areas. The advantage gained by being part of a greater portfolio becomes a disadvantage when the arts are marginalized to one side. (Caust 2002)

If the layer of growth between art, culture and creative industries were to be seriously subsidised, a targeted effort is required such as, for instance, that which you can experience in Helsinki's successful Cable Factory. Here sixty companies within the cultural industries are operating in the same environment as more than a hundred artists working in the studios and workshops. There are eight galleries, three museums and dance theatres. There are also training facilities for several sports. The Factory has a restaurant and a café, and it has 250,000 visitors per year.

Between Entertainment and Empowerment

Festivals, Pride Parades and other local celebrations are examples of cultural activities crossing the borders of entertainment and empowerment. The festival or carnival has since the Middle Ages been a way of expressing identity and turning around the power relations. Today Pride Parades make private sexual orientations public and the ethnic festivals, often based on food, music and dance, celebrate the notion of cultural diversity. At the same time festivals based on local traditions ensure community cohesion and the feeling of belonging.

Of course, the element of entertainment is an important and necessary aspect of such activities and cannot be distinguished from the empowerment potential. The problem of discerning between the two is not relevant unless the activity involves public funding: how much fun, play and even subversive action is allowed on (other) taxpayers' money? This question cannot be answered once and for all but must be negotiated in each case. In some instances this will be an area where the tolerance of the cities' cultural policy will be challenged and tested.

The Fifth E: Experience

In the section above, we have briefly explained the Four E's and their collaborative interfaces. As mentioned, the model is conceived as a model for analysis and it should be used to focus on current cultural policy, as it has been developed for and implemented in the EUROCULT21 cities. How do they legitimise the expenditure on culture at the political and administrative/local government level and which activities are supported by these rationales? But in a very general sense, it boils down to the question of why cities should provide financial support for activities within the cultural sector – are arts and culture an instrument?

At the EUROCULT21 Workshop in Birmingham, Adrian Ellis in his lecture 'The need to refocus on causes rather than results' pointed out that cultural policy has been 'hyper-instrumentalised' in our preoccupation with what culture can do for tourism, inward investment, educational standards, job creation etc: "The arts community deserves some of the blame for this – in their efforts to appropriate the budgets of adjacent policy areas, they have developed extraordinarily ingenious arguments about the efficacy of culture as a policy instrument. However, the empirical basis for the claims is often dangerously thin and the cumulative impact may be an overextended, thinly capitalized, organizationally weak arts sector with an underlying 'legitimacy crisis' as its imperial ambitions come to be seen as based on shaky, self-serving foundations." (Ellis 2003)
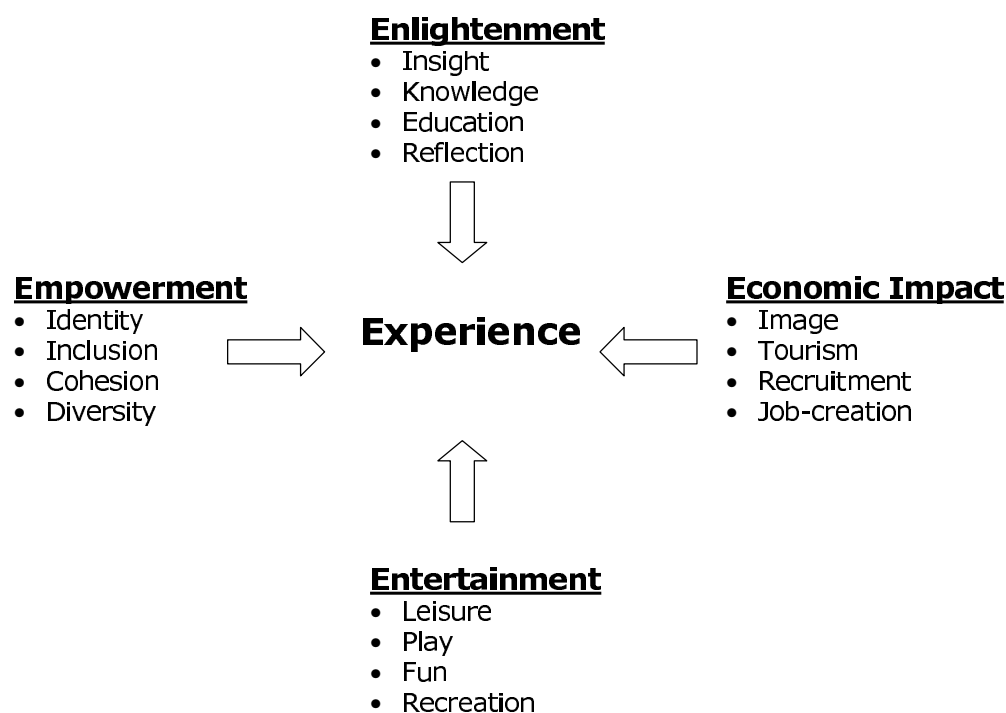
In the final analysis, what it is all about is defining a joint starting point for this variety of different efforts – to locate the Archimedean point, or in other words, to define a rationale, which is superior to the other rationales. Basically, all four rationales presented here are instrumental – i.e. they serve as means rather than goals in themselves – including the Enlightenment rationale with its emphasis on education as the route towards the enlightened democracy. As Joli Jensen points out

in her thought provoking article *'Expressive Logic. A New Premise in Arts Advocacy' (2003)* all of these rationales are instrumental in some way or other and they all focus on what art/culture *does* rather than what it *is.* The arts are seen as a remedy – as cultural spinach, social medicine, economic impact or plain relaxation, instead of what they *mean* to the individual and society.

The question she poses is: Can we find a perspective for advocacy of the arts that is not as instrumental, but is still persuasive in dealing with politicians and administrators? In contrast to an *instrumental* logic, she defines an *expressive* logic: one that sees art as experience. Art is a form of life that can enliven and deepen our lives as well as enliven and deepen our ability to join in the public conversation. This is the Fifth E: *Experience.*

EUROCULT21

Model 3: The Fifth E: Experience

Enlightenment
- Insight
- Knowledge
- Education
- Reflection

Empowerment
- Identity
- Inclusion
- Cohesion
- Diversity

Experience

Economic Impact
- Image
- Tourism
- Recruitment
- Job-creation

Entertainment
- Leisure
- Play
- Fun
- Recreation

The arts are forms of social inquiry that are deeply human and deeply meaningful. But they are intrinsic proclivities rather than extrinsic forces. They exist in all of us, not just the gifted few. And they encompass everyday activity. The aesthetic experience we can get when singing in the bath, gardening or walking a tightrope. The defined high arts are simply more intense, meaningful, distilled and portable versions of the widely dispersed aesthetic impulse. They are valuable because of the aesthetic experience they offer, not because they make us "better".

This is another way to look at the discussion of cultural policy: not as an impact that can be measured but as a way of expression. Here we must focus on whether people, groups and communities have access to rich, complex and divers aesthetic experiences, and we must start learning more about how and why people like what they like and choose what they choose. As Jensen concludes: "If we do this, we will find ways to make much stronger arguments for the importance of varieties of art forms, because they will offer a richer more meaningful array of aesthetic experiences. There is a strong case to made in support of an ever-enlarging arena of cultural forms, including high, low, commercial, non-commercial, mainstream, alternative, national and international." (Jensen 2003:79)
Using an expressive logic and basing cultural policy on the rationale of Experience we can broaden the field of cultural policy from the traditional high arts to a whole world of aesthetic experiences including the self-expression of amateurs, social end ethnic groups and local communities. And we can include the products of creative industries as well as the results of partnerships between arts and business. The main objective will be whether these activities fulfil the need for meaningful aesthetic experience for all groups and lifestyles of the city, not only the privileged.

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PEKKA KAIKKONEN

Part II

Analysing the Findings

Chapter 5

❧ Iris Dähnke

Arts Production and Performance in European Cities

Cities and local spaces are a privileged setting for cultural invention

which is in constant evolution, and provide the environment for creative diversity,

where encounters among everything that is different and distinct are what makes full human development possible.

(Agenda 21 for Culture, Principle 7)

For any city to develop and maintain a thriving culture and arts scene in both the present and the future, it is vital that creative impulses are nurtured and fostered. The production and performance of new artistic goods by individuals, semi-professional, professional and amateur artists, arts students and arts associations, provide the "fuel" which feeds cultural developments, gives sparkling and challenging new impulses to major cultural institutions and the creative industries, enriches everyday life, and feeds fresh energies into arts educational processes.

When talking about arts production and performance in the context of EUROCULT21, the focus rests on the fine arts, music, all performing arts, audio-visual and multi-media arts, literature and other art forms that can be performed by individuals or groups in contexts of relative autonomy (architecture is peripheral in this sense). We also need to remember that although desirable, it is not possible to paint a holistic picture of the "state of the art" in the participating cities, for we are looking at artistic production through the lens of public policy making. Though, of course, cultural policy makers have a significant insight into the art scenes in their cit-

ies, much of the off-scene and semi-professional artistic production will escape this analysis. Not all artists apply for grants or visit art schools; many fight the battles of everyday existence in a variety of part-time or temporary jobs, often (but not always) in related fields such as the creative industries. While their existence might fuel everyday cultural life in a city (with poetry slams, local music bands and privately funded exhibitions), only the tip of the iceberg constituting their work ever reaches the professional attention of cultural policy makers. The picture painted in this report will thus inevitably remain partial.

Cultural policy objectives – why artistic production?

In the context of the Four E's – the rationales of cultural policy making outlined in Chapter 4 – public support for arts production and performance is originally related to the Enlightenment rationale, for it is founded on the idea that "the arts" are intrinsically good for society and work to foster development of the person into a mature, critical and democratic individual. In this tradition, artistic production is regarded as both a product and an expression of critical thinking, of reflection, as the synergising of societal inputs and thus creatively expressing a humanistic engagement with the environment. Although it can be said that implicitly the policy makers of the EUROCULT21 partner cities support this notion, as is borne out by the workshop discussions and the resulting compendia,

it is rarely made explicit, and if so, only in very general terms. "Culture" (rather than artistic production) is then seen as a central element of urban development and quality of life.

In the objectives of cultural policy making, spelt-out policies concerning artistic production rarely exist. Arts production is most often related to economic objectives (especially with reference to the creative industries) and to the strengthening of the city profile. For example:

- Bologna seeks to "to maximise the work of associations, private organisations and institutions in order to make all the different forms of culture in the city of Bologna coherent and to make the most of their economic impact".
- Liverpool seeks to use "culture as catalyst for regeneration", to "encourage high quality and excellence in all aspects of culture" and "create an attractive environment for creative people and cultural businesses".
- The issue of "excellence in the arts" as an important criterion for public support is explicitly mentioned by three cities (Aarhus, Birmingham and Düsseldorf). Policy makers do not set any limitations on what type of artistic production to support, although occasionally the wish to relate culture to the city's heritage and identity is expressed.
- Catania seeks to especially support artists in relation to "Mediterranean heritage and environment".

- Leipzig puts a special emphasis on music and musical theatres, which "define Leipzig's cultural character". Another focus is on theatre.
- Aarhus and Düsseldorf have most clearly spelt out their policies concerning non-instrumental support for artistic production. It is written that the focus in Aarhus has changed in recent years, from regarding culture in terms of its value to society to understanding it as a "value in itself".

Düsseldorf's policy objectives, "committed to a high quality standard and professionalism", state: "Culture must take on the role of an avant-garde in the discourse on social change. It must shatter habitual perceptions, and it must provide offers promoting the development of creativity and the capacity for criticism. ... Culture allows for confrontation with idealistic questions. It documents and questions social change and illustrates the development of the future from experiences of the past."

The following analysis will focus on the questions of what is done in different cities to nurture existing creative impulses in individuals. How is non-instrumental creative production supported? What is done to integrate small-scale creative production into urban society and to professionalise artists' existences?

The *Creative Europe* report has identified several areas of governance that are ideal for fostering artistic production. These will serve as a guideline for analysis and will be complemented by further aspects arising from the material available. The relevant areas to be evaluated are as follows:

- Creative production and its intangible assets
- Amateur artists
- Cultural variety
- Supporting artistic production in an urban market economy
- Arts as a profession
- Promoting the arts.

Creative production and its intangible assets

Artistic creativity should be nurtured in the whole spectrum, from "grassroots" activity and amateur arts to recognising and prizing artistic excellence and promoting it internationally. For practical purposes, promotion of "the artist" and their works and working conditions is placed at the centre of public action. However, it is essential not to regard "the artist" only in individualistic terms. Creativity is a process, "the ability to synergise" input from the environment (Florida 2002: 31). The artist is the epitome of this process. In the process of creativity, the work of art represents the physical manifestation and end result of the creative journey. The communicative processes, from the idea behind a piece, via its production to its presentation, its exhibition and the reactions it provokes, multiply the creative energies. A work of art is not merely the result of the efforts of a single individual; it is also a result of their environments, creative milieu and intangible assets. Intangible assets are the ideas and visions that feed into creativity and multiply when transported in the work of art, piece of music, film or poem: criticism and visions challenged, ideas presented, etc. Intangible assets, both "side-effect" and fuel of artistic production, are the intellectual properties which also act as "food" for the creative industries (Cliche *et al* 2002). In the communicative processes of artistic production and performance and its participatory consumption (i.e. emotional and intellectual engagement of an individual with a work of art) the intangible assets are re-used, become a resource for other artists and public conscience and gradually become part of the heritage of a society.

These arguments highlight the importance of supporting individuals' artistic production as much as networking in the arts, arts associations, creative milieus and the creation of free spaces for intangible assets to flourish and circulate. While prizing excellence is important at one end of the spectrum, amateurs and semi-professionals are both potential future professionals and present an eager audience for the intangible assets of artistic production.

Amateur artists

The difference between a "professional" artist and an "amateur" artist is not always clear-cut. There are many ways in which we can understand what a "professional" artist is: one option is to see a professional artist as someone who makes a living solely through their art. In practice this is rarely the case, and the image of the talented but struggling artist is a common reality, especially (but not only) for young artists. Alternatively, one could classify a "professional" artist as someone formally educated at an arts school and thus a "certified" artist. Again, this is an unsatisfactory differentiation, since many individuals come to be professional artists without having attended further education arts schools. In some artistic genres, as in popular music making, this is the norm. So, can we then distinguish amateur arts from professional arts by its *standard of excellence*? We cannot enter the endless debate on what constitutes "good art" here. In any case many amateurs, far from being satisfied with painting an agreeable picture or enjoying socialising after choir practice, actually strive for high standards in their artistic practice, in some cases surpassing "professional" practice.

The differentiation between amateur artists and professional artists is thus not so easy to make. Many amateurs see themselves as want-to-be professionals, and some succeed. In some ways, the needs of amateurs resemble those of professionals: performance and practising space, information on artistic communities, networks and courses, grants to realise performances. Urban cultural policy in the EUROCULT21 partner cities responds to these needs in different ways. According to the information provided in the *EUROC-*

ULT21 Compendium, only three cities (Bologna, Catania and Venice) stated that they did not support amateurs financially or by other means. All other partners referred to some kind of more or less institutionalised support measures for amateur arts associations – although the information given is in some cases extremely sketchy. As stated, for example, in Leipzig's compendium, amateur associations are subsidised by the city "within the scope of available means". To what extent this intention is regularly put into practice remains unknown.

Concrete support to amateur arts often consists of renting out performance space at low cost to associations, especially to theatre and drama groups. In Birmingham, amateur societies can hire public or private venues, for example in the Martineau Centre and the Midlands Arts Centre (MAC). The city's "Old Rep" theatre is regularly hired out to amateur groups. In Stockholm, performance space is rented out to amateur associations at little (for adults) or no cost (for children/youth). Düsseldorf, Jena and Helsinki also explicitly state that they support amateur theatre.

Another means of support is the giving out of direct project grants to amateur associations to realise specific projects. This method seems less common, according to the information provided in the *EUROCULT21 Compendium*. Birmingham states that the City Council gives grants to the Festival Choral Society, amongst others, to realise particular concert projects.

Several cities run cultural centres where inhabitants can practise different arts. These cultural centres are usually multi-purpose and open to the whole population, often running special programmes for minorities (e.g. children and senior citizens). The centres, described for example by Jena, Barcelona and Helsinki, are closely linked to the empowerment rationale of cultural policy strategies (see Chapter 7).

Some cities have institutionalised financial support for amateur arts classes or courses. In Sweden, there is a long tradition of amateur arts

in "associations". In these adult education societies, which receive one-third of the culture grant, different ideas are discussed and engagement with culture plays an important role. Similarly, the German "Volkshochschule" has a wide variety of culture and arts courses on offer as part of adult education policies. Likewise in Denmark, grants are given to adult education societies to reduce the fees for participants.

When amateur arts production is classified as "adult education" it gets separated from "serious" artistic practice. By this token, amateur artistic practice is at risk of losing its intrinsic cultural value and becoming an instrument to serve other means (e.g. empowerment, education). "Amateur arts" is then not recognised for its artistic value (often accompanied by perception of "poor quality") and becomes pigeon-holed in a secular place remote from any art valued in its own right. This is not to devalue the institutionalised structure of adult education classes in the arts; on the contrary, the tradition of public support for arts classes must be appreciated as an important step in the process of the democraticisation of culture. However, what needs to be challenged is the institutionalisation of the line drawn between amateurs and professionals. In some cases, this line is extended up to departmental level, where "amateur" artistic practice is administered by a different department from "professional" arts (i.e. by the Leisure and Sports Department instead of the Culture or Arts Department). Cities' administrators and policy makers should work to integrate amateurs into the arts and cultural scenes in their cities.

Other possible means of support, besides those mentioned above, include information outlets on arts classes, events and societies (in print or digitally), advice services on grants applications, and assistance in the building up of networks between different actors. In Barcelona, the "+ *a prop*" programmes aim to foster and ensure coordination between civic centres which have opted for their own ar-

tistic specialisation ("+ *a prop*" for dance, contemporary art, classical music, urban music, children and theatre). The programmes start out from projects that are initiated by part amateur, part professional youth collectives in the districts of Barcelona. The "+ *a prop*" programmes contribute towards publicising spaces for rehearsal, creation and production and the resources that are within the reach of the artistic groups that use these spaces. In Jena, the Culture Department seeks to optimise its performance by undertaking continuous research on all kinds of current municipal means of support, as well as drawing up appropriate strategies to gain sponsorship for cultural events.

Intermediaries can play a vital role in the management of creative production, regardless of its level of professionalism. Intermediaries, such as researchers, amateur and professional arts associations, curators, critics and teachers, act as a form of "lobbying agency" for individual artists. Whereas cultural administrators in the city council may have the aim of nursing artistic excellence and offering services evenly distributed to the sectors and individuals who need them, in day-to-day practice these concerns can easily overstretch scarce time resources left over after the everyday operative tasks of administering resources have been performed. It is the intermediaries' role to act as managerial link and informant between the individual artist and arts administrators. They should communicate deep insights and knowledge on artistic trends, excellence, needs and developments.

The issue of who should decide on the distribution of cultural grants – the city's cultural committee or groups of independent experts – was raised in many workshop discussions. To integrate intermediaries into decision-making and planning processes is seeking to move towards forms of creative governance in policy making.

Although many of the cities participating in EUROCULT21 also host arts educational institutions,

they (seemingly) make relatively little use of them as intermediaries, e.g. on decision boards for cultural grants. Aarhus has recently addressed this problem by appointing seven new members of their Arts Council purely on their artistic experience and knowledge acquired in practising arts, academia or both. While the HOPE University in Liverpool has members actively engaged in decision-making processes on cultural policies and present at the stakeholder forums, other urban cultural officers admit to having practically no exchange with their local further education institutions.

Cultural variety

The issue of variety touches on different aspects of the world of arts production and performance. In urban policy making, importance rests on a diversity of different art forms (within a city or in regional balance), a diverse use of spaces throughout the city, and a variety in the types of events on offer.

In a free culture market, content has a tendency to homogenise and associations to monopolise. When free market rules apply there is a tendency for culture market distributors to concentrate on promoting "stars" of the arts world: the spectacular, mass-compatible or new. In the globalised arts economy, foreign productions with a high international distribution rate often dominate local productions, for they are tried and tested, centrally produced and internationally promoted, and local distribution thus carries little economic risk for promoters and producers (Cliche *et al* 2002). In the light of this logic, it is the obligation of cultural policy makers, especially at the local level, to counteract these trends and ensure variety in the arts market, where local productions, less marketable and less spectacular art forms also have a chance of developing and reaching an audience. On top of variety in different art forms, variety in expressions, engagement of different actors and spaces should be considered.

The "Talia" theatre festival in Tarnow illustrates how city authorities cooperate with local theatres and liaise with the media to establish a festival event, whose aim is not just showcasing different theatrical productions from all over the country. The festival furthermore hosts a variety of events such as workshops, discussions, poetry readings, art exhibitions and performances in diverse places all over the city, such as the main square, galleries and clubs.

TALIA Theatre Festival in Tarnow

The national festival of comedy "Talia" is a presentation of humour, satire and grotesque in many artistic dimensions of theatre from Poland. The festival has been running annually since 1997 and is planned to be extended to an international event.

"Talia" festival is not only about theatrical plays but it is a week-long event, which includes other accompanying events like arts exhibitions in city galleries, biannual comedy writing competition, numerous meetings, workshops where actors, spectators, critics and journalists create a platform for exchanging opinions and ideas on particular subjects of comedy in the artistic world. The main stage for the "Talia" festival is Ludwik Solski's Tarnow City Theatre, but many performances and other events take place in numerous places around the town, like the Main Square, cultural centres, galleries and clubs.

Since the festival beginnings it was organised cooperatively by the Culture Department of Tarnow City, the authorities of Malopolska Region and Tarnow's Theatre. Last year responsibilities were shifted and the festival was organised by Tarnow's Theatre as a main organiser.

"Talia" festival is an event of high artistic importance, generating great interest from spectators and critics. It is accompanied by strong support, partnership and extensive coverage from local and national media (newspapers, TV). It is reported that all events are fully sold out.

(source: Polish National Workshop, EUROCULT21 website)

In an ideal climate of creative production and performance, institutions, artists and events would be evenly distributed across the city. In reality, this is rarely the case. Major cultural institutions are usually located in the city centre. However, some cities undertake decentralisation activities in an attempt to bring cultural events and performances to neighbourhoods at the peripheries of cultural life.

- Birmingham is planning the "Champions Scheme" under the localisation programme. Its aim is to encourage all major arts institutions to bring performances to different venues in local districts;
- The Municipal Gallery in Athens has adopted the method of "touring", ie taking its exhibitions to venues outside the city centre;
- The City Theatre in Stockholm hosts performances in different parts of the city during the summer months.

A "festivalisation" of culture?

Alongside these aspects of variety, a balance of events over the year is important. Southern cities well frequented by tourists, such as Athens and Venice, acknowledge the danger of concentrating events in the touristy summer months and risking the town becoming a "cultural desert" during the rest of the year. In contrast, small university towns like Jena use summer festivals to attract people to the town, which is left empty by students during the summer holidays.

Many urban cultural policy makers have discovered that festivals are an attractive policy tool. Their current "in vogue-ness" rests on the fact that several objectives of cultural policy making are addressed at once. Festivals:

- support lesser known artists, especially in the draw of one or two "headliners;"
- showcase different art forms and less established arts;
- increase internationalisation of the arts scene;
- provide an opportunity for networking, connecting actors, regions and countries;
- are relatively cost effective and lend themselves to sponsorship;
- can diversify the reception of different art forms;
- enliven urban spaces; spaces acquire new meanings for the local population;
- attract tourists and can give the "cutting edge" to the cultural image of a city.
- bring art and culture to public attention in more spectacular ways than institutions can.

These issues must be treated with caution, for they are accompanied by negative factors. Inflation in the number of festivals, a "festivalisation" of culture, will counteract the benefits. Support for events (such as festivals) should not be at the expense of institutions, which ensure long-term artistic and cultural provision. Without those, the artistic life of a place will dry up. Tourists will become bored, locals will at best lose interest and at worst feel disturbed by constant events in their everyday sphere. With festival organisation, long-termism should also be considered and events be established over several years. An over-concentration at a particular time of the year should be avoided.

Festivals must not be an end in themselves or be misused for mere economic and image purposes (Cliche 2002; O'Connor 1999). Like any cultural event, any new institution, any new flagship project, it is questions of identity, authenticity and continuity, rather than image and economy that should guide policy decisions. For continued "success" (in the economic and in the cultural sense), cultural events have to be well rooted in local specificity. They are best situated with local arts associations, reflecting the cultural stories, histories and interests of local culture(s). Policy makers have to be aware of developments of the local arts scene and follow research on it. Knowledge of existing creative impulses, combined with awareness of identity and heritage, must then inform cultural policy decisions. Here, cooperation is needed: between different regions in the exchange of local policy foci, between policy makers and arts associations, and between different departments of the city council.

A major cultural production may either reflect old traditions or showcase new developments of the local arts scene. Ideally it will do both. The town of Czestochowa in Poland, which has a tradition as a religious pilgrimage centre, hosts an annual international festival of sacred music. The festival, which has been running since 1991, seeks to create an encounter between different cultures and religions via the expression of sacred music. It presents a variety of Catholic, Orthodox, Buddhist, Jewish and Islamic music in different performances (choruses, oratorios, cantatas) accompanied by academic seminars. The organisers put special emphasis on hosting new compositions of religious music by young performers, for some of whom appearance at the event will mark the beginning of an acclaimed career in the field. The festival promoters underline the idea of connecting to the distinctiveness of the pilgrimage region with the event.

The short film festival in Venice, *Circuito-Off,* presents an example of the city authorities reacting to local artists' initiatives to create a stage for an as yet under-represented art form. While being an instrument to boost Venice's reputation as a city of culture, the event is also utilised for self-promotion by the initiating arts group Artecolica.

Venice International Short Film Festival "CIRCUITO-OFF"

CIRCUITO OFF is the first independent short film festival in Venice, initiated by the cultural association Artecolica. Artecolica, literally „art to the attack", was founded in Paris in 2000 by a group of young Venetians. In their engagement with the cultural scene in Paris the artists developed the idea of importing a young, alternative and independent event in Venice – a festival for short films.

The festival grows year by year and it arrived by now to its sixth edition. Visitors buy tickets by becoming members of Artecolica (5 to 10 €) and with these membership tickets get entry to all events. The festival targets primarily locals, especially students, but is also thought attractive to tourists.

It showcases an international selection of short films by independent film makers, which are judged for the competition by a jury of critics, producers, directors and other cinematographic professionals. In addition there are retrospectives on famous producers and special sections, e.g. on social documentaries and on video clips.

While Circuito-Off was initially financed by the artists with the help of sponsors, the city came to provide complementary financial aid in the consecutive years. The event now budgets the expenditure 90,000 € for the total of eight days in a combination of public and private funds (by sponsors, e.g. Kodak, Hotel Monaco).

Circuito-Off is cooperatively presented by the arts group Artecolica, the City of Venice and the universities. A special partnership with local media has helped that media coverage, film applications and visitor numbers have increased considerably over the years.

The event succeeded in establishing an international stage for a new art form in Venice to complement the town's famous reputation for opera, heritage and theatre.

(source: Venice story, EUROCULT21 website)

Supporting artistic production in an urban market economy

The art and culture market works differently to other markets. Prizes are not fixed by supply and demand, but are negotiated in a complicated interactional process of value assessment. The cost of production of a piece of art is relatively alienated from the revenue generated by its final distribution. The "value" of a piece of art cannot be determined by objective measurements concerning the cost of materials or number of working hours spent on it. Its value is symbolic, i.e. it is not determined primarily by its functional use but by its capacity to stimulate the audience intellectually or emotionally, to generate feelings of pleasure, beauty, depth, even distress. The translation of this symbolic cultural value into a monetary amount is arbitrary and usually the result of a long process of negotiation between different social actors, whereby the intangible assets transported via the piece of art are in a process of circulation, usually subject to great change over time (like Vincent van Gogh's paintings which now sell for millions, but could not support the painter's existence in his lifetime) (Klamer 2004; Velthuis 2005).

To facilitate artistic production from artists of different social backgrounds and art fields, cultural policy makers work to correct and counteract homogenising free market trends. Artists are in need of affordable studio and rehearsal space, advance financing to put ideas into practice, opportunities to perform and exhibit their work, and opportunities to sell their products. Subsidies for studio space, project grants and public purchasing schemes, scholarships and competitions are policy measures undertaken in most participating cities. Since these measures support artists in their unique living and working situations, continuity and long-termism is of particular relevance.

On Helsinki's Harakka Island an artist community was established, which has now been operating for 15 years. The project was initiated by the city's Cultural Office. The artists then sought to develop the project further by engaging in international liaisons and attracting locals to their work.

HARAKAN SAARI: Studio Space for Helsinki Artists

HARAKKA is a small island located just off the coast from the centre of Helsinki. Until 1988, the island belonged to the Finnish Defence forces, who conducted chemical tests in the main building on the island. Ownership of Harakka was then transferred to the City of Helsinki.

In 1989, the Cultural Centre started to rent out the main building on the island as studio space to artists. Now commonly known as the artists' house, the building provides studios for painters, photographers, metal workers, writers and woodworkers who work here but live in Helsinki. Studios are rented out on three-year contracts by the Cultural Centre. Potential new tenants can apply in writing, enclosing a CV and pictures of their work. The Cultural Centre also hires out the library, dining and auditorium facilities in the main building for conferences and meetings.

The association Harakka r.y. was set up by artists in 1989 to promote the creative activity taking place on the island. It still operates today and arranges exhibitions and a range of art events. International links are maintained by arranging various workshops, for which the island and the surrounding sea provide an effective backdrop. Summer courses arranged here by the artists, in subjects such as nature painting and kite building, have proved very popular.

The island is also a nature reserve and has become a very popular recreational area for the inhabitants of Helsinki. Access to the island between April and October is by boat and in winter by a road across the frozen sea.

(source: http://kulttuuri.hel.fi/harakansaari/index_en.html)

Although some form of financial support for artistic production is common in most EUROCULT21 partner cities, the origin of financial resources differs. However, this should not be overplayed, for the differences often originate in different national traditions of funding the arts: while in Sweden it is accepted that taxes play a vital role in funding culture, in Britain National Lottery, trusts and other, especially private, sources of funding prevail. An adaptation of sources is not necessarily desirable for it would take extensive marketing and PR work to change public opinion on the distribution of resources. Additionally, measurements taken vary, especially between different nations for reasons of different legislation. For example in Aarhus, grants are not given to individual artists, as this would contravene Danish law. Thus, project grants are distributed to support individuals.

Sponsorship from the private economy is attractive, but can be a very uncertain source of income. When company heads change, foci on sponsoring particular art forms may change too, suddenly leaving institutions stranded half-way through a project or season with a lack of money (as happened to the Symphonic Orchestra in Gothenburg).

While public support for artistic production is desirable, there is a recognised tension that arises between artists benefiting from such measures and those attempting to survive on the free markets. Subsidised rents compete with non-subsidised rents, subsidised arts with non-subsidised.

Arts as a profession

While project grants, studio subsidies and other forms of financial aid provide important flexible assistance to artists, it is essential to support artists in professionalising their existence. The artistic profession is in most countries still characterised by instability and a lack of suitable social security systems. Although some countries, like Germany, have introduced special social security systems for people in artistic professions ("Künstlersozialversicherung"), this remains an exception. However, with a growing trend of short-term contracts, freelancing and part-time work in artistic professions, good social security provisions become ever more important (Cliche 2002: 35, 39). The living situation, especially for young artists, is challenged by recent changes to the welfare system (e.g. harsher rules of eligibility for unemployment benefit, for example in the UK and recently in Germany), for unemployment benefit has long acted as an unofficial support system for young artists, particularly in the first years of establishing their careers after leaving arts school (Griffiths 1999).

Most artists alternate between three different options for making a living: social welfare, second or third jobs, and occasional grants. Problematic in this context is not merely a lack of possibilities for artists to make a living from their art, but also a lack of knowledge. Many artists know little of funding schemes or are discouraged by the bureaucratic obstacles they expect to have to face. Here, cultural policy makers should act as mediators and ideally become creative agents in the process of creating employment opportunities for artists. Some cities provide examples on measures to taken:

- "Flying Start" in Birmingham is a project for performing artists wanting to work in community arts. The work experience training scheme offers paid work to participants and provides them with an overview of further employment opportunities, the market situation, etc;

- Several cities offer free advice surgeries to artists in applying for grants, filling in applications, etc;

- Employment opportunities for artists can be created by integrating them into arts education and urban planning activities. For example, Birmingham's youth arts project "Gallery 37" employs professional artists in 5-week training programmes to train 16–24 year-olds.

The process of professionalisation of artists can also be supported by providing assistance to develop networking and marketing skills. Research conducted in Germany has shown that although more women than men graduated from arts school successfully, they were still underrepresented among professional artists. The Culture Department in Hagen thus initiated the South Westphalia Women's Art Forum to increase women artists' professional skills. Several projects were initiated to create networks among female artists regionally and internationally, together with continuous support by a specially established advice bureau on legislation, rights, internet promotion, etc. The forum was a success in terms of creating international networks, which hosted exhibitions in e.g. Johannesburg and Nairobi.

Mediating between arts and business offers opportunities for innovative strategies in the creation of future employment opportunities for artists. For most cities engaging in this form of activity, the focus has been on the so-called creative industries, as it is expected that they will draw greatest direct benefit from new artistic talent. In Camden, for example, local creative businesses in the media and music sector cooperate with the local councils to provide training to young people and realise projects with the local community. The authorities actively encourage exchange between the community and the creative industries sector, e.g. via mentoring by professionals and work placements. Obviously, these "creative alliances" are attractive to business and council alike and can be deemed particularly fruitful in the media, multimedia and audiovisual sectors of arts production.

While acknowledging the potential of "creative alliances" between artists and cultural business, one must also recognise the danger that lies in concentrating on the economically promising arts in the above-mentioned sectors. First, art is moved closer to an instrumental role (for economic revenue), and secondly, one can easily neglect the potential of the so-called "traditional" arts (fine arts, theatre, museums, crafts, literature, music performance). Instead of leaving them out of this equation, their role in the shifting patterns of work, leisure and consumption should be rethought. Justin O'Connor writes: "The key point is that we cannot start from the notion that these [commercial and traditional arts] are two separate sectors divided by 'cultural value' versus 'commercial value'. We need to remember those two key points noted above – the commercial sector provides wealth and employment (as do the arts), but it is also a prime site of cultural consumption for the vast majority of the population. The role of 'arts' in this configuration needs to be rethought, not just 'defended' against the vulgar market. For the cultural industries have asked questions about the definition of arts and 'culture' itself. New forms of production, new understandings of 'culture', new forms of consumption and distribution have over-run the cosy separations of 'art' and (mass or 'folk/ethnic') culture set up by the European state funding systems." (O'Connor 2004)

Promoting the arts

Policy makers act as intermediaries between artistic production and its public consumption. Arts edu-

cation and audience development are important strategies, which will be discussed in detail in the following chapter. Other important strategies to be taken up involve the use of new technologies and the Internet, and cooperation with the media to promote cultural events.

It is established policy for cities to provide information on cultural events via the city's official website. In some cases, the promotion of culture apparently ends there; the task of providing up-to-date information on cultural events is simply left in the hands of private actors, such as city events magazines and their online calendars. While this can work well in individual cases, relying on the private economy for information purposes carries the risk that events or arts which draw only small audiences will be left out. Innovative strategies by city administrations to promote culture, such as culture directories with search options, databases on cultural projects or downloadable events calendars, exist in some cities but are still a little established means of promotion. The Venice "Laboratory of Culture" is such an Internet project, promoted by the Venice Council of Culture. The website provides information on all leading cultural institutions of the city and daily updated calendars listing the cultural activities taking place in connection with these institutions. This includes, divided up according to subject: the libraries, the permanent museums, the research activities, study activities, restoration work, didactics, and data processing services. Through links on the website it is possible to reach the sites of each institution.

Co-operation with local media, especially TV, can be an effective marketing strategy for culture. Elaboration on this strategy is quite absent in the examples provided by the EUROCULT21 partner cities, although it must be noted that policy makers were not specifically asked to provide information on this. Athens explained the special communications strategy followed for the 2003 Christmas Events. The cele-

CITY OF HAGEN

brations, for which the city was divided into thematic units for two weeks hosting music performances, multi-cultural theatre, dance and other activities, were promoted via a special agreement with Reuters Television for satellite relay, on the radio with Athina 9.84 and via the NET Third Program.

No information is available on the opportunities for small-scale independent promoters to advertise their events in public space, e.g. using posters. Regulations on fly-posting are out of the reach of cultural policy makers and they consequently have little influence on the presence of arts promotion in urban space. Here, more cooperation between different city departments is desirable to provide spaces for small-scale cultural entrepreneurs to legally advertise their events. Official advertising walls in well frequented urban spaces (such as underground stations, shopping areas and universities) are a possible option.

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Chapter 6

✤ BIRGIT FREESE

Arts Education as a Means of Democratisation of Culture

Access to the cultural and symbolic universe at all stages of life, from childhood to old age, is a fundamental element in the shaping of sensitivity, expressiveness and coexistence and the construction of citizenship. The cultural identity of each individual is dynamic.

(Agenda 21 for Culture, Principle 13)

The enlightenment rationale in cultural policy

Education is the most important kind of provision for the future from the points of view of the economy and society as a whole, as well as from the point of view of the individual. Education allows people to identify with their own culture and to have respect for other cultures. It is an essential element in helping us to orientate ourselves in a world which is becoming ever more complex. The arts and cultural education are and have always played a part in comprehensive personal development. They form the basis for a view and understanding of the world which accords with the times in which we live. Cultural education enables the individual to get to know art and culture, to understand it and get creative, and to take an active part in cultural life.

Furthermore, cultural education helps us to develop the ability to perceive complex social interactions, to strengthen the powers of judgement of young people and to encourage them to take an active and responsible role in the formation of society. Cultural educa-

tion is not only effected by means of targeted educational measures, but also through contact with art and culture, as these communicate important skills, and encourage engagement with others and with new facts and ideas of many kinds. Art and culture also encourage people to reflect upon themselves.

Understanding culture is one of the key areas of expertise for the future. Understanding grows from personal contact, subjective acceptance and deeper penetration of the self in both mental and spiritual terms. The slogan "culture for all" (Hilmar Hoffmann), which was very popular in the Federal Republic of Germany in the 1960s, has lost nothing of its meaning and relevance for the world of today.

In the context of the analytical framework of The Four E's, the Enlightenment rationale with its related issues – insight, knowledge, education and reflection – is, from a historical point of view, the most traditional one within the legitimising of cultural policy. It is rooted in 18th century ideas and philosophy in which knowledge and education available to the whole population were recognised as the major pillars in social progress. Within the philosophy of enlightenment the arts are considered to play an intrinsic part in fostering the development of individuals into mature citizens.

Today, cultural education and associated cultural policy have two major tasks: on the one hand, it is vital to create new forms and structures that enable a linking of culture and education which is in tune with the times and is as effective as possible. This applies to the institution-

al framework of a corresponding infrastructure reflecting youth, educational and cultural policy, as cultural education takes place equally within the framework of school, youth and cultural policy and in everyday life. Many links and corresponding structures are still needed here. To this is added the fact that cultural education is the responsibility of institutions at many levels – including local councils, states and the federal level itself, and is also being undertaken increasingly within the European and international framework. Each of these levels deals with different tasks in relation to cultural education, and ways of creating new and effective structures must be found.

In addition to these structural requirements, there are the tasks relating to cultural education which apply in an environment changed through modernisation and globalisation. Cultural education is becoming ever more significant in this context. Cultural and artistic experiences and productivity are central prerequisites for the development of the individual, participation in cultural life, social innovative power and social creativity. Achievements within an enlightened social climate are very much affected by the cultural education of people whose aesthetic sensitivity and ability to make good judgements develop through interaction with art and culture. In this context the efforts made in the area of cultural education are not only targeting children and young people; by adopting a lifelong learning approach, cultural education programmes aimed at adults of all ages gain more and more importance.

Arts and cultural education is a complex area which cuts across various sectors of policy and various institutions both within and outside schools and training establishments, and which also has public, social and commercial components. The question is how this complexity can be made effective within the framework of systematic coordination and cooperation so as to create stronger synergies for cultural education.

In line with cultural strategic plans and objectives reflecting the Enlightenment rationale, all the partner cities of the EUROCULT21 project offer to the public an impressive number and variety of cultural facilities either completely maintained by themselves or partly funded in co-operation/partnerships. These offerings go far beyond a so-called basic supply of culture, and cover all cultural interests at all stages of life.

This chapter focuses on the cities' efforts in arts and cultural education, in particular in reaching children and young people as the main target groups. Relatively new targets can be formulated under the headings of "access" and "developing new audiences", and these have played an important role within the cultural policy debates of the last few years and are still on the agenda. In the second section, I will discuss how these targets are fulfilled in the cities. The final section is dedicated to the question of how the cities will meet the challenges of globalisation and migration at the level of cultural policy.

Reaching young people

Starting from the premise that cultural education represents a fundamental part of personal development and offers key skills for a successful life in terms of the individual while also benefiting society as a whole, it is obvious how important cultural education is for socialisation within the family and at school. The "cultural capital" (Bourdieu) which is gathered during childhood and youth generally sets the stage for the individual's consumption of culture and influences the cultural practices of the individual throughout his or her life. It determines levels of access and participation in cultural activities in adulthood, as Bourdieu's study – which appeared in 1979 and is no less convincing today than when it was written – clearly shows.

Cultural education for children and young people is a top priority in all countries when it comes to deciding on cultural policy and target formulation. If municipal cultural institutions also wish to continue to fulfil the task of cultural education entrusted to them in the future – and therefore to guarantee their own continued existence, they will have to think still more about how to arouse interest in arts and culture in children at an early age, so that they can actively acquire their own cultural heritage. For only those who are aware of what is on offer at the cultural level in their town or district and consider cultural activity to be an enrichment and positive element within their leisure time will continue to use it as adults. And only those who "rediscover themselves" and their cultural needs within the cultural institutions of their town will support the existence of municipal and district cultural institutions in the future.

Arts and cultural education programmes for children and young people must appeal to their openness, spontaneous curiosity, enjoyment of activity, and delight in discovery. A particularly important role is played here by the cultural institutions themselves as extra-curricular places of learning, such as museums, theatres, libraries, and arts and music schools. According to statements made in the national workshops, it seems that these cultural education institutions make great efforts to work together with schools in their capacity as primary educational institutions. However, it is generally left to the individual initiative of the teacher to make use of the many and varied offerings within the framework of lessons and be-yond. It should be asked whether it is not at least the task of the schools to make children and young people aware of the cultural infrastructure of their towns and also to define this requirement as part of the official school curriculum. Those responsible for culture consider it essential to overcome an "isolationist attitude" and encourage networks in order to be able to make effective use of synergies. New methods and courage are needed to implement innovative measures within the school, for example employing art teachers/consultants within projects.

The Swedish model of the institutional basis of cultural education for children and young people – presented in the Swedish workshop – should serve as an example here. Stockholm and Malmö have a cultural plan for children and young people, and Gothenburg incorporates the perspective of children and young people into its strategy. All three cities have special Departments dedicated to culture for children and young people. But organisational problems frequently occur, which make co-operation between different administrations and departments difficult due to the fact that actually the city districts run the cultural activities for children and young people. For example: the School of the Arts in Malmö is run by Kulturkompaniet, the department for children and youth, which is a part of the culture administration. The same is true in Stockholm. The schools are nevertheless dependent on the participants in the districts. In Gothenburg the School of Arts is run by the districts. There are also examples of districts joining forces and pooling their resources to make a bigger investment in young people. The meeting points are actually situated in the districts. The districts run the comprehensive schools, while upper secondary schools are run by the Education Administration. *Skånsk Skoltjänst*, which started in 1997, can be considered as an example of good co-operation. The model comes from Denmark, where it has existed for 30 years, taking culture and teachers

within the arts out to the schools. The cooperation with cultural institutions is very broad. The region has invested money in this in Skåne (Malmö). Another way of reaching young people is through clubs. Malmö Museums have 22 junior clubs, resulting in 1,650 young people spending 12 hours each at Malmö Museums every year. To reach cultural institutions and the cultural life of the city, Malmö has provided two culture buses for children which schools can book to travel within Malmö for free. This activity began as a co-operation between the Culture Administration, the bus company in Malmö, and the labour exchange in 1997.

The Swedish workshop also stated that life gets tougher for cultural activities in schools when the national economy is flagging. Cultural activities for children and young people risk losing their currently strong position as a result of potential cutbacks in municipal funding. It is therefore important to constantly protect young people's right to culture. A good practice is offered by Birmingham, where all major cultural institutions and organisations are expected to deliver education projects and learning programmes as part of their funding agreements with the City Council.

The EUROCULT21 project collected a lot of best practice examples of successful collaborations or partnerships between the cities' cultural administrations, schools at different levels and cultural institutions, as well as NGOs and artists.

One of them is the story *Reaching Young People*, presented by the City of Düsseldorf, which shows a wide spectrum of cooperation and networking: In 2002 the Cultural Department of Düsseldorf decided to put the "Youth, Culture & School" project, a multi-module system, into practice. The starting point of this project is the well known fact that traditional cultural institutions like museums, theatres and opera houses have a lot of difficulty reaching young people. One of the main reasons for this is that children – especially from milieus not

closely related to the educated classes – often have no idea what these institutions are, how they work, or what they have to offer. Therefore the importance of schools acting as a mediator between youth and culture is paramount.

For the first module, called "Artists within schools", artists from all areas of artistic practice were asked to develop projects for children and young people. 15 of those submitted were chosen to be realised in the first period of the project. These extra-curricular activities were in no way intended to replace normal school lessons in the arts, but were to be distinctive and enhancing. As a second module, cultural institutions were asked to develop projects of close co-operation between themselves and a single school. The projects were planned over a period of 40 hours and it was left up to the co-operation partners whether to integrate the project into normal lesson time, or to take the form of a project workshop. The results of all projects were performed publicly, e.g. in exhibitions or theatre performances which were generally attended by the school community, friends, and parents. The intention of both modules was to encourage responsible methods of working and thinking about motivation for the children's own creative activities. The purpose of the third module was to establish long lasting, intensive, working co-operation between schools and cultural institutions with programmes for which the partners themselves are responsible. Several of these co-operative partnerships are already working successfully. The fourth module seems to be the most remarkable one: for one year a cultural institution, e.g. a museum, "adopts" a school: it takes direct responsibility for that school. During this time each child visits "his" cultural institution at least once, but is also invited to attend all events at "his" cultural partner institution during this period, using only the "school-pass" as an entry ticket. These partnerships change yearly: after one year the school will be adopted by anoth-

er institution, e.g. a theatre. By this rotation system children will be familiarised with the cultural infrastructure of their city.

Another outstanding arts education project is presented by the City of Birmingham, entitled *Wish You Were Here?* The Ikon Gallery, the contemporary art venue in the centre of the city, initiated a project to build links within the Kingstanding area of Birmingham, a mainly white neighbourhood having significant problems of cultural deprivation, high unemployment and isolation. According to the strong focus on social inclusion in Great Britain's current cultural policy, the Ikon Gallery wanted to address some of these issues by working with a group of nursery-aged children and their parents. The main objectives were to create an opportunity for accelerated learning, raising standards and developing creative thinking skills; to give the children and parents involved in the project a "voice" to explore their views, feelings and aspirations in relation to their local community; to give children and their parents a sense of ownership of the school, the local area, and the gallery; and – last but not least – to create a celebratory artwork which everyone could feel a part of and be proud of.

Many other arts and cultural education projects presented in the EUROCULT21 stories could be mentioned here, such as:
- *Operation Herr Moro* (Malmö)
- *Breeze International Youth Festival 2004* (Leeds)
- *Leselust und Löffelstiel – Kinderbuchtage* (Hagen)
- *City Lab* (Catania).

Although all these projects cover various areas of arts and culture and represent different methods of co-operation, partnerships and networks, they all express common goals: to strengthen the role of arts and culture in general education, and to make culture a significant and natural part of young people's lives.

The following case study from Helsinki was chosen for its inclu-

sion of social points of view by taking into account a broad perspective of what arts and culture are about. As a result of this project, arts as a means of analysing society and raising awareness of social problems have been introduced into schools' curricula.

HELSINKI: CULTURAL COURSES IN SCHOOLS

Visions and aims
The objective of the cultural courses is to arouse young people's interest in the culture on offer and to make culture a significant and natural part of young people's lives. It thus seeks to bring culture and the arts close to young people's empirical worlds and supply meaningful tools for perceiving the world. In the process young people get some idea of what making art actually means in practice, and those who are interested have an opportunity to observe potential future professions and study options at close hand. Cultural courses also aim at strengthening the role of the arts in general education.

Partners
The City of Helsinki Cultural Office launched the courses in the 1980s together with the creation of a special arts centre for children and young people, and continues to be the main partner and financier of the project. The department of education became involved in the project later and nowadays covers a part of the costs. Several arts institutions and NGOs as well as local universities participate in organising and realising the courses, too.

Target groups
Cultural courses are organised for 16–17 year old pupils in general or vocational education.

Organisation
The City of Helsinki Cultural Office has one full-time employee responsible for the courses. She is aided by an assistant from the Faculty of Arts of the University of Helsinki who can include the work period in her/his academic curriculum. Every arts institution taking part in the project also nominates one person to be responsible for the courses. In addition, the head teacher of every school where courses are organised must be involved. The total budget for organising one cultural course is approximately €1,500 including tickets, lectures, study material, etc. 12 different courses are organised every year.

Content
Each course is organised around one theme, which is handled in various ways from both social and artistic viewpoints. The themes vary from suicide to the history of the Jewish people and Chinese Mythology. Pupils attend one or several art performances that form the core of the course, but they also study texts, attend rehearsals and write essays. Teachers, academics and arts professionals give lectures on the topic in question from their own perspective. Each pupil is given a textbook containing the texts to be studied. Digital technology makes it possible to produce these books at reasonable costs. Some courses also use ICT, eg net discussions, as a learning instrument. The courses span 38 lessons and form an optional part of the pupil's curriculum. Pupils' performance is evaluated on the basis of the final essay they write after seeing the art performance.

As the Polish workshop emphasised, it is vital to give young people every opportunity to experience all forms of arts and culture; however, they should be exposed in a way that is understandable and interesting to them as young people. An important factor in the success of such programmes is the way a programme is seen by young people: it has to be attractive enough for them to actually want to participate. It often happens that participation is rather a decision of adults who make youngsters participate, thus resulting in "command", not choice. The question is: how can we measure projects directed at the education of children and teenagers? The discussion stressed the need for research into how given programmes will be looked upon by youngsters – will they receive their acceptance? The City of Stockholm has risen to this challenge by conducting a survey, every 6 years since 1985, about cultural and leisure customs of children, young people and adults. The aim is to compare customs, experiences and values over time and between different parts of Stockholm regarding socio-economic background, ethnicity and gender. This is a way of following up the goals of the city and trying to see which groups are reached by the city's resources and ventures. These surveys are also a way of listening to the opinions and suggestions of children and young people in line with the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. The same happens in Denmark, where the Survey on Cultural Habits has included children (7–15 year olds) since 1987.

Beyond efforts to implement cultural education in schools' curricula, discussions are underway regarding ways of developing more informal meeting places with opportunities for young people to create their own culture. Stockholm, among others, wants to develop meeting points and new forms and models for children and young people, not necessarily run by the city administration alone. Examples of projects according to cities' strategies to involve especially young people in artistic expression are given in Chapter 7.

Furthermore, all the cities involved in the EUROCULT21 project host a multitude of (further) education, training and performance facilities for young artists to foster artistic production and to support professionalisation of promising talents (see also Chapter 5). They are run in various forms of cooperation between cities' administrations, the big cultural institutions, NGOs and artists, as described in the following example offered by the City of Leipzig.

LEIPZIG SCHOLARSHIP FOR YOUNG JAZZ MUSICIANS

Visions and goals
As a city of music, Leipzig is linked to such big names as JS Bach, F Mendelssohn Bartholdy, R and C Schumann, R Wagner, M Reger and H Eisler. It is also associated with the opera, St Thomas' Choir and especially the Gewandhaus Orchestra and the Academy for Music and Theatre, founded by Mendelssohn. But there are also many young artists and ensembles in classical and popular music who create a unique atmosphere in this city in which music is not just something you play, but rather something you live. Jazz has been a hit in Leipzig for quite some time. One of the biggest attractions is the internationally distinguished Leipziger Jazztage (Jazz days), now running for 28 years and held for the last 14 years in the Leipzig Opera House.

With its appearance announced nationwide, the Young Jazz Musician Festival has enjoyed a high degree of popularity over the last 13 years, as have the countless jazz concerts and sessions taking place all over the Leipzig club scene. The Leipziger Jazzmusiker e.V. initiative was founded at the end of 1995. The Leipzig Scholarship for Young Jazz Musicians is just as dedicated to jazz in Leipzig. It is not enough just to be proud of an existing jazz scene; it must also be supported. And as in all other genres, supporting the next generation also plays a particularly big role. Thus, the city of Leipzig set a goal in 1996 to offer this scholarship to support artistically gifted youth in the jazz field specifically.

Partners
The Leipzig Office of Cultural Affairs has found a capable partner in the Marion Ermer Foundation for the Advancement of Art and Culture in Saxony and Thuringia, which has financed the Leipzig Scholarship for Young Jazz Musicians since its inception in 1997. Along with the Marion Ermer Foundation and the Office of Cultural Affairs, the Leipzig Scholarship for Young Jazz Musicians board of trustees also includes the "Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy" Academy for Music and Theatre in Leipzig, Jazzclub Leipzig e.V., which makes the Jazztage possible, and the Moritzbastei, Europe's largest youth and student club.

Target group
To apply, musicians or ensembles must specialize in jazz and demonstrate developed artistic talent. Applicants may not be older than 30 at the time of application and must live in the Leipzig administrative district.

Organisation
The Leipzig Scholarship for Young Jazz Musicians is publicly announced each year. The application form must detail examples of jazz music performance and artistic background information, especially the description of a concrete jazz music project which would be of particular interest to the application jury. The three jurors, internationally and nationally recognised jazz musicians and publicists chosen each year by the board of trustees, will select the scholarship recipient from among the applicants. This decision will be brought to the board of trustees with a justification. The scholarship will be awarded during a public jazz music performance.

Contents and results
The Leipzig Scholarship for Young Jazz Musicians has an endowment of €6,500 and promotes the recognition of artistic achievements of young musicians in the field of jazz. Thus, the scholarship supports the efforts of the city of Leipzig in further developing this genre of music. After awarding the scholarship, a double concert showcasing the "old" and "new" scholarship holders will vividly demonstrate their artistic development after one year. All of the eight previous scholarship winners have made names for themselves outside of Leipzig as well, for example by using their scholarship money to finance courses at the Manhattan School of Music in New York. They are increasingly forming their own ensembles and, together with seasoned jazz musicians, are bringing both the Leipzig and national jazz scene to a higher level. Performances by two ensembles conducted by former scholarship winners at the international Leipziger Jazztage are a particular highlight thus far.

Audience development as a strategic value

One basic principle of cultural policy in all European countries is that as many citizens as possible should participate in cultural life. All the work and money expended on public culture policy indeed serve the aim of creating the prerequisites for such free and undivided participation. However, some parts of the population continue to suffer from inhibitions which prevent them from participating fully. For this reason, suitable measures are taken at all levels of cultural support, for example in the course of cultural education, in order to reduce the difficulties of access to culture which are based in education.

It is not only inadequate preparation during the course of the educational process which prevents access to culture, however. All forms of social disadvantage lead to diminished participation in cultural life. Democratisation of culture is a basic aim of strategies within cultural policy. "Access is a keyword in this context and the efforts to achieve this goal cover both decentralisation of activities and some forms of audience development. Audience development can be seen as an activity aimed at widening the access and reaching new audiences in relation to the traditionally defined high arts, but it can also be seen as an instrument for the development of cultural diversity in the arts" (D Skot-Hansen).

As stated in the national workshops, citizens' access and participation are crucial issues in the current debates. Culture institutions should provide access to the widest possible programmes in order to satisfy most tastes and needs. Local cultural policies should also promote diversity in demand, quantitatively and qualitatively increasing the public's cultural activities, habits and consumption. There is a need for a broader view in education of the arts with more education of society. The cultural institutions, independent groups and departments within the cities are working to develop ways of meeting the needs of various groups of citizens. Culture, in a broader sense, should provide a veritable "school for citizen participation".

Participation and audience development can on the one hand be understood as cultural policy elements or targets which are closely linked to the rationale of empowerment, as they are targeted towards the aims of social inclusion and cohesion on the social level. D Skot-Hansen has discussed this aspect in Chapter 7. In addition, both concepts also touch on the Enlightenment rationale, insofar as the knowledge and education that are at the individual's disposal create vital prerequisites for encouraging participation in cultural events and of-

ferings. Within this context, the Entertainment rationale also plays a part: cultural offerings are increasingly in competition with one another for the favour of the public within an increasingly varied leisure market. Active or passive participation in culture must therefore be shown to be an opportunity for enrichment within the framework of useful leisure activities which – in addition to the educational aspect – offer both pleasure and entertainment.

In recent years, "audience development" have become buzzwords for various methods of reaching new groups. Audience development could be described as "the attempt to be successful at various levels by means of a concerted combination of institutional definition of identity, program policy, marketing, educational programs and fund-raising strategies" (Siebenhaar 2004:13) In this context, "successful" means that the educational aim is fulfilled with regard to culture and that at the same time attractive offerings are developed for as many people as possible from different social environments.

One main question that was highlighted in the national workshops' discussions is how to reach those outside the "official" cultural sector. In Aarhus, for example, audience development is a new but crucial element in the cultural strategy of the city. Previously it was left to the individual cultural institutions to have their own strategy for audience development. Stage one is to have a dialogue between the administration and the institution in connection with the negotiation of new contracts. This may lead to some of the institutions introducing goals for audience development – either in terms of methods of working with audience development or quantitative goals for audience figures. In Athens a new strategic plan for the cultural field of the municipality's policy has been realised in the two past years in order to persuade more citizens to participate, since only a small percentage of the citizens of Athens were participating, often due to a lack of informa-

tion and motives. The aim is to create a wide spectrum of interest for people who have little or no contact with cultural themes.

In the Swedish workshop it was stated that it is of crucial importance to identify the needs of the different groups. The above-mentioned surveys of the cultural habits of Swedish people show clearly that more remains to be done here, as examples from Stockholm and Malmö verify: certain areas are "bombarded" with projects just because they are suburbs, such as Tensta (Stockholm) or Rosengård (Malmö). These areas are targeted for cultural activities. It is by no means certain that these people want the events they are given. New rhetorical methods and points of connection – identification and local history – have to be found to "sell" culture in the suburbs and give local people different events in which they can participate.

In the United Kingdom in particular, cultural institutions are encouraged to place the socially excluded at the centre of their efforts. Museums, for example, rise to this challenge with strategies such as outreach programmes, reducing or abolishing admission charges, and temporary exhibitions for specific target groups.

Many large, especially traditional, cultural institutions are struggling to reach new audiences and are trying to attract a new generation. An example of how to face this challenge was offered by the Swedish workshop: an institution's activity can be moved out of its regular location. Malmö Symphony Orchestra performs an annual open air concert in a park in Malmö, free of charge. This concert attracts many people who have never set foot in the concert hall where the orchestra usually performs. And so these people start to think of the city orchestra as "theirs" too. The Royal College of Music in Stockholm has moved part of its operations to Kista, outside Stockholm, where it can work with local people and local businesses.

Apart from the implications for

empowerment (see Chapter 7), festivals, in particular, seem to be successful in attracting new audiences. Here is an example from Birmingham: the biggest audience participation programme is the weekend-long *ArtsFest*, which was designed specifically to develop audiences for the arts by presenting the public with "taster" sessions given by the best Birmingham arts companies that one would normally have to pay to see (performances range from ballet to banghra and opera to DJs). The festival's reputation and success over previous years, combined with an extensive promotion system, has resulted in *ArtsFest* becoming a major participatory event for the whole of the West Midlands region, with audience figures rising from 75,000 in 1998 to 125,000 in 2003.

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION AND INTERCULTURALITY
THROUGH BARCELONA CITY FESTIVITIES

Popular and traditional festivals are one of the main elements of Barcelona's culture. They benefit from a balance of tradition and innovation, of old and new. There are many strong points to Barcelona's festivals (a packed and extremely lively calendar, the involvement of groups and entities in its planning and management, prominent activity from collectives and associations all year round …), but two things distinguish them and make them personal: Participation and Cultural Plurality.

The popular, traditional festivals are organised by Barcelona's Institut de Cultura, although they seek the participation of the cultural entities, associations and federations in the city. It is a multiparty involvement where there is room for local administration, cultural entities, private businesses and, above all, Barcelona's citizens. Locals play a vital role in the celebrations (taking part in acts, the carnival, processions such as the Three Wise Men, the competitions ...).

The public at the festivals is heterogeneous, of all ages and from all cultural backgrounds and social classes. The main characteristic is their attitude, since rather than being at a traditional music festival or in a theatre, they form an active part of a festive event. These popular festivals favour the participation of the immigrant associations, and especially favour those acts which are suitable for the whole family.

Barcelona's cycle of festivals consists of the Procession of the Three Wise Men, the main Winter Festival (Santa Eulàlia), the Carnival, the Music Festival, the summer solstice Sant Joan festival and the Mercè Festival (the huge annual celebration hosted by the city in September). In particular, the Mercè Festival, Barcelona's main festival, symbolises – beyond the use of public areas – cohesion and integration. It is not just about all the members of a culture coming together. Rather it serves to allow new people, people from other cultures, to integrate, people who want to reassert their belonging to a community that has welcomed them. The Mercè Festival grows each year as a popular event on a huge scale that involves many and is of exceptional quality, getting nearly 2 million people on the move. It involves all its citizens, and strengthens their links with the community.

Another example of participation is the Carnival, which the Institut de Cultura promotes and defines as a festival in which everyone can take part: people from all schools, cities, areas and cultures. It is a very positive fact that the immigrant associations take part. They parade in the main procession before a large crowd. The processions of groups of immigrants have turned the Carnival into an example of cultural diversity and their taking part has enabled the festival to be viewed in a different light to those of the Western tradition. The spontaneous and voluntary work offered by most people when it comes to preparing the costumes, decorating the floats, producing the choreography for the dances and composing the accompanying music, has helped to breathe new life into a festival whose popularity was dwindling.

The organisation of Barcelona's popular and traditional festivals is managed and coordinated from the Department of Festivals and Citizen Participation of the Institut de Cultura, under the management of an executive director. The work team consists of three experts in cultural management, one head of communication and three administrators. With all it does, the department receives help from temporary staff who are occasionally contracted to help with the making of each of the programs (PR, artist managers, etc). For each important festival, Barcelona's Institut de Cultura organises a public tender among interested cultural management companies. The company that wins is granted the management of the Technical Secretariat and will decide which activities will take place.

There are many other examples of measures taken by cities with the aim of "audience development" in the *Profiles Compendium*. They can be summed up as follows:

- A wider communication policy to promote cultural activities (Athens), better publicity in all formats (including digital like the Canal Cultura in Barcelona);
- Locating cultural events in huge and open air spaces (Athens), events spread about various venues in the city (for example Helsinki, Barcelona, Hagen);
- Ticket price differentiation or special arrangements for certain targeted sectors of the public like young people or senior citizens, discount policies on particular days, network ticketing systems (Birmingham), special cards for residents (Jena, Venice, Düsseldorf, Camden);
- Flexible opening hours;
- Achieving audience fidelity by offering membership of user's clubs and season tickets.

The intercultural dialogue

The above case study from Barcelona illustrates another crucial issue of cities' cultural policy which was, despite its relevance for all European cities, explicitly discussed only in the Swedish, Danish and Finnish workshops: the integration of marginal groups, especially ethnic minorities, in the cultural life of a city, or in other words, handling the challenge of multiculturalism. The often poor measures taken to enhance multiculturalism do not seem to be in line with the strategies stressing its importance.

Arts and culture were considered as a key to mutual understanding between different cultures. Once again, the role of arts education was highlighted in making people more open to other cultures. But "official" cultural life is largely Western. The different cultures present in the cities might not know or might not be interested in what is on offer. Until now, ethnic cultures have

not gained a foothold in, for example, Finnish cities, as Helsinki's story about "Non-Visible and Non-Audible Migrants" impressively shows. It was stated in the Finnish workshop that supporting small festivals is a way of reinforcing the voices of different marginal groups in Helsinki. As regards ethnic minorities, the International Cultural Centre *Caisa* promotes the interaction of people from different countries and provides information about various cultures and about Finnish society. For instance, an Info Bank containing basic information for immigrants on the functioning of society and opportunities in Finland has been constructed at *Caisa*'s website *(www.caisa.hel.fi)* with ESR funding, but now the funding is coming to an end and the future of the Info Bank is insecure. This kind of insecurity seems to be a common problem in the work carried out with ethnic minorities.

In addition, many participants in the Finnish workshop felt that it was sometimes difficult to address ethnic minorities as they formed diverse groups that were often very different from each other. Ethnic groups sometimes apply for funding for their own events but are not very often engaged in the activities organised by the cities' cultural departments. The question was how to encourage the ethnic minorities to integrate into Finnish life without losing their own identity and feeling that they are being pushed into something they do not want to be part of.

To illustrate this difficult balance in cities' cultural policy, some best and also "bad" practices are taken from the Danish workshop:

- In Aalborg considerable work has been done on the integration of immigrant children in the club life through funding from a pool for development. This has been a success;
- In Albertslund the public library has led a project for immigrant women in a language school. They were not making progress and the local authorities saw no

way out other than to offer them a pension. The Danish National Library Authority offered financial aid to create basic knowledge for these women;
- In Esbjerg the public library has worked with integration too. Immigrants use the health services to establish social contacts. The library cooperates with a female physician about information and integration;
- In Albertslund a project involving young immigrants has failed. They wanted to form their own club, where they could play football. Instead they became part of an already existing club. The idea was that they should be socialised into a structure, which we view as valuable. It was assumed that the immigrants were responsible and independent people. The project failed. The young immigrants sold their kit and were kicked out of the tournament. The coach said "never again". This is an example where the line between club life and the educational area slips. Young people should meet where they are.

The City of Düsseldorf is a good example of a city which emphasises the role of internationalisation and ethnic minorities in its development strategy. The city actively tries to attract talented immigrants and helps them to create their own ethnic spaces in the city.

Facing the new phenomena of globalisation and immigration, diversity management and new policies to promote interculturality acquire decisive importance in local cultural action. In this process intercultural education and competencies could be considered as future key qualifications. "A new schools' curriculum 'Intercultural education' is to be developed and put into practice (similar to the Netherlands). Intercultural education is not only restricted to learning languages, but has to include sensuous experiences of all forms of arts and culture" (Scheydt 2004: 12).

Challenges

After having analysed the database, it is clear that cultural and educational policy will have to tackle the following challenges (also obstacles) with respect to arts and cultural education.

On the one hand, education is generally recognised as an investment in society's future, although, within the framework of the knowledge society, this often only refers to vocational education or the acquisition of key qualifications in the sense of economic exploitability. The role that arts and cultural education plays within the context of all-round personal development – in line with the humanistic educational ideal – is a fact that all parties responsible for cultural and education policy take for granted and one that forms the main basis of its legitimation. Furthermore, arts and cultural education are considered to be a crucial precondition leading to responsible citizen participation within the concept of urban governance.

Attracting children and teenagers by a diverse range of events and activities is stated as being the top priority in all cultural-political strategies of the cities involved. Nevertheless, there appear to be serious problems concerning institutionalised co-operation between cultural institutions (such as museums and theatres), artists, NGOs and schools (regardless of level) as primary educational institutions. In general, political responsibility for culture on the one hand and education on the other is established in different departments. Here, there is a great need to work in a more cross-functional manner in the field of arts and cultural education, to break through work and responsibility models and to make synergies more effective. Greater implementation of arts and cultural education in school curricula is also required. As was stated earlier, we need to edge closer to resolving the eternally pending question of improving interaction between education and cultural policies at a local level. More integration is needed between arts education and cultural policy. There is also a need to create new indicators for arts education which measure how many arts education activities are organised by the city, how many children and adolescents participate in these activities, and what proportion of each age group participates in arts education activities at some stage of their schooling, etc.

Reaching young people: the most effort is concentrated in this area, as shown by the large number of very ambitious projects reported by all the cities involved. At the same time, children, and especially teenagers, are a very difficult target group in terms of their interests. Cultural events are developed almost exclusively by adults (albeit educationally trained), but do they really meet the needs of and touch a nerve in children and teenagers? Greater involvement of this target group in the development of events and activities appears to be essential. In this case, the regularly conducted surveys, such as those which are already standard practice in Sweden and Denmark, could serve as a model.

A further important aspect should not go unmentioned here, even though it applies to the cultural sector in general: cultural activities for children and young people risk losing their currently strong position as a result of potential cutbacks in municipal funding according to economic development. It is therefore important to constantly protect young people's right to culture. Maybe a solution is offered by Birmingham, where all major cultural institutions and organisations are expected to deliver education projects and learning programmes as part of their funding agreements with the City Council.

Access and audience development have become key elements in cultural-political strategies over the last few years. As the numerous examples show, all kinds of innovative measures are being taken in the cities involved in EUROCULT21 to come closer to the aim of democratising culture. Nevertheless, knowledge of cultural consumption and cultural habits, the recreational behaviour of the population in general, and the obstacles and barriers to participation in cultural life is required. Only with this knowledge can a successful cultural marketing programme be operated.

Given the current and increasing phenomena of globalisation and migration, diversity management and new policies to promote interculturality have become crucially important in local cultural campaigns. Marginal groups, especially ethnic minorities, should be given special attention in cities' cultural policies. The often poor measures taken to enhance multiculturalism do not seem to be in line with the strategies stressing the importance of it. Therefore, local cultural policies should provide diversity in demand, quantitatively and qualitatively increasing the public's cultural activities, habits and consumption.

Intercultural competencies are becoming increasingly important in the age of globalisation. Tolerant and respectful handling of different cultures can only be achieved with knowledge of the other culture involved; in this respect, intercultural education forms the basis for mutual understanding and offers the possibility of experiencing the foreign concept as a resource and as a gain. In this respect, it appears to be absolutely essential to establish intercultural education in the curricula of schools as an investment for the future.

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Chapter 7

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Community Arts as a Means of Empowerment

"Cultural policies must strike a balance between public and private interest, public functions and the institutionalisation of culture. Excessive institutionalisation or the excessive prevalence of the market as the sole distributor of cultural resources involves risks and hampers the dynamic development of cultural systems. The autonomous initiative of the citizens, individually or in social entities and movements, is the basis of cultural freedom."

(Agenda 21 for Culture, Principle 11)

What are Community Arts?

While the professional arts production and education in the cities usually are linked to the enlightenment rationale, the concept of 'community arts' rather refers to the notion of participation and involvement, embracing the active work of non-professionals. The aim here is not primarily the artistic product but the process as such linked with the objective of empowerment in its broadest sense: reconstructing citizenship and community building.

Empowerment is a concept connected to theories of governance in urban policies and is especially concerned with underprivileged individuals' and social groups' ability to produce and handle mental, material, social, cultural and symbolic relevant resources (Andersen et al. 2003). In many European cities today a growing polarisation is seen between resource-strong and resource-weak communities, groups and individuals. Strategies for em-

powerment aim at giving marginalised citizens and deprived neighbourhoods possibilities to develop those resources, which are relevant for them as part of socially and culturally sustainable development. Projects involving community arts and cultural activities at a local level are often seen as means of strengthening the democratic process and initiating social change.

Community arts as defined in this context embrace activities with many different values and motivations, but they always – in some way or other – reflect the dialogue between the construction of identity on one side and the diversity of initiative, culture and voice on the other. In other words, they construct a platform from where the participants can reflect on who they are in relation to others on a local, national or global level.

Community arts can be community-led, e.g. art forms and cultural activities where the initiative and drive comes from individuals or groups in the local community or civil society. As it is expressed in Principle 11 of the Agenda 21 for Culture the autonomous initiative of citizens is the basis of cultural freedom. This can take place within the voluntary arts, where the motivation often can be seen as personal empowerment, strengthening and altering the image one has of oneself. In other self-organized activities the incentive may be a collective claiming of identity, where marginalized groups or subcultures are reclaiming their identities by performing their ignored histories or re-enlivening cultural traditions. Or it can be the claiming of space where the

invasion or control of public space as seen in gay parades, street-art or other activities is seen as a means of making oppressed cultures visible in the community. In other instances the establishment of neutral space, a safe space where participants from different backgrounds can explore difficult issues and emotions, differences and similarities through art, is at stake (Moriarty 2004:15).

Community arts also include projects initiated from above by city administrations or cultural institutions such as museums and libraries. Where the self-organised artistic expression often encompasses the right of difference, the more top-down organized projects more often aim at ensuring the right of equality. Here the main goals often will lie in a notion of social change, i.e. changing social inequalities and addressing social problems, promoting social cohesion and inclusion or contributing to well-being and health. In some instances they are based on partnerships between the cultural sector and the social or the health sector.

In this chapter, first the over-all rationales of cultural policies in the EUROCULT21 cities are reviewed, concerning objectives and goals underpinning empowerment in it broadest sense and thereafter the "best practice" examples of community arts-projects reflecting this rationale are analysed according to their own goals as the background for an assessment of the main challenges in the field. However, it has never been the aim to evaluate the actual impact of these policies or practices. Even though the material gathered in connection with the

EUROCULT21 project is extensive, it has not been collected in a way that makes a scientific assessment of social impact possible. One can also ask if an assessment of impact is feasible at all: how can the level of empowerment and social change in cities be measured and which indicators could reflect the impact of artistic participation on these dimensions? This would be a whole research project in itself.

The Empowerment Rationale in the Urban Cultural Profiles

In the chapter of "Why urban cultural policies?" the empowerment rationale is discussed on a more general level. Looking at the EUROCULT21 Compendium "The Urban Cultural Policy Profiles" one can find both explicit and implicit examples of the empowerment rationale within the cities' objectives and strategies for cultural policy. This rationale is in no instance the only or the overriding rationale, more likely it is seen as one of several objectives in a more holistic approach.

The English cities in particular incorporate the empowerment rationale in their cultural policies, reflecting the aims and goals of national cultural policy, and more implicit examples are seen from cities in Germany, Leipzig, Düsseldorf and Jena, and in Barcelona in Spain. While the Italian cities Catania and Venice mainly link their cultural policies to heritage and arts production, Bologna expresses the empowerment rationale indirectly in its objective "to bring the city to life as a place and an expression of culture, appreciating the range of different artistic expressions that can involve citizens, to improve the quality of life and broaden horizons".

Other cities like Tarnow in Poland or Athens in Greece have no stated objectives relating to this rationale. In the Nordic countries, Helsinki, Malmö and Stockholm have no formal cultural policy strategies, even though they can show good examples of projects aimed at em-

powerment in practice. In Aarhus 'community arts' is not part of the cultural policy as such and the city goes actively against the tendency of seeing cultural policy as having a social impact in its cultural strategy stating: "Before cultural policy was based on a more instrumental view on culture as a social factor. Now there is greater stress on art and culture's value in itself".

The following examples of objectives and strategies which reflect empowerment in its broadest sense show the many different ways of expressing the intent to use the arts and cultural activities to promote social change, social cohesion, cultural diversity, identity and self-realisation and other empowerment related issues.

Cultural well-being in Camden

In England, cultural policy has been moving up the national political agenda in recent years and there is a growing recognition of the role cultural services can play in delivering the increasingly ambitious objectives for service delivery under the modernisation agenda. Culture is a fairly recent term to be used in relation to local government services. The Department of Culture, Media and Sport believe that councils should embrace this term rather than the more traditional and well-established concept of "leisure". Linked to this is the development of another concept called "well-being" which can be applied at the personal and community levels.

Camden has responded to the government agenda by applying for Cultural Pathfinder status under a government scheme to promote the value of cultural services and has also made "cultural well-being" an integral part of its second generation Local Public Service Agreement bid for additional government resources.

The council believes that culture can make a significant contribution to the economic, social and environmental well-being of Camden. It has considerable value and impact on a broad range of agendas – tack-

ling poverty and inequality, improving health and stimulating creative engagement in issues such as the environment, lifelong learning and active citizenship. An example is Camden's Cultural Strategy "Enriching Life", which sets out a five-year plan specifically describing how cultural providers can contribute to tackling inequalities, facilitate social development and inspire creativity.

Liverpool: an Inclusive and Dynamic Community

Culture is the catalyst for the regeneration of Liverpool, the means by which the city is re-inventing itself. The arts, sport, tourism and the creative industries are critical components in the new, burgeoning Liverpool economy. The City Council's vision for the city is reflected in the objectives of the Cultural Strategy, where empowerment is explicitly mentioned as one of the three main objectives. The goal is "to empower an inclusive and dynamic community" by:

- Building on the strengths of the City's cultural diversity and rich heritage;
- Encouraging high quality and excellence in all aspects of culture;
- Enabling local people to take an active part in planning the future of their communities;
- Increasing opportunities for people of all ages, abilities, and circumstances to experience or take part in a wide range of high quality activities.

The aim is to generate a city culture defined by participation through actively encouraging all residents to participate in the community, creative and cultural life of the city. This is to be achieved through:

- Inclusion: In the City's drive to equality the power and potential of arts, sports, creativity, learning and wider cultural activity will be utilised to engage with the excluded and enable all residents to fulfil their aspirations;
- Accessibility: Openness, moni-

toring and targeted promotion will ensure that all communities will have access to high quality experiences and facilities;

- Diversity: Actively creating an environment where everyone can discover and celebrate the cultural impact of the diversity of peoples resulting from 800 years;
- Excellence: Pursuing and achieving excellence in all aspects of culture will be central to the planning, resourcing, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of all cultural programmes;
- Citizenship: Cultural provision will engage with its audience or users to explore and express citizenship, address community issues and renew city pride.

Promoting a Sense of Communities in Birmingham

The main objectives of the City Council's cultural policy in the city of Birmingham are reflected in its Cultural Strategy which was published in 2002. It seeks to build upon the strengths of Birmingham's existing cultural infrastructure, heritage and diversity to contribute to its vision for Birmingham as a place where people enjoy the twin benefits of being part of a flourishing local community within a large, successful, national and international city. The Strategy itself has 7 key aims, of which one especially addresses the aspect of cohesion:

"To build upon the strengths and opportunities that cultural activity plays in promoting a sense of communities and bringing them together".

Even though the empowerment rationale is not very strongly expressed in Birmingham's formal Cultural Strategy, the city can show many good examples of community arts-projects within this field, as we can see later.

The Self-realization of Youth through Cultural Work in Leipzig

In Leipzig's cultural policy the empowerment rationale is expressed in

directly in only one of the guidelines, which form the goals of the policy. This especially concerns young people and Guideline 6 states:

"Special emphasis shall be given to cultural education and youth cultural work, which shall enable the youth (teenagers) to discover and experience their own ability to express themselves and various forms of expression. Moreover this shall contribute to seif-realisation and social responsibility as well as help the youth to express themselves and become actively involved in a democratic state, to become good citizens which take charge of their own life and to shape conscientiously the community in the future."

Festivals as a Pivot for Cultural Identity in Jena

The city of Jena uses festivals as a pivotal point to enrich local cultural life with their own independent great events. The aim of all events and activities is to shape Jena´s cultural identity, and to start and improve communication between the city´s organisations at high levels, associations and the city itself.

Several cultural events are based mainly on the active participation of the citizens and the support of volunteers. The administration supports cultural associations and individual citizens and involves them in cultural events, e.g. the Zug der Geister- the Ghost Parade presenting historical scenes and figures and the annual Cultural Arena. Furthermore, cultural centres are supported that are open to all citizens or selected target groups, e.g. children, young adults or senior citizens, and offer a great variety of possibilities for cultural involvement and empowerment of the citizens of Jena.

Culture as a Key Element of Social Cohesion in Barcelona

In Barcelona, The Strategic Plan for Culture was approved in 1999. Two of the six strategic lines of this Plan encompass the empowerment rationale with special reference to so-

cial cohesion:
- Making culture a key element in social cohesion;
- Giving Barcelona cohesion as a singular cultural and metropolitan space.

Some of the most important issues with regard to the city's cultural policy and empowerment in the last five years have been the discussion of the three following dichotomies, which can be seen as relevant challenges for all the cities involved in EUROCULT21:

- Local culture, universal culture: It is essential in today's world to understand that the cultural system moves on a world-wide scale and thus a network of interdependent relations links up the territorial cultural sub-systems. This fact involves a series of dangers, although the new technological support systems make it possible to give coherence to territorial strategies in order to confront them. Awareness of the global nature of the task and constructing strategies based on the new technologies are necessary, then, in order to achieve one's own singular space within the world-wide cultural system.
- Consumption and cultural practices: It is necessary to guarantee the instruments by means of which any citizen can have access to the most diverse and creative culture possible and this should be the element that guides any action in response to the demand. Similarly, going beyond cultural consumption, it is necessary to guarantee the right of any citizen to participate and to contribute towards shaping the city's cultural environment.
- Culture and social cohesion: The relationship between these two concepts involves a two-way analysis. First, the dangers for social cohesion inherent in the emerging cultural paradigm must be indicated and, second, the integrating values of the fact of culture must be highlighted.

Community Arts Projects Reflecting Empowerment

One thing is what the cities formulate in their formalised cultural policy objectives and strategies and another thing is what they actually do in terms of financing and facilitating projects within the area of community arts. Here especially the stories from the EUROCULT21 cities found in the book EUROCULT21 Stories (2004) or on the web (www.EUROCULT21.org) give some interesting cases from the "real" world. Not all of these stories have empowerment as their main or only goal, but they may all still be seen as examples of practice underpinning empowerment and social change. For the sake of analysis, the objectives of the 14 stories mentioned below are categorised as

- Cultural Diversity (3)
- Social cohesion and community building (4)
- Heath and well-being (1)
- Individual identity and self-expression (6)

Cultural Diversity

Cultural diversity can very shortly be defined as diversity of initiative, culture and voice. Often diversity is connected to ethnic origin or foreign background, but as a concept it also encompasses differences in class, gender and language. As it is stated in the UNESCO Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 1: "A source of change, innovation and creativity, cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature". Also, it is one of the essential elements in the transformation of urban and social reality.

Only three of the EUROCULT21 Stories address this question directly and the discussion of cultural diversity has been surprisingly absent also in the National Workshops and in the Compendium, maybe because the issue was not explicitly mentioned in the agendas and outlines. But let us look at the three "best practices" connected to this theme that the cities chose to publish:

Veranda – an urban living room for culture concerns the importance of sustaining linguistic diversity. Helsinki, the capital of Finland, has always been a bilingual city. The city has a population of 500,000 inhabitants, where Finnish is spoken everywhere in the city and Swedish is the mother tongue of some 7 %

of the inhabitants. Many more are able to speak or understand Swedish and in some parts of the city even 15-20 % speak it as their first language. The Veranda was opened in 2003 as a cultural café in the functionalistic building of Lasipalatsi, in the very centre of the city. The Veranda was meant to create a relaxed atmosphere for all kinds of small-scale cultural happenings in Swedish. It provided a new open attitude towards anyone, who wanted to take part in the programmes and happenings. At the end of the first year 2003 more than 200 programmes had been arranged at the Veranda and some 6000 visitors had come to the different programmes. It was clear to all parties involved that being an informal meeting point in a big city, the Veranda serves an important function. People belonging to a minority need a certain space where they are noticed as individuals, where their particular needs are recognized and where their own contributions are appreciated.

The second story concerns the integration of ethnic artists into mainstream culture while they at the same time contribute with their own cultural background. The World Music Center in Aarhus offers teaching in ethnic music, as the starting point for cultural meetings between professional musicians and dancers who originate from other countries on the one hand and pupils from municipal schools on the other. Besides the aim to find and use the resources in the immigrant community, the goal is to create an environment, where children and young people experience and work actively with other cultures' music traditions and to create positive cultural meetings between the "old" and the "new" Danes using music and dance as cultural ice-breakers.

The third example Migrating Memories initiated in Malmö is a project insuring immigrants' right to express their own memories and at the same time it aims at the inclusion of the "other" into the national and local heritage. This project is presented as one of the three cases highlighted in this chapter as an especially interesting best-practice case.

MALMÖ
MIME – MIGRATING MEMORIES – MUUTTAJAN MUISTOT – GRÄNSLÖSA MINNEN

"There is no greater sorrow on earth than the loss of your native country." Euripides, 431 B.C.

During an exchange work in Finland in 1999 I saw museum showcases containing keys. The Carelian women locked their houses when they were driven off their land by the Russians in 1944 and they had kept the keys although they were never to return. The key to the home helped them remember. And I started wondering.

What becomes important and meaningful when you leave your country for one reason or the other? What reminds you of your native country? Of what has happened in your life?

These thoughts and a close cooperation with the Department of International Relations in Malmö resulted in an exhibition called "Keys to Memory" in the summer of 2000. We asked immigrants what their most precious object was and got the story behind it. And people entrusted us with the things they valued most for the exhibition. We as a museum were very honoured.

Museum colleagues in Tampere, Finland found the idea interesting and wanted to cooperate in a project involving more than just an exhibition. Together with the Nottingham Trent University in England we created a project consisting of workshops on memory and museums for newly arrived young immigrants, a travelling exhibition, an interactive web site and a two-day seminar on the importance of safeguarding memories. We decided to apply for funding from the Culture 2000 Programme of the European Union in May 2000. This was the starting point of the project MIME Migrating Memories -Muuttajen muistot -Gränslösa minnen.

Migrating Memories was carried out from November 2000 till October 2001 with Malmö Museer as project coordinator and a total budget of 245 000 EUR. Malmö Museer, It was the first EU-supported cultural project ever for the three cooperating cities. Once we had divided the work tasks among each other, the only problems we encountered in the project, namely who did what for what money, were solved.

The workshops involved 70 young immigrants. They put their stories on an interactive multilingual website. The memories were also presented in a travelling exhibition in the three cities. The closing two-day seminar on memory and cultural identity was held on the day after September 11, 2001. A catalogue in the three languages was published.

Migration and immigration was nothing new to our three cities but although the new citizens make part of our society, their stories are rarely to be found in our museums. The MIME project aimed to change that. Now the documentation of the project has become museum objects.

The simplicity of the project idea and the memories of the participants touched the hearts of visitors and colleagues. It was a way to meet another human being. The idea and the project was presented in museum forums world wide and met with interest, as...

"... every person is their own museum, with their own objects, memories and stories to tell" (MIME project catalogue, 2001).

Web site: www.migratingmemories.net

Social Cohesion and Community Identity

Culture can be said to be the "glue" of society and the integrating values of culture are often stressed, especially in connection with the strengthening of national or even European identity. But social cohesion and community identity is also on the cultural policy agenda at the level of the city or the local community where cultural projects are seen as means towards coexistence. Actually the line between projects promoting cultural diversity and projects aiming at strengthening cohesion is often blurred, when the overall aim is "unity in diversity" where the acceptance of cultural plurality is linked with cohesion.

In Barcelona both citizen participation and interculturality is strengthened through the Barcelona City Festivities. Popular and traditional festivals are one of the main elements of Barcelona's culture. Citizens play an active role and hence become essential elements of social cohesion in an increasingly multicultural society. These popular festivals favour the participation of the immigrant associations, and especially favour those acts which are suitable for the whole family. There are many strong points to Barcelona's festivals but two things distinguish them and make them personal: Participation and Cultural Plurality.

The Mercè Festival symbolises the use of public areas. The streets and the squares become the backdrop for expression and civil customs, which are the central values of coexistence. The Mercè also symbolises social cohesion. Barcelona's main festival involves all its citizens, and strengthens their links with the community. It symbolises integration. It is not just about all the members of a culture coming together. Rather it serves to allow new people, people from other cultures, to integrate, people who want to reassert their belonging to a community that has welcomed them. The Mercè Festival grows each year as a popular event on a huge scale that involves many and is of exceptional quality, getting nearly 2 million people on the move.

Barcelona Street Arts, is one of the festivals hosted by the Mercè and is one of the programmes devised to promote civil use of public spaces combining various artistic disciplines (circus, dance, music or theatre), whilst also expressing the issues concerning new urban movements. Barcelona's Street Arts festival shows its true social utility in the sense that, in a complex urban environment where individualised behaviour prevails, it makes spontaneous contact, impartial relationships and cooperation possible to the benefit of all. Street arts as a festive event create sociability and therefore must be considered a significant factor in bringing people together.

In Birmingham two projects have used the arts as a means of connecting people. The Ring of Sound intergenerational choir project was situated in the Perry Common area of Birmingham, a local community that was fractured with particular distrust between older and younger residents. Animateurs from the choir Ex Cathedra, worked with local residents to form an inter-generational choir. The choir was formed with the objectives of getting people together to build relationships in the local community, to learn new skills and to have fun making music. In the medium and long term, it was hoped that the choir would be self-sustaining, self-perpetuating and would be lead by someone from the community.

There were some initial stumbling blocks in handing over the running of the choir to the participants, who were unused to responsibility. Nonetheless, the choir has met its objectives of bringing people in the community together – and a mix of children and adults now enjoy singing in the community. More unexpectedly, the members of the choir have struck up a very developed relationship with Ex Cathedra: part of the project had enabled members to attend their performances, and several have become part of Ex Cathedra's front-of-house team, selling programmes and assisting during concerts.

The other project is Wish you were here? The Ikon Gallery, Birmingham's internationally acclaimed contemporary art venue, initiated this project to build links within the Kingstanding area of Birmingham. It is a mainly white neighbourhood, and has significant problems with cultural deprivation, high unemployment and isolation – many people, for example, do not regularly visit the city centre. The Ikon wanted to utilise the money they had received from Birmingham City Council for Arts Education projects to address some of these issues, by working with a group of nursery-aged children and their parents. The aims and objectives of the project are:

- To create an opportunity for accelerated learning, raising standards and developing creative thinking skills;
- To give the children and parents involved in the project a 'voice' to explore their views, feelings and aspirations in relation to their local community;
- To give the children and parents a sense of ownership of the school, the local area, the gallery and the overall project;
- To create celebratory artwork which everyone can feel a part of and be proud of.

For a group which had never been to a contemporary gallery before, one of the key parts of the project was the visits to the Ikon Gallery itself. Armed with 50 free cameras that had been donated to the project, the children photographed aspects of the Ikon gallery building in the centre of Birmingham – looking at the architecture of the building as well as exhibitions, whilst their parents photographed the surrounding of the gallery and their immediate surroundings in Kingstanding to compare and contrast the two. The photographs were used to create a series of eight postcard designs, that expressed their views and feelings about their local commu-

nity, and were distributed around the city. Strong, on-going links have been forged between the Kingstanding participants and the Ikon Gallery.

A last example of promoting social inclusion by connecting citizens is the Reading Clubs in Barcelona Public Libraries. The main purpose of the reading clubs, obviously, is to encourage reading in the framework of libraries, while encouraging their use and making them better known as cultural amenities that can bring new energy to social life in the different districts of the city. The idea is to make the library a meeting point for people with common cultural interests who want to share readings and ideas; in other words, it should become a space for dialogue, breaking with its traditional image as a refuge for solitary reading. One of the six aims of the reading clubs is to use the libraries as "cultural platforms for proximity and cooperation".

Health and Well-being

Only one of the stories concerns health and well-being, but it is interesting as a case, because it demonstrates the collaboration between different sectors; here the cultural sector and the health sector. It is at the same time a clear example of how culture, in this case music, is used as a lever for social change and inclusion of an ethnic minority into the social system.

BIRMINGHAM
SAMPAD"S ANTE-NATAL MUSIC AND MOVEMENT PROJECT

This project addressed the generally low uptake of antenatal provision in the South Asian communities of Birmingham – something that had been an area of concern for health workers and midwives. At Heartlands Hospital in Birmingham, Parentcraft classes were regularly attended by over 50 white women, but classes run for the Asian community would only attract 5 women, despite 40% of the hospital's users being drawn from various Asian backgrounds. Health professional were particularly concerned that Asian women were delivering their babies not properly prepared for the birth and unaware of the options available to them.

In partnership with sampad (South Asian Music Performance and Dance) the health workers and midwives formulated a plan to provide culturally specific antenatal care, at Heartlands Hospital in Birmingham and at the Brace Street Health centre in Walsall.

Both partners went into the project with different aims: sampad wanted the children to have a creative start in life, and for music to become a more important feature in their lives and the lives of their parents. The healthcare workers wanted to reach out to more South Asian women to ensure that their ante-natal care was as inclusive as possible and that their healthcare message was getting across.

The project was formulated to be very different to previous ante-natal classes offered to South Asian women. The sessions involved a musician, dancer and an active birth teacher: the musician played and sang as the mothers drifted in, setting a relaxing mood, and continued during exercises involving breathing, gentle movement, relaxation and massage. A key part of the sessions was the singing of lullabies and other children's songs from their own language background – in Punjabi, Urdu and Gujarati.

Some follow-up sessions were run with babies once they were born – sampad would like to do some more work with very young children and involve these babies in future projects. There was a marked change in the participating womens' levels of confidence (often they were very young and living away from their family): there is also some suggestion that their new confidence may lead to reductions in levels of post-natal depression. Time overcame the scepticism of staff at Heartlands Hospital, and it is likely that, with a change in the way the hospital is offering antenatal care to all mothers-to-be, some of the key practices from the Asian sessions will inform new practices.

Individual Identity and Self-expression: Youth Projects

All the projects in this category have young people as their target group. There is no question that young people on one side are seen as the most "difficult" group to reach and at the same time the most important target group as tomorrow's artists and audiences. At the same time artistic experiences are especially important in the formation of an individual identity, which in late modernity where identity no longer is given by birth, family and social background or gender can be seen as a long process of 'identity-work'. Here self-expression through artistic production may give life a deeper meaning and direction, freeing and empowering the individual to make own choices.

Strategies to involve especially young people in artistic expression are mentioned in the Compendium as the project Düsseldorf is Arty which is based on the following maxim: "Give us space for artistic ideas, consider young people's culture as a resource, not a threat and listen to the experts – to young people! Young people between 14 and 21 make decisions themselves about developing the projects, and artistic advisors from the city support them by offering infrastructural, logistical and financial support." Another way to support young people who want to make an art project is A quick coin – a grant scheme administered by the Division of Cultural Grants in Stockholm. This will, in as non-bureaucratic way as possible, give young people the possibility to car-

ry out cultural projects. The youngsters receive coaching from experts in places popular with young people themselves. This has become a great political success at it does not cost much money, but creates a lot of activities in the suburbs. Also, it provides an insight into what the culture of the future will look like.

Also in Stockholm a project named CRED was founded in four City Districts by the city's Cultural Department, which also acts as a funder of the project. The project's aim is to regain the credibility of young citizens towards the city's own cultural organisations, such as the Public Library and the School of the Arts. By creating local centres for youth culture, the long-term intention is to make more culture activities in the City Districts, to increase young people´s influence in the planning of these activities and to inspire them to experience and produce culture themselves. This is achieved by networking, breaking boundaries and maximising the use of local resources, which can come in the shape of ideas and engagement as well as physical space and financial support.

In Leeds Get Creative is one of the results of arts@leeds, a unique partnership between Leeds City Council and Leeds' professional arts organisations. Get Creative centred around a week-long programme of creative sessions for young people, fusing theatre, visual arts, dance and music through a process of collaborative working. It targeted young people who have an interest in the arts, but who have not had much opportunity to have a go. All the young people taking part worked closely with professional artists, exploring new techniques, ideas and themes linked to the professional performances and exhibitions that theatre, dance and visual art companies undertake daily. The aims of the project were partly around getting young people to take part, learn new skills and hopefully move on to longer-term arts activity. Besides the aim to actively engage young people in the arts, one of the further goals was to foster an environment which

can support the young people to enhance their social, behavioural and team working skills.

The project Musical Connections in Birmingham was funded by money from funding for community safety, with the objective that encouraging excluded young people into music, and back into a college learning environment, would have a beneficial effect on community safety. A network of 18 organisations, which worked with excluded young people or those at risk of exclusion, such as the Youth Offenders Team and the Asian Women's health centre acted as a channel, informally 'referring' young people to the project. The project aimed to re-introduce these young people to mainstream education, by enrolling them into national qualification programmes. Between 600 and 700 young people are, or have been studying, for qualifications through the Musical Connections scheme, and summer schools, run during the summer vacations, enabling many more young people to take part. Together, they inspired the formation of Music Links, which focused on the musical talent of Birmingham's youth as an economic driver, encouraging participation in Birmingham's music scene.

Several projects aimed at young people take the form of festivals. In Leeds the Breeze International Youth Festival has taken place each year during the school summer term. The 2004 Breeze festival aimed to enable young people in Leeds to gain and learn from new experiences that they are otherwise unlikely to get, and to encourage young people to make the most of life in the city and develop a sense of ownership over what it has to offer. The target market for the festival was 10,000 young people aged 8 - 19 years in Leeds which represented around 10% of the total number of young people living in Leeds in 2004. This target market was planned as a representative sample of the city's young people in terms of geographical area and cultural background. As the festival set out to enable young people

to gain new experiences, segmentation was also carried out in order to ensure that the opportunities put forward by the festival were tailored according to the different areas of the city and the different backgrounds of the young people living there. According to the report the Breeze International Youth Festival 2004 was a great success: As many as 10,000 8–19 year olds from across the city gained new experiences that in many cases might serve to change the path of their lives.

But not all cities are enthusiastic about hosting noisy youth festivals. In the summer of 2000 Koneisto – The Festival For Electronic Music festival took place for the first time in Turku, the fifth biggest city and old capital of Finland. The festival was an idea of a group of young but enthusiastic local people with very little experience of organizing such events, but they decided to do it anyway. The idea for the festival came from visiting Barcelona's Sonar, a festival for electric arts and music festival, which the Koneisto's organizers had loved. The first festival turned out to be both an artistic and popular success with thousands of people attending despite some initial doubts by the media and the punters alike. Right from the beginning, Koneisto became the biggest – and only – festival dedicated to electronic music in the northern Europe. The city of Turku, although very reluctantly, did participate by providing some financial aid for the festival organisation.

The festival was organised again in the following summer. It was even more successful, this time already attracting lots of positive publicity and interest in general in many foreign trend-setting music, lifestyle and fashion magazines. The city of Turku was oblivious to, or reluctant to, recognize this and it was again uninterested in participating in the financing of the second Koneisto. The next year, at quite a late stage during the planning and organizing of the third Koneisto-festival in the spring of 2002, things got more complicated. This time the city council of Turku

refused to provide any financial aid for the festival despite many negotiations.

The disappointed festival organisers, most of them local young people from Turku, then instead went to meet the people from the city of Helsinki, who welcomed them with open arms and with a promise of proper funding and all the help the city could possibly provide. The location of the third Koneisto-festival was then moved quickly from Turku to Helsinki. When the news carried to ears of the city council of Turku, they realised their mistake and made an offer of financial aid for the festival organisation, but to no avail.

Last, but not least is the case-story of The loveliest girl in the world – a project which directly aims at the empowerment of young girls using photographs as a tool. This project is quite different from the rest, concentrating on the individual young girl and her perception of herself by letting her take control of her own image.

HELSINKI
THE LOVELIEST GIRL IN THE WORLD – Empowering photos at the Annantalo Arts Centre

"The Loveliest Girl in the World" – a photographic project launched in 1998 by art educator/social educator Miina Savolainen with ten girls and young women brought up at the Hyvönen Children´s Home in Helsinki. The project revolved round the idea of empowerment and the right of every woman to be queen of her own life and the loveliest in the world. Mina Savolainen spent several photographing sessions with each girl in different years, planning the sessions with the girl in question and roaming the countryside with her. The photos were thus taken in the blue-hued dusk of evening, the springtime forest and snowstorms; in places and conditions in which it is easy to feel a little stranger than reality, the heroine and leading character in one´s own life.

The girls in the project did not primarily represent child-welfare youngsters. Rather, they acted as experts on girlhood and spoke of themes that affect all people. Through the photos the girls and their supervisor questioned and discussed the roles offered the young woman by the media. The perfect figures of the celebs in the media photos strike people of all ages at an emotional level, causing them to feel ashamed of their own bodies and looks. In the Loveliest Girl in the World project the girls took command of the photograph. Why feel grieved by photos of celebrities and one´s own inadequacy when one can, with the help of hundreds of photos, learn to see oneself more kindly and believe one is good, lovely and special?

"The me in the photo was different from the ordinary me. There was just me, the photographer and the camera. Free, different, I don't know how, nice. I hoped the photos would turn out well and be ones in which the landscape and the photo as a whole differed from reality; 'fairytale pictures.'"

Tying in with the exhibition were workshops for families and professionals on the empowering photograph method, and talks by Miina Savolainen and the girls for members of the public and professionals about the project and the empowering photograph method. The public lecture was so popular that it was repeated. The project was Miina Savolainen's degree assignment for the University of Art and Design Helsinki, Department of Art Education, and was carried out in collaboration with the Annantalo Arts Centre on 5–30 November 2003.

www2.uiah.fi/projektit/maailman_ihanin/index.html

MIINA SAVOLAINEN

Challenges

It is striking that all the examples from the EUROCULT21 Stories except one (The Koneisto Festival) are initiated from above, either by the city's cultural administration or led by cultural institutions such as museums and libraries. But then, maybe it is natural that the cities cultural administrations use city-led projects as examples when they are asked for "best practice". The Koneisto Festival is particularly interesting because it is an example of the obstacles young people organising an event from a grass root level for the first time may encounter in a city not geared for this type of activity. This story has a happy end, because the city of Helsinki intervened, but still the story is more about bad practice than good practice from the point of view of cultural administration. Here strategies of financing cultural activities as Düsseldorf is Arty and Stockholm's A quick coin are good examples to be followed. The challenge is:

• How can cultural administrations in cities meet the expectations of grass roots activities, often initiated by young people and reflecting the culture of the future?

The example from Barcelona concerning the city's festival is a good example of the interplay between the city's cultural administration and the local festivals, balancing between tradition and innovation. In the long run the art of administration is to underpin the inherent qualities of these festivals through financing and practical planning without foiling the vitality and at times more subversive elements, especially within the new urban movements expressing themselves through street arts. If the aspects of social cohesion and community identity are seen as the main issue, the festivals in the long run will risk ending either as un-dangerous family feasts or as colourful tourist magnets. The challenge concerning the partnership between city-led and community-led cultural and artistic activities are:

• How can the cultural policies of cities underpin the rationale of empowerment without "colonialising" the inherent vitality and innovative powers of the artistic endeavours in civil society?

Seen from a cultural policy perspective both types of projects, the community-led and the city-led, face a common challenge: to what degree can and should they be measured by the yardstick of artistic quality? Is the most important aspect of community arts, that people come together exploring themselves and their common local identity creating it, or should the concept of excellence be applied as well? This is a never-ending discussion, but seen in the framework of the EUROCULT 21 the Fifth E: Experience, the aesthetic dimension must be considered as the most important issue both for the participants and for the audience. The power of joy is a basic agent of transformation, and for all parties involved this is much greater when the artistic expression is as ambitious as possible. Here community projects involving professional artists can combine the development of political and social discourse with artistic ambition and integrity. The last but not least important challenge to community arts is:

• What are the criteria of quality and excellence for artistic and cultural activities involving non-professionals outside established art circles and how can the aesthetic dimension of these activities be enhanced?

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How can cultural administrations in cities meet the expectations of grass roots activities, often initiated by young people and reflecting the culture of the future?

MIINA SAVOLAINEN

Chapter 8

❧ Eleonora Di Maria, Silvia Vergani

Culture: an Engine for Urban Economic Development

Proper economic assessment of the creation and distribution of cultural goods – amateur or professional, craft or industrial, individual or collective – becomes, in the contemporary world, a decisive factor in emancipation, a guarantee of diversity and, therefore, an attainment of the democratic right of peoples to affirm their identities in the relations between cultures.
(Agenda 21 for Culture, Principle 12)

Is there a link between culture and the economic side of cities?

There is wide debate among researchers and practitioners about the role of culture in the economic development and growth of cities. While the answer to this issue might be evident for "cities of arts" and links with tourism, there are interesting elements that sustain a positive answer to such a question.

Culture can give rise to a wide variety of impacts on the urban environment, from economic follow-ups considered in terms of both direct and indirect impacts of investments (both public and private), to more intangible consequences on the image of the city and an improvement in quality of life, considered to be of primary importance for the competitiveness of a city. Moreover, cultural services play a remarkable role in enhancing the local identity of a specific community and in developing its social and economic environment in an integrated and consistent way. Last but not least, cultural planning may become a foundational pillar in any of the projects of urban regeneration in depressed areas.

In addition, in recent years, interest in cultural industries (and creative industries) as an autonomous economic sector has increased. The European Commission has identified culture and its sub-sectors as one of the engines for the economic growth of European countries. Recent studies have shown that there are more than 7 million people working in the cultural sector – broadly considered – around Europe (MKW et al 2001), with a high rate of growth each year. Consequently, as the EUROCULT21 project also stresses, culture is becoming a crucial priority for cities.

Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) are playing an ever more relevant role in culture, most of all related to the preservation of cultural heritage. While ICT might not always guarantee the same quality of experience as actual physical access to a cultural heritage site, in some cases they could help in its preservation, allowing virtual access to a wide audience and avoiding at the same time any risk of spoiling the site.

As stressed in the framework used in the EUROCULT21 project (the Four E's – see chapter 4), in fact, one of the rationales of cultural policies in cities is Economic impact. If culture has traditionally played a primary role in education and social programmes (Enlightenment and Empowerment), nowadays it becomes more clear also in its impact on the economic development of cities, directly and indirectly (Entertainment). Cities should approach culture strategically in order to obtain positive impacts on (local) economic dynamics, on the basic idea that culture can attract businesses, employees, and tourists. It is not only an issue of the ability and capacity of cultural institutions to produce profit and value-for-money. Rather, culture could impact in a wide-ranging way on the economic dimension of cities, even without a positive return on investments in the cultural domain.

Most researchers and analysts consider the cultural sector still in growth, while the demand for culture ("cultural goods and services") is sustained by many factors: the improving wellbeing of populations that are more interested in spending their time participating in culture, leisure and entertainment activities; a better and longer life that increases older people's demand for culture; a higher level of education; the growing interest in urban centres as attractive places also related to culture (Di Maria et al 2003). Those factors can be considered important drivers for new entrepreneurial activities in the cultural sectors (also linked with Entertainment).

For all these reasons, the relevance of culture arises as a potential asset for cities. The cultural offering stimulates the "creative" factors that sustain innovation, competitiveness and a brand for the urban industries (Florida 2002). In fact, near the cultural activities at the core of the cultural sector, many new activities are developing – e.g. software production, multimedia content management, education, etc. – which are strongly interconnected with culture and its dynamics. Let us not forget the relationship between tour-

ism and culture, where the economic benefits of a city's cultural attractiveness have to be balanced against potential negative outcomes related to the "consumption" of that city by tourists.

As it appears, the complexity in the links between culture and a city from an economic perspective makes it difficult to analyse and predict impacts and trends. However, this domain has to be explored in order to provide policy makers with an integrated framework and offer them a few key elements to outline sustainable planning strategies, where culture can be a cornerstone and not just an additional element in the picture.

Economic impacts of culture in cities

Analysis of the cultural impacts on the economies of urban systems is not easy to carry out and is linked with the specificity of the cities considered. In fact, culture can have either positive or negative influences on the economic dynamics of cities according to the emphasis policy makers and private players give to culture as a source of value. In other words, the cultural sector can be or become one of the (or the main) strategic assets of the cities, in terms of urban specialisation.

The capacity of places to develop and be competitive – that is, to preserve or nurture their drivers of local growth over time consistently with local and global dynamics – requires their belonging to worldwide innovation networks. These global circuits can link local projects and initiatives with those promoted in other urban (and regional) contexts. By accepting the idea that we are in a knowledge economy, even cities are asked to find and identify the most appropriate paths to sustain their ability to innovate and be competitive in the global scenario.

Cities of arts are investing in the promotion of more innovative activities related to culture, not only from a perspective of management of the cultural heritage, but also in terms of creative industries as a mix of cul-

ture and entertainment. For cities of arts, culture represents a self-evident link between the local places and the global economy, by projecting an international dimension onto the city through networks managed also by cultural institutions. On the one hand, such processes have progressively been disturbed by massive tourist flows, controlled by tour operators' strategies. On the other hand, however, in the present scenario, specifically specialised players such as cultural institutions may have a new and important role in proposing and offering new opportunities for urban growth, as knowledge managers and drivers of transformation, or specialised nodes of wide existing or potential networks. In cities of arts, the cultural sector is crucial for setting the direction of investments and planning, strongly linked with other social, economic and institutional urban realities. However, in addition, other cities may reap important benefits from investing in culture, by promoting the development of cultural activities and innovative offerings (i.e. through ICT), developing new relationships with the economic and research environment (culture as source of new entrepreneurship), and developing an innovative approach to cultural management (emphasis on creativity).

The present chapter will explore the link between culture, cultural policies and its economic impacts on cities by focusing on what seem to be emerging as the key elements:

- positive benefits on cultural offering as well as on job creation;
- a new or different image of the city obtained through cultural activities and initiatives;
- a virtuous cycle of culture and tourism;
- new trends related to innovation in culture and its relations with urban places: creative industries and cultural clusters in cities.

Development of the cultural sector
The EUROCULT21 project offered many examples concerning initiatives and programmes promoted by

cities around Europe to support the development of the cultural sector at the urban level.

From a general perspective, the focus is on how urban policies are able to improve the cultural offering and production (initiatives, cultural programmes, new cultural players involved/attracted to the city, urban places, etc) as well as on increasing the demand for culture (in terms of new targets, new areas of the city involved in cultural initiatives, etc).

Approaching culture in order to generate impacts at the economic level necessitates a clear identification of the set of activities and organisations to target and to support with specific policies of interventions. Thanks to recent innovative trends, like those related to ICT (see below), the borders of the cultural sectors are blurring. Hence, a first issue refers to the selection and recognition of those activities that can be related to the cultural sphere, with specific attention being paid to the urban context.

A second level of problems involves the identification of the typologies of players that operate in the cultural domain. As also discussed in Chapter 10 on partnership, there are many differences in the management and organisation of cultural institutions across Europe and between the local and national (or regional) level. This organisational and institutional variety increases difficulties in both comparing policies and evaluating impacts (quantitative problems).

A third issue may arise from the physical and environmental diversity of European cities, where the policies can have different impacts according to the different areas of the city involved. More specifically, this is a problem that also reflects the debate on urban regeneration programmes. Culture is not an island and, because of synergies between cultural activities and institutions and other economic sectors and between urban areas, it is often difficult to isolate and identify direct correlations between cultural policies and economic impacts within cities.

Case studies and examples discussed in the national workshops show many different ways for cultural policies to positively impact on the cultural sector:

- Helsinki, Birmingham, Stockholm, Leipzig and many other cities were particularly oriented to define a positive framework for resource management to sustain the cultural sectors. Specific initiatives impact on grants and funds to support professional artists;
- Barcelona, Venice, Birmingham and other cities have promoted membership and discount programmes to select and increase the fidelity of specific targets;
- Helsinki, Leeds, Barcelona, Aarhus, Tarnow and other cities use festivals as a tool to develop wider and more diverse audiences as compared to the usual participants in cultural initiatives and customers of cultural products.

While the case study on Helsinki below offers an in-depth description of possible economic benefits of a specific cultural initiative (a festival), two other interesting case studies discussed in the national workshops (particularly the Swedish one) stressed the potential economic advantages of fostering cultural activities in an innovative manner.

HELSINKI — A FESTIVAL CITY

There is a festival boom happening in Helsinki. Many small festivals have emerged, which has contributed to the diversification of Helsinki's cultural scene.

The city is often the only outside financer of a festival. The state's support and private money come – if they come – often after the support of the city is guaranteed. The city thus has an important role to play in the development of a festival. Behind the boom of festivals, there is also a new, more positive attitude towards sponsorship. Helsinki's year as Capital of Culture in 2000, for example, played a crucial role in bringing different people together and providing financial support for new festivals.

Festivals could not survive without voluntary workers. The fact that people interested in the same theme – paid or not – work together to put on a festival creates a feeling of togetherness among members of the public. This special atmosphere makes festivals attractive in the eyes of the public.

The attitudes of the municipalities towards festivals have also turned more positive as city officials have understood that organising festivals is a more effective and less expensive way of producing culture than founding institutions. Furthermore, the contemporary use of space has become more valued, among both arts producers and administrators. Festivals enliven urban spaces and contribute positively to the image of a city.

Without an equal distribution of arts institutions all over the country, festivals would not flourish. This brings us to the continuous dilemma between supporting the regular activities of arts institutions and supporting arts projects. Festivals are seen to be part of the latter category. For instance, in Helsinki, there is a growing readiness to give more financial support to arts festivals but, in order to get the national government to support the arts institutions in the city, the city must support these institutions with great amounts of money, and so lesser amounts are left to festivals and other independent arts productions. However, when festivals grow, they tend to become institutions.

Regarding arts production, festivals seem to be a hot topic in the Finnish discussions, as they are in many other countries as well. Supporting festivals is seen a good and economic way of supporting the diversification of the cultural scene of a city.

Festivals also play a part in cities' internationalisation strategies, as festivals organised by arts professional almost always have an international programme. Besides international artists, festivals also bring international tourists to cities and are therefore a good way of making local artists known internationally. Good festivals are cities' marketing assets. They could also be the answer to Sharon Zukin's question in the Finnish national workshop about how the cities can be different if they all want to be cultural cities. A city could be known for one or several festivals that are organised in the city.

If all cities want to develop into cultural cities, the question of specialisation becomes relevant. As Sharon Zukin pointed out, it is important for cities to maintain their cultural authenticity. Concentrating on the cultural areas that are already prevailing in a city can reinforce its authentic cultural character. The cities can also choose to give the leading role in their strategies to the festivals organised in the city. For instance, Kuhmo, a small town in the north-eastern part of Finland with a high unemployment rate, is known for its high quality festival of classical music.

Supporting small festivals is also a way of reinforcing the voices of different marginal groups in Helsinki. As regards ethnic minorities, the International Cultural Centre Caisa promotes interaction between people from different countries and provides information about various cultures and about Finnish society.

Keeping urban space alive is another important end in itself. Festivals often bring the arts to streets, parks and other public spaces, which is one of the reasons why the cities are willing to support them. In general, it seems that, rather than spaces, the cultural actors in Finnish cities lack sufficient financing for the actual cultural activities organised by them.

According to the data collected during the project (see Chapter 3 – Table on the cultural expenditure of EUROCULT21 cities) the financing of culture is an important part of European cities' budgets. More specifically, the main focus of city expenditure is on the maintenance of the cultural offering – particularly expensive in cities of arts such as Venice (about 11% of the city's budget is allocated to culture, more than five times the expenditure of some other cities). A few cities have invested more and more resources in the cultural domain over the last few years, with positive trends in the long run. In terms of expenditure per capita, it is interesting to note that cities such as Leipzig, Stockholm, Düsseldorf and Bologna spent more than others in the cultural sector. This data could stress the increasingly strategic role of culture in those cities for city specialisation or positioning at the local and international levels, on the one hand, and/or an active approach to cultural development (not just management) on the other.

From an analysis of those examples and of the results provided through the EUROCULT21 workshops (see also Chapter 3) there is an evident connection between cultural activities managed by established institutions as well as new players and the economic impacts on the city in terms of:

- better exploitation of spaces;
- efficiency (economies of scale) in organising joint activities by networks of cultural organisations;
- increased levels of participation in cultural activities;
- increased involvement of local communities as well as specific target (membership);
- effectiveness and efficiency in the organisation and management of cultural activities;
- new cultural offering (see also below).

Supporting the development of the cultural sector not only results in an increase in the variety of cultural products and services available, but also augments the level of employ-

ment and facilitates job creation at the urban level in the field of culture.

Recruitment and job creation through culture

As stated in the introduction to this chapter, one of the main reasons for policy makers' attention on culture is related to its positive effects on the level of employment. This is not only due to the role of the public sector – which is the predominant employer in many European countries – but also because of the potential for creating new jobs related to new (emerging) cultural activities (cultural products and related industry sectors).

Moreover, according to the professional profiles located in cities – as well as the characteristics and the structure of the urban cultural sector – one can evaluate the economic specialisation of cities. As shown by the Helsinki case described above, specialisation offers positive benefits for cities in terms of focused training and educational vocations, and a potentially high demand for certain skills or competencies. Those trends are also linked with the development of cultural urban clusters, where the labour market is much more dynamic due to agglomeration effects. However, in the long run it may also exacerbate the problem of a gap between supply and demand, based on an excess of local competition.

Studies of employment in the cultural sectors (e.g. MKW et al 2001; Caves 2001) show a high presence of freelancers and small companies, together with the dynamics of the third sector, while increasing opportunities for job creation refer to the most innovative activities of the cultural sector such as digital product creation and management as well as creative industries (see below). New job profiles are also emerging, by opening up new problems such as the updating of training programmes.

According to those studies, in the arts, culture (and media) sector,

employment is characterised by being atypical (MKW et al 2001:25):

"These atypical forms of employment are characterised by:
- flexibility
- mobility
- project work
- short-term contracts
- part-time work
- voluntary or very low-paid activities
- employee-like, pseudo-self-employment/freelancing."

This characterisation shows that policies at the local level are also important in order to support the 7 million European cultural workers specifically in mobility processes, connections with market opportunities locally and internationally as well as at the very first stages of their working life. Above all, it highlights the importance of policies that sustain entrepreneurship as a key element of job creation in the field of culture. From this perspective, cultural activities are perceived not to be "public goods" related to market-failure problems (Baumol and Bowen 1966), but real domains where new economic players can create and achieve new value.

According to the data provided by EUROCULT21 cities (see also Chapter 3 – Table on jobs in the cultural industries) only a few cities have been able to deliver figures or other relevant information on this topic. However, this data should be carefully analysed due to the variety of approaches to collection used in each city (e.g. different definitions of cultural industries). The interesting thing to stress is the difficulty involved in evaluating those elements even in cities of arts, where culture should be more directly one of the sources of economic development and attention for the city.

There are distinctions at the European level in cities' approaches to job creation in the cultural field. As described in the Birmingham case below, some cities explicitly invest in the creation of programmes to increase the level of employment and business attractiveness in the cul-

tural field. Cities of Northern Europe seem to be more actively oriented towards the development of job creation in more 'innovative' domains (e.g. ICT, creative urban clusters), while in the southern part of Europe, management of cultural heritage is a key issue to address.

Job creation in the cultural sector is also supported through city investments in incubators and other new business-related infrastructures (e.g. the Cable Factory in Helsinki and the Venice District for Innovation). Based on urban regeneration programmes, cities may offer (young) professionals new areas where they can run businesses and offer their services efficiently (see also below – cultural clusters).

Helsinki offers an interesting example of how policies can support the development or improvement of local competencies related to specific cultural activities: contemporary dance. Even though the City of Helsinki has not been able to respond all the demands of the incredibly fast growing dance scene, it has tried in several ways to make it easier for artists in this field to work. Besides supporting dance institutions, groups and festivals, the City also issues a remarkable number of grants to individual dance artists and productions. These grants have greatly supported the rise of contemporary dance as a respectable art form, even on a national scale. The City also offers subsidised office and rehearsal facilities for dance groups and organisations.

"One euro invested in culture brings four euros back" is a true saying in the field of dance. For instance, a remarkable proportion – sometimes even as much as 70% – of the income of the most successful dance groups in Helsinki is earned income. Thus, it can be said that a flourishing dance culture has developed in Helsinki with a growing audience potential. The sheer diversity of the dance offer especially increases the well being of the young urban population, the "creative class" and tourists.

Shaping the image of the city

Broadly speaking, culture impacts on the image of the city abroad and in the way the city is perceived by tourists (leisure and entertainment), by professionals and firms (economic attractiveness for business activities), and by institutions (networking).

On the one hand, the image of a city is a result of history and can be considered an emerging phenomenon. On the other hand, however, urban policies can transform the image of a city through focused initiatives and interventions: e.g. marketing programmes, strategic planning, city branding, etc.

One of the most direct impacts of culture on the image of a city is being granted the title European City of Culture. Through a wide and intensive cultural programme (and by exploiting specific funds), those cities redesign their images outwardly. Most importantly, they exploit the opportunities offered by cultural activities and initiatives in order to enhance, develop or transform the urban landscape and to achieve positive economic impacts (Palmer/Rae Associates 2004).

Benefits relate not only to the worldwide fame those cities can achieve thanks to communication efforts, with consequent positive results for tourism (see below) – but also to the chance to share and spread those advantages from an urban regeneration perspective (suburbs and region surroundings included). Generally speaking, impacts of the cultural programmes refer also to:

- improved infrastructures (investment in public spaces, lighting, cultural buildings, etc);
- increased cultural offering (European scale);
- visitor flows (very positive impacts in terms of overnight stays per city, even if small cities had higher benefits than large ones; not only foreign tourists, but also local visitors);
- economic impacts related to

projects and partnerships (the range of capital expenditure reported varied from €10 million to over €220 million; private sponsorship represented a total of 13.2% of all income generated);
- social inclusions and other outcomes;
- long-term effects (urban regeneration, new specialisation).

Of the cities involved in the EUROCULT21 project, Stockholm, Bologna and Helsinki have been European Cities of Culture.

Even if there is a debate among scholars and experts on the real benefits of large projects on the urban economy (and society) – see the failed initiative of the Venice candidature for the Expo 2000 and other large cultural events (Russo and Di Cesare 2004) – programmes such as that of European City of Culture can have positive impacts on urban contexts.

However, there are other interesting strategies that can define or promote the image of cities outside the local context to increase their level of attractiveness. Festival promotion in the city of Helsinki, as described in the case study above, is a case in point. Another interesting example is that of Düsseldorf, where local and international artists are exploited as a marketing tool to inspire other cultural players to spend time in the city.

Venice has a different problem: the task is not to attract people but to organise and give order to a mass of tourists that arrive in the historical centre. The city's strategy in this case has been to identify a unique logo for the city which is able to identify all the initiatives organised or supported by the municipality.

A totally different approach can be found in Malmö, which hosts Nallekonserter (teddy bear concerts) for children. This demonstrates that the Enlightenment rationale can have a strategic role in the definition of a city's identity. Many children and families come to these concerts to listen to the Symphony Orchestra. This forms part of the social development

of children. Nallekonserter have also become part of the city's identity (the name has been copyrighted), as well as providing benefits in the form of education/knowledge and creating a good image for the concert hall and Malmö Symphony Orchestra, not to mention the city. The concerts are fun for children and also attract people from outside the city.

Each city has to find its own identity – musical instruments are not suitable for everyone or everywhere.

Culture and tourism: two sides of the same coin?

Tourism is not necessarily related to culture, however cities of arts can attract thousands of tourists each year and cultural tourism is one of the most important drivers of the tourist flow. At the same time, cities have to manage a dangerous trade-off between the benefits of tourism as a fundamental driver of economic growth in terms of exploitation of the cultural offering and the costs related to the use of such cultural heritage by tourists. Moreover, there are also problems with the exploitation of cultural assets in situations where tourists' willingness to pay for cultural products and services may be low as compared to other options (leisure, entertainment).

Based on the outputs of the national workshops and data provided by cities for the Compendium, we analysed how cultural policies influence tourism at the urban level, not only in cities known as cities of arts (e.g. Venice), but also in urban places whose tourist attractiveness has been increased by effective cultural policies. The data show the importance of tourism for European cities, and most of the cities were able to provide data on it (in terms of hotel nights – presence – or number of tourists – arrivals). Please see the EUROCULT21 Compendium for a complete description. In some cities the flow of tourists can be estimated to be in the hundreds of thousands (e.g. Jena or Aarhus), while in many others tourism involves millions of people (national tourists and international flows) (e.g. Barcelona, Bologna, Birmingham).

TABLE 1   Number of visitors and overnight stays per year (Data refers to 2003 unless otherwise indicated)

City	Number of visitors	Overnight stays
Aarhus	300,000 (Old Town)	406,400 (2001)
Athens	n/a	5,172,593 (2001)
Barcelona (2003)	3,848,187	9,102,090
Birmingham	19,000,000	n/a
Bologna	n/a	1,115,491
Camden	4,000,000	n/a
Catania	n/a	n/a
Düsseldorf	n/a	2,296,000
Gdansk	n/a	n/a
Hagen	64,889 (day-trippers)	119,704
Helsinki	n/a	2,300,000
Jena	135,743	296,962
Leeds	n/a	n/a
Leipzig	879,191	n/a
Liverpool	7,000,000	850,000
Malmö	n/a	n/a
Stockholm	n/a	4,300,000
Tarnow	n/a	n/a
Venice	12,154,000	n/a

NB n/a means data not available/provided

According to a theoretical model of reputation and pricing of urban destinations considered in terms of tourist destinations/products with a specific life cycle – introduction, development, maturity and decline (Caserta and Russo 2002) – cities may suffer from an "overselling" problem in the long run. Too many visitors negatively influence tourist dynamics and performances. Instead of focusing on high added-value niches of tourist customers, many tour operators are consequently interested in targeting the mass market, which is less informed and is less willing to pay through the nose for cultural products. This vicious circle (Russo 2002) reduces the attractiveness of heritage cities in the long run for specifically targeted groups – the most interesting ones from a cultural perspective. Through this process, urban costs related to tourist management increase without positive incomes and additional resources.

In this scenario, the cultural sector depends less and less on the income independently generated and much more on external sources of funding or public funding. Hence, it could become more difficult for cultural policies to promote or renew the cultural system towards the more desirable target customers.

Possible solutions may be related to: (a) the support of a local form of tourism or the involvement of a wider area in the organisation and finance of the tourist product; (b) rationalisation of the mobility of tourist flows within the city, by encouraging visits to marginal or less known urban places; (c) marketing and branding of the city, specifically oriented to attract selected targets focused on quality.

Barcelona's International Gaudí Year 2002 successfully set out to make Gaudí's work better known. The results surpassed all expectations. Over 50 cities and towns took part, more than 300 activities were organised and about 6 million people attended scheduled events. The direct economic impact of International Gaudí Year was 14 million euros, the impact on tour-

ism 55.2 million euros and the media impact over 30 million euros. The wide range of activities over Gaudí Year, their success and the attention they drew enabled the companies and institutions taking part to achieve a whole series of goals, most of which were to do with publicity, image, the cohesion and motivation of in-house staff (human resources), boosting sales and distribution chains (commercial goals), dissemination in the media, and the participation and involvement of the public (social goals). Barcelona's International Gaudí Year 2002 is an excellent example of how cities can exploit culture to promote or sustain a specific image of the city to outsiders.

Emerging opportunities for cities based on culture

Creative industries as a bridge between culture and entertainment

One of the most dynamic trends we have observed in recent years in the way culture can produce positive economic impacts at the local level is the development of creative industries rooted in urban contexts.

The UK Creative Industries Task Force defined creative industries in 1998 as "those industries that have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property".

Recent studies have stressed the link between creativity and the economic development of territories (e.g. Florida 2002; Oakley 2004) by describing the methods through which local systems and urban areas may increase their competitiveness and economic role in the global economy through a positive impact of creative dynamics and activities – e.g. artistic and cultural activities. Moreover, the role of artists and their relationships with spaces has received specific attention in this perspective.

Specifically, research focuses in particular on the opportunities for industrial cities to begin the process of urban regeneration through culture on the one hand, and on the creative activities of artists in specific fields (e.g. painting) on the other. Further opportunities, however, refer to the exploration of new opportunities for urban regeneration and development of cultural cities such as cities of arts (e.g. Venice), where culture is one of the main functions of the city, related to tourism and entertainment. In particular, interesting explorations are related to the analysis of the role of contemporary arts, technology-related creative activities and innovative artistic trends in promoting urban renovation in cities such as cities of arts.

According to the outputs of national workshops, an overview of the dynamics in creative industries (related to entertainment and culture) is offered to describe and explain how cultural policies can offer competitive elements for the location and development of firms specialising in creative products/services within the city.

As described in the Chapter 4, creative industries include a wide spectrum of activities originated by individual creativity and related, for instance, to advertising, architecture, design, fashion, television, film, video and other audiovisual production, radio and internet broadcasting, the popular music industry, and publishing. These industries can generate positive economic impacts on cities both in terms of leverage in urban regeneration projects and in sustaining the development of cultural clusters at the urban level (see below).

Despite the initiatives and programmes that are still in progress (Oakley 2004), the UK is an important example in the European scenario of how culture and creative industries can be effectively linked in order to generate an impact in urban areas and regions.

As described in the case study below, Birmingham is one of the cities participating in the EUROCULT21 project which has obtained benefits from policies directed at promoting economic development through linking culture and creative activities.

PEKKA KAIKKONEN

BIRMINGHAM: THE CREATIVE CITY

Birmingham is recognised as the second largest media centre in England, employing over 17,000 people and supporting in excess of 1,000 businesses.

The city is home to a thriving community, which embraces all aspects of the creative industries including jewellery, visual and performing arts, craft and design, creative writing, publishing, PR, marketing and advertising, software design and new media, film, television, ICT and games, radio, music, music technology, and photography. As well as being a regional home to major broadcasters such as the BBC, ITV Central, and newspaper publisher Trinity Mirror there are a wide range of art galleries and theatres, and the city is home to the Birmingham Royal Ballet, the Birmingham Opera Company and the CBSO (City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra).

The creative industries are one of the key sectors of growth and expansion in the region, and the many opportunities on offer embrace and enrich the wide diversity of talent located in this unique city. There are major developments planned throughout the Creative City and many are already underway throughout the Eastside, the Jewellery Quarter and the Custard Factory, all of which create a focus for further growth and support for industries in the coming years.

The Creative Development Team of Birmingham City Council's Economic Development Service operates a number of initiatives in order to assist creative industries. These include:
- Business Support for the Creative Industries (BSCI) including the Creative City Awards
- Creative City: Innovation and Research and Development.

BSCI
The Creative Development Team has secured European funding to support the creative sector, in the form of the Business Support for the Creative Industries (BSCI) Programme.

This program was launched by Birmingham City Council, and is designed to assist both new and existing small- to medium-sized enterprises within Birmingham and Solihull. The programme is managed by the Council, and delivered via a number of key partners.

As part of the BSCI programme, Birmingham Chamber of Commerce is now running a programme of free-of-charge seminars to provide local business with information, advice and support, covering all areas of growing and developing a successful business. Since the launch of BSCI, many creative companies have joined the program and have benefited from the unique package of business support that the programme has to offer. Pre-start, newly set up, and established creative companies have all accessed various elements of the programme, and the assistance provided has enabled participating companies to grow, develop, and increase their competitiveness.

The Creative Development Team are keen to publicly recognise the achievements and successes of high performing participants who have benefited from the Feasibility, Creative Space, or Business Development support received via the BSCI program, and so the Creative City Awards were devised to reward such companies. The Awards are open to all creative companies who have benefited from the support of the BSCI programme. There are five categories:
- Outstanding Innovation Award
- Most Promising New Business Start Up
- Small Business of the Year Award
- Outstanding Business Development Award
- Creative Industries Award.

Each successful company collects a Creative City trophy, along with a cheque for £2,000 to help further develop their businesses. One special award of Employee of the Year is also made to an individual who has made a significant and valuable contribution to the success of his or her workplace.

Creative City: Innovation and Research and Development
The Innovation and R&D division of the Creative Development Team has promoted the Creative Industries in Birmingham through a range of projects part-financed by the European Union. These include:
- Creative City (www.becreative.info), an online introduction to five key creative sectors of the city of Birmingham
- Creative Route Map (www.becreative.info/index), a services database for the creative industries in Birmingham
- Knowledge Bank (www.becreative.info/CIKB), a portal for people in the creative industries which provides free information, gives access to free courses, helps improve personal skills, provides support and protection for personal ideas, and helps turn passion into profit
- Music Platform (still under development), the city's music platform that will incorporate digital radio stations and education facilities
- Creative showcase online (still under development), a new portal showcasing local talent.

Through these and other projects, people involved in the creative industries have been able to receive help in the following areas: Skills and Learning, Property, Business Support, and Connecting Citizens.

As emerged from the national workshop organized in Finland during the project, another positive case is that of Turku. The Medieval Market in Turku is seen as the fruit of the labours of a creative cluster consisting of musicians, craftsmen, amateur actors, staff and students at the Arts Academy at Turku Polytechnic, people working at municipal art institutions, and the local community.

In Venice, the Venice Film Commission aims to promote and develop both the local economy and professional audiovisual resources based in the area, while simplifying and facilitating cinema and television productions set in or around Venice.

The most relevant initiatives in Barcelona are the Film Commission, a council office providing a wide range of free services to aid audiovisual production in Barcelona, and the International Books and Reading Year 2005, which aims to consolidate Barcelona as the international capital city of the book and familiarise people from Barcelona with their literary and publishing patrimony.

There is a great expectation from EUROCULT21 cities concerning opportunities related to creative industries – job creation, urban regeneration, increased economic attractiveness of the city from outside, etc. Even if it is not possible to foresee a reorientation of all the cities towards creative industry specialisation, however, the policies promoted, especially in Northern Europe, can become positive examples in the description of a framework for a promotion of local economic development based on innovative actions. In fact, creative industries have strong links with tourism and entertainment, on the one hand, and with ICT industries, on the other. Hence, cities of arts and other cities facing problems of tourist management may find useful elements to develop new projects and offers based on innovative solutions (link with entertainment). At the same time, cities could learn how to develop innovative clusters within the urban borders specialised in ICT, also with positive connections to a renewed exploitation of cultural heritage.

Exploiting proximity in cultural clusters

Cultural clusters describe the positive economic dynamics related to cultural activities and organisations due to their agglomeration in a specific place (the city) – product and process innovation, positive knowledge sharing, collaboration, vital job market, etc.

However, despite the importance of spatial proximity and aggregation in cultural industries located in cities, cities of arts cannot necessarily be considered cultural clusters. Those cities have been defined as a unicum, that is, a "cultural good" in itself because of the synergies between the different elements and cultural components of a city (Mossetto 1992). The attractiveness of such cities does not refer to the offer of any one cultural institution. Rather, they have a special "atmosphere" which represents the overall strength of such cities, but which is also difficult to assess in terms of economic impact (i.e. the value generated by the whole city).

Nevertheless, it is important for cities of arts to look at cultural clusters as a way of encouraging internal collaboration between many institutions and players involved in the cultural field (Lazzaretti 2001). Cultural clusters emphasise the high local "cultural density", where the presence of specialised resources (competencies, infrastructures, organisations, services, etc) can positively sustain local activities and attract new resources from outside.

It is then not just a matter of heritage; instead the concentration of cultural assets becomes relevant in the role of shared projects and policies orientated to the development and aggregation of specific cultural activities in an area. Stressing the idea of cluster means giving value to benefits in terms of knowledge sharing (innovation) and efficient use of resources (external economies) that characterise typical manufacturing clusters (Porter 1998; Marshall 1970). Cultural clusters are considered to be among the typologies of innovative urban clusters (Caroli 2004) because of specific policies of intervention (financial support, infrastructure investments, training, etc) directed towards the development of intangible local resources and competencies in the field of culture and entertainment. Those clusters differ from tourist clusters (tourism driven by culture) because they exploit cultural heritage "passively".

Hence, following this approach, institutions or organisations that are not directly linked with culture may be involved in cluster policies and offer their contributions to generate positive economic impacts. Near to well established cultural assets other cultural products may be created and offered (e.g. entertainment, leisure) by new players who can contact other cultural players at the local level, learn from them or develop partnerships.

The EUROCULT21 national workshops offered important inputs on how policies can contribute to the development of cultural clusters in cities, supported by many positive case studies around Europe (see also the case of Birmingham above).

As pointed out by Professor Sacco in the Italian workshop and by Sharon Zukin during the Finnish workshop, cities can promote cultural clusters or they can be transformed into cultural cities by exploiting and being aware of their specialisation and vocation. In fact, differentiation is the key to avoiding the risk that tourists, firms, professionals and general users perceive all the cultural clusters to be the same (standardisation). It becomes important to preserve the cultural authenticity of a city's history and its characteristics. From this perspective policy makers should evaluate the degree of uniqueness of the cluster in terms of industry specialisation and location (Caroli 2004). Strategic clusters are those which are unique and can exploit such value proposition not only at the local

level, but also globally. At the same time, policies should be able to activate a virtuous cycle that sustains specialisation in the long run (e.g. investing in quality of local resources) and legitimises innovation and transformation in the city.

While the quality needed to develop cultural clusters (image, skills and products, socialising, reputation) can be obtained either through focused planning or spontaneously, there is also a need for a clear strategy of legitimisation to support clusters at both local and international levels (see the case of the Barcelona Universal Forum below). Institutions are also important players in these processes.

An example of an area in transformation initiated by the Barcelona City Council is the district of 22@BCN. During the 1980s this industrial district (22 is a code indicating industrial use of an area) hosted artists and theatre companies, offering working spaces at cheap prices. Recently, the City Council decided that new kinds of industrial uses, e.g. offices for creative and communications industries, should be established in the area. The City Council does not have property in this area and it cannot act as a real estate agent, but the City has introduced regulations which ensure that offices for the creative industries are built in the area and that contracts with the artists working in the area are respected. At 22@BCN there seems to be no conflict between the different actors in the area.

Another important project in Barcelona, the Universal Forum of Cultures – an exhibition on the themes of sustainability, peace and cultural diversity and a real estate operation at the same time – is far more controversial. Its critics' main question is this: is there a need to standardise cultural diversity in a "theme" park outside the city centre, when cultural diversity is already "standard" in Barcelona? The district where the Forum was held lacks a "cultural" history, and it seems that "culture" was transported to the area as a mere tool without any real content. This is where we face questions of authenticity and legitimatisation of changes.

One of the key challenges stressed in the workshops was the problem of "gentrification" (opposed to marketability). Sharon Zukin took up the question of gentrification, which often implies that the artists who have contributed to the rise of property prices in a particular area by living and working there are forced to move out because they cannot afford to live there anymore. Zukin presented the cultural policy models of the cities of New York and London. The City of New York does not subsidise cultural activities. The cultural scene is thus very much market-driven. Rather than the cultural scene, the City wants to help its major industry – real estate – which contributes to the redevelopment of the city for "higher class" uses. The London model is very different. There, the creation of creative clusters is encouraged. The City invests a lot of money in regeneration projects, which are often partly funded by UK urban regeneration grants or EU grants. The City also offers subsidised working spaces for artists. This, however, creates different problems from those experienced in New York. There are conflicts between market rents and subsidised rents, between artists marketing their work and those who are only doing "art for art's sake", and between the changing criteria for allocating subsidised spaces, etc. Both the New York and London experiences show why Zukin is, as she mentioned at the beginning of her speech, rather sceptical about cultural strategies.

Another example related to gentrification is the role of artists in the transformation of the Nikkilä hospital. Nikkilä mental hospital area, situated in Sipoo, about 30 km north-east of Helsinki, was formerly owned by the City of Helsinki. Once the hospital was closed down, it was decided that Sipoo would gradually become the owner of the Nikkilä area, which would be transformed into a residential area. There were already some artists working in the area when it still served as a mental hospital. After the hospital was closed down, the area attracted more artists to work there because the rents were low and the artists settled earlier created an artist community that other artists wanted to join. The Real Estate Department of the City of Helsinki and the developer of the area did not see any benefits in artists working in the area. They even doubted whether the artists settled in the area were "real artists" at all. However, they let them stay because the rents they paid covered half of the operating costs of the hospital area.

To the surprise of the developer, the area – quite an isolated place far away from the city centre – became a very popular residential area. The fact that artists work there has attracted many new residents. The municipality of Sipoo, now the owner of the former hospital area, reacts more positively to artists than the former owners of the land. However, it is harder for artists to work there now as the rents increased when the buildings were transformed into apartments. Despite higher rents, many artists choose to stay because they appreciate the artists' community of Nikkilä.

ICT: electronic networks to support cultural networks

Information and Communication Technologies play an important part in the development of the cultural sector and its economic impact on cities, in increasing the attractiveness of a city and its connectivity at both local and global levels, and in supporting the creation of innovative economic activities focused on culture and entertainment (creative industries).

Since the 1980s and during the 1990s, network technologies have been changing the characteristics, functions and internal procedures of the cultural sectors, as well as the way in which those sectors connect with the "outside": with customers on the one hand, and with partners on the other. Hence, cultural institutions become the players involved in an innovative reorganisation of rela-

tionships between the urban area and the international context, by exploiting their traditional vocation of interaction with customers and cultural users.

The greater emphasis on communication and not only information management in ICT transformation – with the important development of multimedia, online interaction and virtual communities – opens up new opportunities for cultural institutions. New technologies become infrastructures able to host interactive projects and create relationships between cultural institutions on both local and international scales. Electronic networks offer efficient access to online repositories of information and knowledge, by allowing specialists and customers to directly interact with online content and through shared projects.

Through electronic networks, cultural institutions can transform their offer by overcoming the traditional exploitation of cultural heritage and creating new cultural products and – most importantly – new cultural experiences through ICT. Interesting opportunities lie in the renovation of cultural networking among cultural institutions and also among private and public players through the use of ICT (sharing specialised resources, competencies and projects). At the same time, network technologies are extraordinary tools for extending and enhancing the ways in which customers have traditionally reached and exploited cultural goods. The need for better knowledge about the available cultural heritage directed to more effective protection of it represents the justification for the use and implementation of network technologies within and across cultural institutions. Barcelona's Canal Cultura is a multimedia, multichannel computer product covering nine subject areas which contain the latest on culture in the city. This new digital culture project has show the potential of cultural activity in Barcelona as an engine for development in the city and is a step forward in the experiment of introducing ICT into the sphere of cultural dissemination.

Electronic networks allow museums and cultural institutions to increase and transform their established offering into new ones on the one hand (e.g. online ticketing, virtual tours: see the EUROCULT21 story of "History Unwired" in Venice), and to extend their cultural activities towards new domains (entertainment, creative industries, publishing), beyond physical, institutional and geographical barriers on the other (hypermedia characteristics of the Web). At the same time, ICT empowers customers: they can design their own experience of cultural products and services, by exploiting online content and the interactive environment.

VENICEcard: MORE SUSTAINABLE CULTURAL TOURISM

Tourism is a constant in the Venetian economic system. The tourist production chain will be targeted by acting on the tourist offer, on demand, in terms of promotion, and on the sector in general and particularly in terms of its links with the city system and culture in particular.

The VENICEcard, issued in early 2002, is a first attempt at managing the tourist flow in Venice. It aims to improve the overall quality of a tourist's visit to the City by enabling holders of the Card to book services (such as public transport, transit to/from the airport, car-parking) along with visits to the City's main artistic and cultural sites. Obviously, the aim behind this innovation is to discourage improvised or independent tourism, while actively involving tourists in the management of the City.

Bookings must be made at least 48 hours before arrival in Venice: this may be done on the Internet or through dedicated call centres. This will gradually allow the City to manage the tourist flow, predicting in advance the expected number of visitors on any day, and avoiding overcrowding by suggesting to potential visitors that they book during less crowded periods. Working at full capacity, only a limited number of VENICEcards will be available daily: this will make it impossible for too many visitors to book and be welcomed. Clearly, it is important to induce as many people as possible to visit Venice using the VENICEcard, without depriving anyone of their right to travel freely and autonomously.

It is also of fundamental importance that the Card provides access to interesting tourist services. This is being facilitated by the development of a magnetic-storage smart-card to enable easy access to the activities promoted by the Gran Teatro La Fenice, La Biennale di Venezia, and many other institutions.

In order to satisfy different needs, two types of VENICEcard are available: VENICEcard BLU, which includes public transport and toilets, and VENICEcard ORANGE, which includes museums, public transport and toilets. VENICEcard can be bought for one day, three days or seven days.

In VENICEcard's second year of activity, the number of cards sold increased from 6,000 in 2002 to over 65,000 in 2003. The total value collected by Venice Card SpA on behalf of the firms associated in the package deal (ACTV Musei Civici, VESTA and Alilaguna) amounted to €1,950,000. Of this, slightly more than €200,000 was collected through the Internet with an online form developed purposely for Venice Cards SpA, to allow credit card payments.

In 2003, VENICEcard revenues reached about €450,000. Package deal agreements are broadening extensively thanks to partners who are showing an increasing interest in the VENICEcard product. Costa Crociere, for instance, took into consideration abundant requests by its clientele; it is now signing a co-marketing agreement with Venice Cards SpA.

In September 2003, a Carta Giovani was sent to 1,200 15-year-old residents of the municipality. Moreover, a multi-service card system was developed for residents, which provides useful public services, for instance the municipality's demographics, ASL's sanitary services, and the activation of an electronic account for small payments. At last, through a partnership with Emilia Romagna Region, Venice Cards SpA has obtained conspicuous European financing which should help to make its services more accessible to disabled people through its website and the VENICEcard booking form.

The Venetian Municipality holds 70% of the VENICEcards – Le Carte Di Venezia SpA assets. The remaining quotas are divided among public companies participating in the project as providers of logistical services (ACTV Spa, Ve.La. Spa, Alata Scarl, ASM Spa, Venis Spa, Vesta Spa).

Visits to the www.venicecard.it site are rapidly increasing and have reached an average of 1,200 daily hits: this means 35,000 monthly visits, or 400,000 a year. The volume of VENICEcards booked and bought online is currently worth €1,000,000 a year, and is still growing.

Through electronic networks, museums and other cultural institutions benefit from many advantages in terms of:

- a more effective educational role, through a more complex set of information tools (multimedia);
- an increased audience thanks to the reduction of physical barriers to access to their cultural heritage;
- better contractual powers in relation to tour operators and other intermediaries, as the institutions again become direct controllers of their cultural offer.

These benefits may increase the level of attractiveness of a city through its cultural systems, with positive impacts on cultural access and tourist flows. ICT also increases accessibility at a distance, with positive outcomes in terms of sustainability as well as new business opportunities for firms and professionals specialising in creative industries and multimedia content solutions. In addition, cultural institutions can obtain important economies of scale through a rationalisation of resource-use related to extended networking, customised offering and flexibility in their capacity to respond to customers' requirements.

Challenges

The national workshops offered a wide set of analyses on the role of cultural policies in the development of cities but it is very difficult to summarise all the elements discussed and proposed, as it is with the stories and the statistics collected. However, we propose to set out what appear to be the main challenges which cities will have to face in the near future to extract value from culture and generate positive economic impacts.

- A first challenge relates to the development of wide networks of cultural institutions (and NGOs), research and business players to effectively design and control new processes of cultural production based on innovative solutions and new competencies (i.e. exploitation of cultural heritage, and also its renovation).
- Connected with that, a second challenge is the promotion of new and innovative services related to

culture, but also linked with social aspects and entrepreneurial issues (e.g. e-learning, ICT or research-based technologies, etc). As shown by the cases of cultural clusters, culture can be coupled with new business opportunities. Hence, the challenge is to identify need within the city and promote projects of urban regeneration, revitalisation or urban attractiveness (innovative clusters).

- Another challenge lies in the enhancement of links between cultural institutions and research and university systems, relating to focused training programmes, mobility agreements, integration between archives and repositories, and joint projects. Through universities, cities may also establish international connections (and vice versa).

- From an economic perspective, further challenges are, of course, related to policies to sustain collaboration between cultural institutions and the private sector. Cultural institutions are changing from being "containers" of cultural goods to being promoters of a new cultural experience – as producers of new meanings (museums), and as innovative centres for information and content management (archives and libraries). In this scenario, businesses can offer them qualified services and products, as well as collaborate with them in developing new cultural offers.

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Chapter 9

✤ G U Y   S A E Z

Partnership and Co-operation,
Key Instruments of Urban Cultural Policies

The relationships between economy/ culture and culture/territory have for a long time been marked by anxiety. In actual fact, the cultural environment and different art worlds exist in a state of permanent tension between their claims for autonomy and their fears of being subjugated by an exterior power. For a long time, the "commercialism" of the cultural industries and the supposed "philistinism" of local councillors has from this point of view served as a foil; their insistent pressures were feared because they appeared to be dictated by exterior motivations of an artistic order: orchestration, political control, ignorance of the realities of art, lack of openness and the curiosity of local personalities. Faced with these attempts at the subjugation of culture, real or exaggerated, central administration tried to make a good impression by providing refuge and protection. The situation has completely changed, because the context of globalisation and neo-liberal constraints that weighs heavily on governments and has led to the setting of economy and culture side by side. The most open-minded or the most able local councillors have understood that it is in their interests to leave a wide margin of freedom open to local cultural environments. As for these cultural environments, their attitude is less reticent than in the past; if their collaboration is expected in order to serve the dynamism and prestige of the town, if moreover there exists a political accord in order to continue to subsidise cultural expenses at a high level on condition that they are used for local development, then the terms of an agreement are decided upon and fixed.

This is why, today, the valorisation of culture through local development concerns all the actors in these policies equally, local councillors of course, but at the same time artists and professionals, as well as economic investors. Artists and professionals cannot ignore the fact that systems of recognition and careers, depend upon their capacity to impose themselves in the arts world in competition. Up until the 90s, the market was restricted and only allowed a small number of artists and professionals to be elected. Today, these professionals are too numerous to be potentially concerned; essentially because of the market that comprises towns with their infrastructures, their festivals, their financial availabilities. At the same time that mayors are worried about the economic cost-effectiveness of their cultural investments, they are ready to venture above and beyond the narrow limits of an elite art, which can only encourage the growth of the number of cultural actors.

In this section, we will in examine in particular the way in which towns conceive and set up cultural policies based on the participation of numerous actors, each with a different status: political authorities, professional cultural institutions, associations (NGOs), informal citizens' groups, sponsors, benefactors. The data on which our synthesis is based was gathered from three out of four types of information systems of EUROCULT21: National Workshop reports, the Compendium of City Profiles, "stories" written by town representatives and transmitted to the EUROCULT21 website.

The fourth source of information, the "Indicators", was not relevant to our subject. In order to have a fully pertinent view of the situation, certain other information would have been necessary. In particular, we were not able to obtain precise figures concerning credits and subsidies accorded by national and regional public authorities to each town, as well as a comparison of these finance systems in each country. We were also unable to obtain an account of the legislation concerning sponsorship of enterprise and philanthropy in different countries, which are far from homogeneous according to each country and could explain the different behaviour of each town. Lastly, and above all, the towns concerned have provided reports on the way in which they consider partnerships, and on certain concrete actions of partnerships, without giving us relevant figures. Some of this information exists at a highly concentrated level in national statistics, but if it is not put into the correct "situation" in relation to the particular context of each town, it is very difficult to exploit. Other necessary information simply does not exist. This goes to show the extent of what is needed to accomplish the task, in order to get to a clear view of the situation of partnership in European towns and cities. This all highlights the interest of the EUROCULT21 network following a first assessment of the situation, and shows the necessity and the urgency of carrying out research on the question.

In this section, we shall begin by examining the theoretical dimensions of co-operation systems and

cultural governance (I). After that, on the basis of gathered information, we will be identifying the actors of co-operation (II), the different forms of partnership (III), as well as the values that are associated with this co-operation (IV).

Co-operation system and cultural governance

1. Structural changes

In order to understand how one passes from a co-operation system to a form of cultural governance, the institutional dimension of decentralisation that has become common in European countries in recent decades is not the only factor to be taken into account. In the first place, the importance of changes in procedures and tools used in constructing public policies should be underlined, enabling us to talk of a new public action based on partnership, transversality, and territorialisation. This requires research into making comprehensible the artistic and intellectual (and scientific) production of local actors, in order to promote forms of identification of co-operatives, and the finding of solutions. Secondly, the segmentation of the expression of social interests, and the mode of sectorial organisation of which it is the consequence, are disputed by "transversal" policies that aim at a globally conceived territorial development. The best example of this transversality is that of regeneration policies, set up in most cities, and in which efforts are made to bring coherence in the service of a project defined by a network of actors, resources coming from several sectorial policies: culture, youth, associative life, education, social work, habitat…Lastly, along the hierarchical lines of steering and setting up of public action based on the centre-peripheral paradigm, a strategy of territorialisation of public cultural action is substituted, involving different actors centred on a common project.

These changes, concerning the institutional and procedural struc-

ture of politico-administrative interventions, do not make sense unless they are aligned with sociological mutations that have particular reference to "cultural life", and socio-cultural dynamics; what happens when the loss of authority of "legitimate", "central", "elite" cultural values bring at the same time a prodigious extension of the cultural offer and forms of extremely fragmented social appropriation? How, and at what institutional level, is this dynamic taken into account? The transformation of different modes of public action within the closed world of administration, or political executive, can only be envisaged without examining too closely changes in the formation of cultural demand.

2. Culturalisation of space and marketing geography

Insofar as artistic and cultural activities have become emblematic of an economy centred on consumer services, they are no longer so dependent on the prestigious monuments and sites that symbolically inhabit urban space. All urban space becomes a potential cultural resource (Scott, 2000) like that which manifests itself in such a brilliant way with the movement of the artistic renovation of industrial wastelands. The installation of multiplex cinema in the suburbs constitutes another innovation. Of course, these two forms of the culturalisation of space are not produced by the same social and economic logic, but they both obey the same preoccupations of management and repartition of the public.

Cultural activities play a structuring role in the construction of experience and sense of venue, including the less remarkable, in the same way that the place of the Grand Theatre long ago, or the forecourt of the new museum today, has re-qualified the city centre. The culture/economy alliance has become indispensable in order to think about the evolution of territorial governance, and it produces a heterogeneous effect that can be likened to the alliance between social action

and cultural action of the 60's and 70's and the problematic of "culture and neighbourhood" of the 90's (Council of Europe, 1996) insofar as it often concerns the same types of public, and the same "instrumental" rapport with art. Also, in the same way that socio-cultural infrastructures had a mission to represent and animate new residential areas, the infrastructures that concentrate in a peripheral urban pole – a tram station, shopping centres, sport halls, exhibition centres, libraries etc – show that culture is no longer monopolised by the centre of town, but should be present everywhere where the flow mixes (people, goods): the arts re-enchant consumer venues (Greffe).

One understands then that cities, conscious of being in an international competition, are trying to create the best image of themselves in providing urban amenities, hoping in this way to attract new consumers, tourists, employees, etc. This movement that registers the penetration of models in marketing geography in cultural planning contributes to make culture a totally integrated dimension of urban development (Anderson and Gale 1992). Even if economists are still arguing about how to evaluate correctly the "economic importance of the arts" in the financial equations of towns, one cannot ignore the real, material effect of these policies on urban transformations and, more precisely, on the programming of new infrastructures or new services and cultural events. In presenting themselves as creative spaces, large cities introduce the elements of aesthetic/artistic differentiation in their image and their communication. This creativity expresses itself in many ways, in numerous venues. Its economic dimension, henceforth recognised as an argument for urban marketing, is contained in the formulae for metropolitan governance. The most prestigious elements of patrimony, the creation of a museum or a renowned festival, trend-setting artists, the valorisation of an urban framework, create a kind of recipe book combining cultural devel-

opment and local economic development. Since the beginning of the 80's, examples of this urban cultural marketing are numerous. Glasgow is one of the best known; that of Bilbao is even more pertinent (Rauen, 2001). This tendency is becoming generalised, and creativity and identity are attributes of cultural metropolisation; at the same time as sales arguments are remarkable accelerators of the cultural offer, and they create the attractiveness of metropolitan territory.

3. Towards a territorialised cultural governance

The forms of this co-operation are of the "intergovernmental" type: according to the terminology of specialists in public policies, it concerns "multi-level" governance. They privilege the bringing together of state financing and territorial co-operatives, and between co-operatives. Initially, and above all, it involves bilateral agreements between the state and the cities, and the agreements then become multilateral, implicating the regions more and more. They are also spread out to all the other artistic disciplines, and a conception of cultural action open to innovation. That part of the budget which the Ministry cannot cover because of the rapid rise in costs in the field of live performances, new museum actions, and the vogue for festivals, etc, is covered by local budgets. In certain cases, the city has sought other partners – the region, in variable proportions according to the country, for example – in order to share the financing. So in this way, against a background of local solidarity, a regime of financial co-operation between different public authorities has become installed. Today, one has only to open a cultural programme or look at a poster to notice the strong presence of the logos of these authorities, as well as other sponsors. This is not just for promotion purposes, but signifies the polycentric structure of cultural policies, and also that the agreement of decision-makers depends upon an artistic or cultural commitment, and the conditions linked to it.

The different initiatives of partnership mentioned above are the principal steps towards the setting up and the learning process of a contractual co-operation system. The generalisation of debate and practices concerning partnership has only served to consolidate and enlarge this "political grammar" that represents co-operation. In actual fact, new rules have appeared which today form the common institutional patrimony of the cultural action environment. Improved and enriched, committed to memory, appropriated and transmitted during recent years, they should be regarded as a source of reference and practical norms, through which members of cultural networks get into contact, as much as by institutional procedures as by informal information exchanges. It is in the interior of these networks and from this common grammar that the actors elaborate their demands, arguments and justifications. This allows them to insist on the collective dimension of cultural policies, of which the actual forms are the result of a collective learning process. This can be defined not as (or not only as) an adjustment of individual or social interests, but more like a form of confrontation of visions of the world and the knowledge and know-how that everyone possesses. It is therefore a relationship of exchange that is set into place, where everyone learns from the other and where, collectively, the network or the coalition experiments; this is exactly what one calls a collective learning process.

In this way cities, departments, regions, the central administration, and without forgetting the European Commission, seek to work together with their financial resources centred on common projects, which translates into a system of generalised contractual obligations by public authorities centred on concrete action plans – "contracts" having different names according to the country – linking professional actors from associations and the public authorities. This system does not automatically bring about pure and

perfect equality between the protagonists; at the beginning of the 80's, contractual obligations did not work without an imbalance in cognitive, financial, administrative or technical resources, often to the state's advantage, but since then, local actors have been able to enjoy relative autonomy.

At the end of the 80's, the system clearly polarised to the advantage of cities. This change in positions of influence can be observed in the structure of cultural expenditure, where it can be observed that the share of cities in public finance has had a tendency to increase in most European cities, as in the United States. In France, which still passes for a centralised country, city public expenditure is twice are high as that of the Ministry of Culture. Nowadays, towns have competent administrations, a large range and variety of cultural institutions, often of international renown. Above all, they are seen to be poles of artistic creation, capable of holding their place in European competition. Henceforth, one can speak of territorialised cultural governance. Co-operation, such as has been developed between different co-operatives, and between these and the state, has produced a real territorial transition of the European policy-making system.

To recent changes, one should add a more ancient historic dimension. The characteristics of European cities, at the level of urban morphology, of the social structure of their communities, the distribution of economic activities and forms of their administration, are all written into the past. They have contributed to create a European "imagination". European "imagination" is meant here as an ensemble of symbolic signs and representations which, without aiming at unity or identity, are the object of the mutual recognition of the inhabitants of European cities.

This European urban culture distinguishes itself clearly from that of American or Asiatic cities. Recent work has shown that European cities use this culture in order to

assert themselves as actors in the foreground faced with the challenges of the modern world. They display a capacity for political action ns in a large variety of domains (Judd & Parkinson 1990, Bagnasco & Le Galès, 1997). Some of them particularly insist on a very European manner of constructing "growth coalitions" (Harding 1995) and networks of actors who orient political choice (Hennelt & Mayer 1992). It seems that there is agreement upon using, as does Mayer, forms of mobilisation of "civil society" actors, and groups of economic interests, more or less in line with the local policymaking authorities (Mayer, 1995).

II. The town and its network of actors

To the question "what does a city or a region have to do in order to be a winner in world competition today?" the reply of the Italians analysing "industrial districts", the French examining "local production systems", and the English "growth machines", etc., is often that of a concept of partnership in local development. This partnership concept, if it is really integrated into the behaviour of city actors, cannot stop at local economic and development policies, even if it is there that it is the most visible. It also concerns the domain of cultural policies. Urban regeneration, depending upon cultural perspectives and projects, has imposed itself, since the example of Glasgow, as a sort of model (Bianchini & Parkinson, 1993), and one which many cities want to follow, alas, without the same success as Bilbao. The fact that the European "label" (mark of recognition and esteem) "European City of Culture" was accorded to Glasgow in 1990, and then to other cities which had really committed themselves to giving their cultural policies a partnership form, has very much legitimised this vision. The European Commission has moreover targeted more modest towns in Article 10 of ERDF, on the fringes of a much larger programme, the LEDA-part-

nership (Greffe, McDonnell, 1996). For its part, the Council of Europe has emphasised the partnership dimension but in aiming more precisely at social organisations (NGOs and associations) and the possibility of developing a third cultural sector in a stronger way (d'Angelo, 2000). Partnership has therefore become, at one and the same time, a practice of actors in cultural policies, a norm to measure "modernity", and an ideology. Critics who principally emphasise the effects of gentrification of spaces, and the will of the private sector to take control of urban public space through a "symbolic economy" (Zukin, 1995) do not apparently feel discouraged by the experiences of partnership.

But who are the "partners"?

To reply to this question, is to show all the complexity of the network of actors in cities. The functioning of cultural policies in cities depends on the structure of the local actors. The identification of these actors is rather difficult, because their networks are not stable, certain of them only get together very slowly, and others disappear. Also, these polarisations of the system of actors are themselves liable to fluctuate. One can distinguish:

The Municipal Group
This consists of elected political representatives and administrators who manage the functions of the representation of the city, integration of social groups and local conflict, and in relation to these functions, assume the task of cultural policy decision-making. In large cities, cultural responsibilities are shared out between the deputy mayors responsible for the cultural domain and socio-cultural activities. Certain mayors involve themselves personally in choices to be made, above all when the share of cultural expenditure in the budget is high, and when prestigious realisations serve to support their communication policies. This group looks after co-ordination, programmes, their links to the other domains of local political life,

firstly education, then town policies and territorial development. The capacity to convince the Presidents of Municipal and Regional Councils and the involvement of the central administration in the town depends on this group.

The Central Group
It brings together the non-local representatives of cultural policies, Advisors to the Directional Régionale de l'Art et Culture (Regional Directorate of Art and Culture), and central functionaries. It undertakes a double work of "translation": it uses the city as a means of support for its policies, but at the same time it advantageously re-uses those innovations realised in the city in order to make them more widespread. The quality of the relationship between the Regional Director and his sectoral advisers, and the local councillors and their Cultural Services Directors, is fundamental for the development of policies. This group is also strongly linked with professionals, because it distributes the ministerial "labels" (proof of quality), evaluates and controls the artistic quality of establishments responsible to the state. The importance of personal relationships cannot be too highly stressed, and a permanent link exists between this group and the professional and trade union contacts of artists and managers.

The Professional Group
Artists and administrators of local cultural institutions have common interests to protect. They are responsible for the production and the programming of work through which they assert a strategy of singularity and seek to gain a good reputation. Their place in the local cultural system depends on their success in these two areas - the greater it is, the more the "constraints" of the local environment are enfeebled. The status of professional therefore depends on prestige and reputation; those who belong to a "second circle" are more dependent on local finance and are not protected from political pressure and about-turns.

The Amateur Group

Here the concern is not with the public and its lack of differentiation, but rather certain personalities who play the role of the influential person, and the circle of "fans" of an artist. There also exists a large variety of associations that assure regrouping, training and renewal of the public, and who obtain rather important subsidies. Certain of them bring together the public that practises an artistic or cultural activity as an amateur. This group has direct access to political and administrative officials, and the power to mobilise in case of conflict. It organises its networks throughout the town and establishes connections with other non-cultural networks (educational, environmental, social).

The Territorial Co-operators Group

It concerns representatives from other local co-operatives (nearby towns engaged in cultural inter-communality), those of the department and the region who participate in city projects. They can, on occasion, behave like "rival associates" capable of entering into beneficial coalitions, or hinder the realisation of projects when the question of the political leadership of a personality from the local area, department or region, is posed. Some of these co-operations are beginning to become institutionalised as is the case with the network of towns in the Rhône-Alpes area.

The Group of Economic Investors

Newly arrived in cultural policies, it has played an increasing role since the 80's. It can be split into two parts. The first represents the interests of cultural industries. For this group, the town is a market for the distribution of products, audio-visual and e-business principally. But it is becoming more and more an oil-field of creativity, a financial partner. The second part comprises a cluster of entrepreneurs, whose interests are linked to the cultural attractiveness of the town (the economic sector of tourism) and the various sponsors, whose social image is linked to the cultural image of the town (Cohen, 2002).

The Group of Consultants

Very few numerically, and also of recent appearance, this group is nevertheless influential because it has an expertise sought after by all the other actors, notably the financiers. It is composed of specialists in cultural management, working in semi-public agencies (the network of former service agencies to cultural enterprises created at the beginning of the 80's) and private consultancy companies. The vogue for regional or local "observatories" shows that new knowledge and competencies (aesthetic, statistical, cartographical, legal expertise) are seen as fundamental issues and, as such, more and more mobilised for the training and the evaluation of cultural policies.

DÜSSELDORF: PUBLIC/PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP: KUNSTPALAST

The idea for the Public/Private partnership projects in Düsseldorf was conceived more than ten years ago by an idea of the Düsseldorf´s Director of Cultural Affairs, with the aim to continue to finance and develop various innovative cultural projects and institutions in the city. He had the idea of asking local firms if they would be interesting in a possible partnership which could be beneficial to both the company and to culture in the city.

The philosophy behind the idea was by no means simply to find new financial support, but to re-establish old and traditional cultural ties between citizens and local industrialists as benefactors and to forge new and lasting links, as had been practiced in the past.

The first support came from the CEO of EON, a major local and global company, who was looking for attractive and representative new premises for the headquarters of the company, and could imagine working together in some way with cultural and artistic aspects of the city.

The site choosed for the new Public/Private Partnership is the area of the Ehrenhof. This area, near to the River Rhine, has an historical connection to both art and commerce with its trade and industry exhibition halls and with its Kunstpalast.

The area was completely re-plan incorporating a new headquarters for the company and with exhibition halls of the highest quality. The aims wsa to integrate art and culture with business, in a way no longer practiced: to go back to the historical roots.

A foundation known as "Fundation Museum Kunstpalast" covering the whole area of the Ehrenhof, was created. Thus the very first Public/Private Partnership in modern times in Düsseldorf, but based on the historical concept first realised at the beginning of the twentieth century, came into being on the original site.

With this partnership art and culture are intertwined with the commercial aspects of the city, where funding is more broadly and therefore more securely based, and where the citizens are part of an integrated, thriving, dynamic city.

The project was joined some years after its conception, by two more local and global companies.

Since that time another, similar Public/Private Partnership has been established in the Palace and Gardens of Benrath, in the South of the city. Düsseldorf´s original partner in this project was the local and global company Henkel, they have now been joined by Siemens, Stadtsparkasse Düsseldorf, the Countryside Association of the Rheinland and the philanthropist Mr. Udo van Meeteren.

CITY OF DÜSSELDORF

III. The importance of the partnership as an objective in the policy-making process

1. Co-operation between municipal services: transversality

The Spanish national workshop placed emphasis on the fact that cultural policies in general, and local cultural policies in particular, are rarely formulated in a similar way to the strategies and goals in which sector-based policies are framed. This kind of logic should be introduced, and progress made towards establishing much more explicit, transparent and objective "programme contracts". Due to the need for transversality, a high degree of co-ordination and co-operation is needed between the wide range of services and city institutions. So, at internal level, local administrations should ensure that ideas such as the transversal, the inter-departmental,

etc., are more than merely technical concepts. The complexity of today's world requires integral and integrated instruments for action that can go beyond classical departmental structures, and this need is no more apparent than in the field of culture.

It should be noted that the Compendium of City Profiles only takes up the question of these different partners in a very limited way. There is information on the municipal group, essentially through organisational charts of municipal services. One observes either very integrated structures in the municipal apparatus, or on the contrary, more autonomous structures of the "arm's length" type. The first problem of co-operation is therefore that of different services in the cultural field.

In large towns, Helsinki for example, the cultural administration consists of five different departments:
- Cultural Office
- City Library
- City Museum
- City Art Museum
- City Orchestra

In addition to these five departments, some other important operators are directly connected to the town, without formal links to one of these departments.

A completely different choice was made in Barcelona, because the creation of the Barcelona Institute of Culture in 1996 brought together the three organisations involved in shaping cultural policy- the IMBE, the Patronat Municipal de Museus (Municipal Museums Trust, and the Area de Cultura (Culture Department), representing a turning point in local cultural policy. Barcelona officials explain that the integration of different services into a single structure explains that "culture is no longer a residual element in city planning, but one of the main vectors in the shaping of the town". It is also said that this organisation tends to promote and facilitate the emergence of consolidation of the town's main private initiative cultural platforms and projects.

BARCELONA

PUBLIC-PRIVATE CO-OPERATION: MANAGEMENT MODEL

In 1996, Barcelona City Council established Barcelona Institute of Culture.

One of the principles of the Institute of Culture's Statement of Purpose reads that "as a relational city, Barcelona must develop a new mixed public/private model".

In order to consolidate this mixed public/private model, a change in management model was needed, and this, in turn, required a new space for local public action in the field of culture, which has the new function of being a catalyst and leader amongst the many different players that go to make up the culture sector.

Many private initiatives that need public support live side-by-side in today's' culture sector with private business activities designed neither as public sector initiatives nor as loss-making enterprises.

There are several different models for interrelation between the public and private sectors in Barcelona:

1. The first model is related to providing support for players and initiatives that do not imply indefinite dependence, especially in order to facilitate the launch of an activity and give support to small companies engaged in audiovisual content, multimedia production and theatre production. This "emancipatory" support mechanisms are known as risk funds.

2. Another mechanism for public/private links are subsidies, which continue to be a reference for public support for culture, particularly new initiatives and, more specifically, for creative and production activities.

3. As regards its ordinary activities, the structure of Barcelona Institute of Culture is based on 50-50% cofinancing between local authority funding and the Institute's own income. This target entails considerable work in raising external resources, like attracting sponsorship and managing commercial and advertising exchanges.
The Barcelona Institute of Culture budget is disposed of on the basis of municipal funding and expected income, initially consolidated. The adjudication of resources to a given project is in direct relation to its capacity for self-financing, fundamentally through sponsorship and exchanges. To achieve this, it is very important to ensure support from companies and institutions both private and public that wish to become involved in producing a huge range of cultural projects. That is why sponsorship management and negotiation is an element in forging links with businesses that, through economic or product contributions, help to make cultural events possible.

4. There are three lines of action to support cultural production in the city as a whole: support for the city's districts; support for city associations and organisations; and management of outstanding projects meaning, basically, co-ordinating events for third parties. (The Institute organise part of such events and also provides an umbrella global communication campaign.)

5. Finally, one of the most important instruments in the city's cultural policy is participation in great cultural organisations that do not form part of the Institute of Culture itself. Relations with other administrations are formalised, basically, through the consortium formula, with agreements between two, three or four parties at municipal, provincial, regional and state level.

The public-private management model implemented in recent years by the Institute of Culture has produced a series of results concerning the Institute's economic development:

There is a general tendency towards gradual increases above the municipal growth rate.

Current transfers (subsidies, provisions for consortiums…) have acquired preponderance over the others. This is closely linked to the Institute's new role, in which it acts more as a catalyst than a producer of services.

The substantial increase in own income, which has increased by over 100% over the period, shows the economic success of the management model chosen.

Income from sponsorship rose considerably between 1997 and 2002: a total of 126%, signifying annual growth of 25%.

In moderately sized towns such as Venice, Bologna, Liverpool or Leipzig, one also finds very different organisations.

In Leipzig, the Office for Cultural Affairs is known as the Central Administration Unit for Cultural Institutions and Activities, i.e., it has responsibility for support and subsidies to the independent art and culture scene and social cultural projects in different urban neighbourhoods. But if all the publicly subsidised institutions are part of the Department of Culture and Arts, not all of them, such as the Municipal Library office and the Museum of Fine Arts, are part of the Culture Office. It is important to note that Leipzig is one of the very towns to have a Division for Culture Promotion and Sponsorship, as one of the four Divisions of its Office for Cultural Affairs.

Generally speaking, whatever the organisation of their cultural administrations, towns are confronted with the problem of co-ordination with these services (intra-departmental working) on the one hand, and co-operation with other services of the municipal administration (cross-departmental working – housing, urban planning, sports, finance) on the other.

2. Intergovernmental co-operation: towards multi-level governance

One can estimate that the quality of this internal co-operation of the town is a good indication of its propensity to engage in co-operation with other actors. However, according to the Compendium, not all towns give precise indications as to the hierarchical position of "key-strategic partners". Liverpool mentions the co-operative relationship with the Merseyside local authorities, in the sense that they will also benefit from economic and media impact of Liverpool Capital of Culture 2008, but says nothing about relationships at national level. Liverpool also mentions its belonging to a network of towns specialising in cultural questions:

The Core Cities Cultural Issues Group. This group has advocated the role of the city region and commissioned research and a report on culture and the core cities. A report published in 2001 concluded that there is a need for closer and more formal relations between the Core Cities regions and the major cultural agencies.

Venice is the only town to have provided a very clear and complete picture of the cultural institutions situated on its territory, of which the proprietorship or management depends on other authorities – national, regional, ecclesiastic, private. It is only a first step. In order to understand how co-operation is organised, it will be necessary for each town to provide: —

1. a table of specific or mixed financial participation (joint funding) of different levels of government;
2. information on the legal and political framework in which this co-operation is situated: — ad hoc contract, annual contract, regulation, etc.

In actual fact, it is necessary to make very clear and precise the conditions that preside over this co-operation. According to Stockholm, "the influence of the state in culture is considerable, especially as the main state cultural institutions are located here, as well as about 20 museums, with the state as principal. Co-operation between the state and the town is good, one example being that of grants made to non-institutional cultural activities. Co-operation can be good with the state, but complex, because cultural affairs are the responsibility of six or seven national Ministries. Moreover, the state points out that regions are changing, and their integration in different political fields is becoming more and more common. New regulatory measures have been taken to encourage regional dynamics." There is a complex situation regarding competencies over cultural institutions in Malmö, some of them are responsible to the Skane Region, others the City Council.

The situation in Great Britain is apparently more critical. The National Report says: —

"It was felt that the UK community policy is very fragmented. An issue which participants felt should be given more consideration was the nature and range of controls on culture, e.g. the role of state in the control and regulation of cultural life, or the role of policy-making in exerting control". In particular, the emerging new cultural planning operations at the national and regional level need guidance and control. A final observation of the meeting as: - "The Birmingham workshop highlighted the importance of understanding the national and regional context within which the city cultural policy-makers and implementers have to work".

If one starts from the point of view that co-operation between public (and private) entities becomes a general tendency, whether for the annual financing of an important institution or for the exceptional financing of an ordinary cultural organisation's project, it is imperative to fully understand all the mechanisms. In actual fact, if one reasons according to this hypothesis, institutions or activities can be financed by these different sources:

*   *Public:*
    — Municipality
    — Metropolitan unit area
    — Province (kreise,deputacion, provincia,département)
    — Region
    — State administration and/or national agencies

*   *Private:*
    — Earned income
    — Foundations (local, national or international)
    — Corporate sponsors
    — Individual donors

The objective is to understand how subsidies from numerous and independent authorities are brought together on the financial level, and how these co-operations are organised legally and institutionally. In actual fact, the forms of this

co-operation are very varied. Specialists in local development quote: - networks, forums, ad hoc associations, and institutions, according to the degree of integration of relationships (Corman,Greffe, 1999). The town of Aarhus explains very well in one of the "stories" published on the Web (Processes for a Cultural Policy 2004-2007) the strategy that was used for its new cultural policies programme: "The cultural policy of the Municipality of Aarhus was to be renewed by the end of 2003. The goal was to form the foundation for a renewal of contracts. Four focus groups were founded including business, members from commerce and industry, the public, members from various civil society organisations, educational institutions, and cultural actors. In each of these groups, different representatives of the Town Council and cultural institutions took part in the discussions. The overall quality of the content of the policy documents has been highly increased by the involvement of a very wide range of people from different spheres of society", the Head of Aarhus Cultural Department said.

Nevertheless, it has to be underlined here that the method used by Aarhus to structure the global orientations of all the cultural policies remains rare, at least according to the information we have received. For most of the time, the towns refer to their co-operations through exceptional examples and not through a joint procedure.

3. Complexity of public/private partnerships

It is on this point that we find interesting information in the "stories" that towns have chosen to publish on the website Eurocult 21. The status of these "stories" is interesting insofar as it reveals the problems and questions which are today of great political and social significance for the town officials. In this respect, they are in no way representative of the whole of urban policies, but of the most political-

ly sensitive aspects. They are also the means of towns putting forward and valorising the way they handle these sensitive aspects. It is significant to note that most of these "stories" are "success stories". One story that was quoted as an example was entitled "Culture in Urban Governance/The case of Philadelphia's regional performing art." This "story" explains very well the key to success: "Firstly, the local government broadened the number and type of actors participating in the project. A Working Group comprised of key actors from Philadelphia's cultural and business sectors was formed to engage in problem-solving and to build a consensus for a revised strategy (…) The local Government recognised that the Regional Performing Arts Centre project required a new and stronger base for political and financial support". In this way, it gained support from the regional government, as well as corporations and philanthropists.

Through these "stories", one notices, however, that forms of partnership and partners are quite different according to the types of projects. "Stories" from Birmingham demonstrate projects aimed at ethnic communities, such as the Sampad antenatal music and movement, or the "Wish You Were Here" action in collaboration with the celebrated Ikon Gallery in a poor, very deprived, neighbourhood of the town. One can also cite, still in the same town, Musical Connections for disadvantaged communities. In Leeds, the Art@Leeds project and Get Creative 4 engage young people who have had little previous access to the arts. In Malmö, the Migration memories project addresses itself to young immigrant people, and the Culture Activities for Deaf and Blind project, and the World Music Centre project in Aarhus, are both attempts at gaining recognition for the social groups that plead for a multi-cultural society. It is the same in Helsinki, with actions like The Veranda, which concerns making the cultural expressions of Swedes and Russians in the town visible and audible.

In certain cases, such as Barcelona (Citizen participation and interculturality through Barcelona City Festivals), it involves large-scale actions, taking over all the town space, and with hundreds of thousands of participants (like the Parade of the Biennale de la Danse in Lyon). In the quoted examples, it is clear that the objective is above all to enable the "excluded" to participate in cultural processes, through their organisations. It is a Public/NGO partnership, in which sponsors or private benefactors have hardly ever intervened.

One finds them, however, more often involved in actions using high technology, or products linked to the cultural industries (for example, the Circuitto OFF International Short Film Festival of Venice).

As one could imagine, it is in projects with a strong patrimonial and tourist impact that the public/private relationship is best organised. The Meditheatre experience of Catania is an experience that links cultural heritage, e-business systems and partners abroad (Lodz, Athens, Stockholm), and takes part in a network, the aim of which is to improve heritage interpretation. Before the Olympic Games, the City of Athens succeeded in obtaining a contract with private enterprise in order to finance a wide façade refurbishment scheme in the city. During the International Gaudi Year in Barcelona, a big festival with a large economic impact of 14 million euros, and an impact on tourism of 55.2 million euros (according to an official) was made possible thanks to the action of a group of private and public companies and institutions. We find a similar feature with the Venice card project, where public services, tourism actors and cultural institutions promote a card that gives them multiple services and access to cultural resources. The project was a success, with 6,000 cards sold in 2002, and 27,000 in April 2004.

IV. The values of partnership and the risks and limits linked to governance

1. Proclaimed values and uncertainty of action

These problems, and the values involved, need to be situated not only in the public space where they are proclaimed (meetings, concertation systems, documents) but also in the framework of the institutional functioning of cultural services. The need for this to function correctly is a way of directly assuring the cultural policy participants that if they can no longer act in a climate of certainties structured by a dominant power imposing the norms and operating modes exterior to the local community, neither are they in a situation of non-structured certainties, nor of (hardly organised) anarchy. The objective is rather to show how what was formerly structured by law and common rules of behaviour, the sharing of the same political culture, has ceded its place to structured uncertainties through a willingness to co-operate, a more or less clear political agenda, and more or less efficient forms of regulation.

For local councillors, to face this situation consists of insisting on their "method" and their "framework of action" rather than on the finalities of cultural policies. In this way, they try to render values visible and capable of being shared, and on the basis of which agreement is reached without discussion.

Now, these values – identity, responsibility of local councillors, the imputability of decisions, transparency, reactivity – become more and more difficult to perceive as the political networks that take up cultural action branch out and get bigger. In order to reply to the situation of uncertainty, it is indispensable that they grow larger, because many more actors are needed to analyse and define the problems needing attention, organise mediations, invent solutions, and produce assets and services. Five aspects of this cri-sis of territorial public action, which concerns the values held dear by the most willing of territorial co-operatives, are involved here:

Proximity

Cultural institutions should be near to inhabitants, because they are a visible effect of the political work of local councillors. For example, one speaks today of infrastructures of proximity in order to indicate a better availability of services for the inhabitants, a larger facility of use, and, when all is said and done, an incitement to the use of infrastructures that have been freed from their de-valorised socio-cultural image. Moreover, the most prestigious institutions are also invited to find the public where it is available. Certain towns, such as Birmingham, talk of "connectivity". This has for a long time been the case with libraries, different branches seeking to adapt their services in function with the needs of disadvantaged communities. If the cost is not too high, museums will in future also have annexes[1]. If the justification of proximity appears in all debates, but principally in large towns like Barcelona, it should be noted that it comes up against the complexity of relationships and ways of making decisions between public actors in culture, with the effect of cancelling the advantages, by giving the impression of decisions having been taken a long way away, taken in "clubs" to which one does not have access.

Transparency

One expects a more immediate reading of public policies from local authorities. Debates on construction or renovation of infrastructure are the object of numerous meetings with a future public, users' committees, etc, so that the transparency of decisions serves to increase a feeling of appropriation. On the other hand, the opacity that surrounds the choice of creation of infrastructures, the delays due to the complexity of the dossiers, of budgets and agendas not being respected, are politically very costly.

Responsibility

Decentralisation aims to clearly define responsibilities, and to enable an attribution of decisions that really commit local councillors. Now, public action functions more on the club model – "the network" – where relations of interdependence appear inextricable. At the moment of the creation of a cultural institution, one should always ask the question: who are the actors who have the most power?: professionals, associations, or municipal functionaries? All large institutions know this kind of dilemma, but one does not always know how they are resolved, nor by whom.

Reactivity

Those local councillors who are closer to problems, and are more inclined to listen, are in principle able to anticipate certain situations, at least to reply rapidly to social demands, but lengthy or inappropriate procedures make the time of reaction much longer. Those towns that do not yet have infrastructures for the promotion of music of today because they have not yet understood that this kind of infrastructure has now become standard, have incurred a delay that the young public for this kind of music will not forgive. The example of the town of Turku, that missed out on a festival of techno music to the advantage of Helsinki, leaves food for thought. The promotion of new urban cultures or the certification of "emerging cultures", supposes the existence of a system of "artistic intelligence", of the identification of emerging cultures, not only difficult to construct from a practical point of view, but which is paradoxically seen as a threat of "recuperation".

Identity

This value can encompass all the others because the legitimacy of cultural public intervention should permanently exemplify the identity of the town and not just be satisfied with its ineffable character or purely rhetoric invocations. Identity only makes sense in a process of the construction of belonging to something, consolidated by the adhe-

sion of the public to a cultural programme. Rendering less abstract the reference to territorial identity supposes that a real action of proximity is being carried out – transparent, responsible and reactive.

For all that, these values are presumptions of the reality of territorialisation, and the representation of the town as a territory, and are not illusory. They show a form of statement of essential politics in the way that they try to define and bring into existence a political community. The values we are talking about here aim to give a sense to the political community. The gap between stated values, and the probability that they will be realised, is no more than the gap between what the representation says and the reception that represented them. These values are therefore participating in a rhetoric of representation "in acts", and their authenticity cannot be measured in the confrontation between these "acts" and reality, but in their contribution to the creation of a co-operative, which exercises its autonomy and its liberty in pointing out the aphorisms of political debate, by signalling the lies of rhetoric.

2. Risks linked to governance

The tightening of links around the principal actors of the system of co-operation brings about more stable relationships within the network. If a greater regularity of cultural action takes place, one observes on the other hand the difficulty newcomers experience in trying to penetrate these networks. Coalitions have a tendency to close up, to appear more like a not very receptive institutional club. The poorly welcomed candidates often react by taking on an attitude of opposition to the large well-endowed cultural structures, denouncing the absence of "taking of artistic risks" by a system that is sure of its financial support and uncontested legitimacy before a large part of the public. They create their own groups, distanced from official policies, and if their practices and their debates meet with public success, they look for

venues, means, and organise their claims. Observers have interpreted this movement as a phenomenon of the emergence of an alternative cultural offer, which has been recognised or found a place in industrial wastelands. It remains now to organise the place of these emerging cultures within cultural politics, and to organise the circulation of artists between the two networks.

The functioning of the co-operation system, in logically producing its arrangements, norms and routines in complex procedures, loses visibility as far as citizens are concerned. There is a lack of transparency between professionals of culture and representatives of diverse public authorities, members of the network. Then, a fundamental requirement of democratic life, that of attributing clear decisions to the political representatives we have chosen, is no longer respected. It is difficult to be able to attribute clearly to the Mayor, to the County Council or to the government, such and such a decision, which is the fruit of their collaboration. The watering down of the most important decisions – and the most costly – between several partners, who each claim a part, risks ending up in the lack of interest of citizens for the policy in question. Moreover, it can be observed that there is a drop in the politicisation of cultural affairs by the political parties, in the sense that they are less the subject of passionate public debates than they were in the past.

Lastly, one cannot exclude the fact that the very notion of cultural policies could be supplanted if territorialisation goes to the end of its logic. The question of the autonomy of cultural action in actual fact comes up when the public intervention in culture is envisaged as a part of a vast "territorial project", where the effects of synergy and transversality are sought. This is what happens with the cultural section of city policies, generally subservient to social objectives, but again, more generally, with the policies of territorial development, when culture is subordinate to economic orders and "does not in itself correspond to an

end in itself". The Treaty appointing the European Union to institutionalise this mode of action in its Article 151, sets out that "the European Union takes into account the cultural aspects in its action in the same way as other requirements of the present Treaty, notably in order to respect and promote the diversity of its cultures". This has enabled the introduction of cultural sections in programmes financed by cultural funds (essentially INTERREG, LEADER and URBAN and Article 10 of ERDF) and is translated by a higher level of financing of these cultural sections (1,500 million euros) compared with the very modest amounts that the Union consecrates to its programme Culture 2000 (167 million euros). It is clear that this approach to culture, envisaged not as a common property in itself but as a "factor of economic and social cohesion", disrupts the unity of cultural policies such as they have been developed over the last fifty years.

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1) Certain departments are already organised and use this model, and direct a whole series of museums about society localised in communities from a central infrastructure (the Dauphinois Museum in the Isère). The network of the Heimat museum of the town of Berlin is a good example of this model.

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Chapter 10

✿ J U S S I K U L O N P A L O

Urban Cultural Spaces – City as Cultural Space

Culture means City and City means Culture. The liaison between culture and the cities is very strong. And it is becoming even stronger. The identification between culture and cities has been a constant in European history, from the Ancient Greek polis to the recent European Cultural capitals.

'Culture, the engine of 21st century European cities,'

(EUROCITIES 2001)

City is an urban space by definition. Cities are cultural spaces as a multitude of cultural activities take place in cities at all times. The concept and the everyday use of public spaces sets European cities apart from most of their counterparts in North America and Asia as public land-ownership, as well as provision of public services, has always had a strong role to play in the shaping of European societies (Haila & Haussermann 2005). In the theoretical sense of the term, all urban space such as streets, parks, squares, market places owned and managed by the public bodies, whose authority is based on democratic participative communal decision-making such as the municipality or the state, are considered to be pubic space. On the other hand physical spaces such as shopping malls, railway and bus stations are not public spaces by definition since they are privately owned, even if they appear to be so for citizens in their everyday life. Privately owned space no matter how it might be used is controlled by its owner.

Keeping this in mind, cultural facilities and spaces run by municipalities are not considered clearly public space either but these seemingly quite different types of physical spaces are strongly linked since cultural activities do not restrict themselves to public or private space. Most cultural activities need some kind of physical space and infrastructure or facilities, whether this means a building like an opera house or just a playing field of a housing estate. Municipal cultural services are usually provided both in the municipal facilities and in public space. Different types of urban cultural spaces for different types of cultural activities and their provision by municipal authorities is also an issue that often raises questions about financing, allocation of spaces and their usage or the actual activities contained within them. Another issue to consider is that the line between commercial entertainment and cultural events and activities is blurred in many cases. A privately owned gallery or concert venue, are both cultural spaces because of their uses but they are also very distinctly private spaces.

Due to these reasons, defining urban cultural space is not an easy task. The problems of defining the concept of the culture itself have been discussed for ever in the literature (see for example Jenks 1993). UNESCO's Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2002) states that culture is the "set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group and that it encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs". Following the lines that have been used in EUROCULT21, which are rough-ly based on UNESCO's definition above, culture in this chapter is used in its broad sense, consisting not only of classic visual and performing arts, music and theatre but also such spheres of modern societies as education, sports, tourism sector and cultural heritage, the wide commercial cultural sector sometimes referred as the cultural economy, and also all alternative cultural activities and so on. As a good example of this kind of definition of culture in practice is Camden Leisure and Community Services Department which works according to a broad definition of culture which embraces the arts, festivals, sport, libraries, tourism, heritage, museums, galleries, parks, open spaces and the creative industries including broadcasting and film production.

City as a space for culture

Like the scope of cultural activities in cities, urban cultural spaces tend to defy attempts at categorization. Recent theoretical debate on space and urban environment has been wide and far-reaching. Much of the focus of research on the city as a cultural space has been concentrating on seeing the city as a material substance where, on one hand, separate cultural events take place and where, on the other hand, citizens and tourists consume those events (Harris 2002, 7). One point of view is that of the city as a process-like production of urban space, culture and images, tied to the citizens' everyday life and their social networks. This idea is based on a broad understanding of culture and

one in which the city itself becomes a state of creativeness or a constant process of learning and production of spaces, and producers and functions of culture form a new kind of hybrid. This kind of process city, as discussed by Harris (2002), is also about merging functions and contents, expanding spaces, new types of dialogue between city as an administrative body and institution and a network of artists or particular gallery or a club night and so on. The city is becoming a new kind of hybrid phenomenon when looked at from its cultural aspects.

In some of the theoretical discussions and visions, cultural spaces in the cities become something resembling new living rooms for the citizens participating in the networks and activities. Museum, exhibition space, gallery, café, bar and nightclub, alternative culture centre in a squat, a communal swimming pool or an ice-skating rink are all located somewhere in urban space between the home and work, in something that is often not quite public space nor commercial private space. All of these spaces perform as stages for social interaction and can, and do, play host to all kinds of cultural activities. One of the main ideas here is that in contemporary cities the spaces of culture become in-between places, which as a term refers to the combination of the traditional ideas of public and private space (Harris 2002, 5). When the idea of urban culture is used in its broader sense and the concept of urban cultural spaces is taken further to include some of these more unconventional spaces, it becomes linked with urban planning and the discussion about public space, its inclusiveness or exclusiveness and so on.

Towards a typology of urban cultural spaces

One way of approaching the problem of defining urban cultural spaces is trying to map the variety of spaces within which cultural activities in cities take place. Cultural spaces and facilities provided by municipalities form the established range of cultural spaces but the other end of the scale, different types of alternative, independent or even spontaneous spaces where cultural activities take place, should not be left out of consideration. This latter group of cultural spaces has often an important role to play as a growth bed or incubator of individual artists, bands, festivals and so on.

Established Cultural Spaces

The most obvious and in some senses the most important type of cultural spaces in cities is formed by established cultural spaces such as museums, different exhibition spaces, cultural performance spaces (theatre, opera, dance, classic and popular music), concert houses, cultural institutes and academies, schools, youth centres, public libraries and historical and/or heritage city districts.

Open Air Spaces

Open spaces in the urban environment in European cities follow the traditional conception of public space, and, as the argument presented here goes, public space should be considered cultural space. Many of the EUROCULT21 partner cities adhere to this already in their cultural policies and practices. The city government of Venice has launched projects in order to create a bridge between the concept of the city as an open museum and the idea of a city as a cultural open space for production of cultural contents, capable of being visited in a sustainable way, thus guaranteeing on the one hand the quality of tourism and, on the other, financial resources for the preservation of the heritage and better visitor services. Liverpool's culture office is responsible for raising the profile of the environment using creative and innovative techniques ranging form the Good-Bye Litter campaign to public open space developments and the promotion of the environment as a venue for creative arts. In the Athens workshop it was noted that Greek people preferred and valued street art and art happenings and exhibitions in open spaces, since some local projects providing such activities had proven to be highly successful.

At the other end of the scale of open cultural spaces are the open air facilities and spaces for leisure and sports such as parks, nature reserves and similar recreational spaces, sports fields and halls, playing fields, sports stadiums, swimming halls, ice skating-rinks and so on.

Temporary Spaces

Some temporary and more unconventional spaces should also be should be considered cultural space. Spontaneous cultural activities and projects taking place in the open air, 'art happenings', celebrations, festivals, community events taking place on the streets, in local neighbourhoods or city districts.

The difference between temporary spaces and open-air cultural spaces is not always clear but the emphasis on the temporary nature and limited time period of the one distinguishes it from the other. The concept of temporary cultural spaces is also linked to urban regeneration. There are examples of official cultural and art programmes where, for example, artists are granted work or gallery spaces in neighbourhoods or industrial complexes, which are in the process of being regenerated. For instance, in Birmingham there are several privately developed cultural business incubator sites such as the Custard Factory and within the major regeneration area of Eastside, the City Council is developing several disused industrial buildings as temporary cultural spaces for exhibitions, rehearsal and performance spaces and so on. Research literature has also shown that the instrumental use of culture in this way is beneficial for the real estate business.

Commercial Cultural Spaces

Commercial spaces and venues such as art galleries, privately owned museums, concert halls and spaces or

nightclubs, cafés and bars offering cultural activities and experiences are also important cultural spaces and the commercial cultural offer often makes up a major share of the cultural activities in cities.

Alternative Cultural Spaces

Quite a different group of cultural spaces is formed by alternative cultural spaces such as non-commercial and independently run venues and clubs, theatre houses, galleries and cultural centres in houses used as squats and in other kinds of spaces used for cultural activities. These kinds of cultural spaces have often a major role as incubators for cultural activities and production, whether it is officially recognized or not.

Festivals and flagship projects

During the last few years there has been a strong and growing trend towards urban festivals and similar cultural spectacles taking place in public space with temporary infrastructure. The European City of Culture year in different European cities is a good example of this. Many cities, which have been granted the status of European City of Culture have not chosen to invest much in heavy structures such as buildings but have instead provided many more resources for the actual activities. In doing so, they have also often relied on local artists networks and outsourced the organising of projects to independent producers. In many cases, this has represented a considerable direct investment in the local cultural economy and artistic scene. However, whether this investment has yielded any positive long-term impact, either economic or cultural, remains to be discussed and researched (Cantell & Schulman 2001).

On the other hand the trend that started during the 1990s after the success the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, Spain, is a completely opposite example of potential future development of urban cultural spaces. Major investment in physical infrastructure in the form of a high-profile museum complex paid for itself many times over in terms of the worldwide media-interest that it created. The following healthy influx of tourists bringing money into the local economy remains an undeniable fact of the success of the project. However, such flamboyant and often extremely expensive flagship-projects do not usually have much to do with cities' cultural programmes and policies but instead belong, implicitly or explicitly to cities' planning, real estate development, marketing, city-branding and tourism development strategies and policies. In Barcelona's national EUROCULT21 workshop it was noted that the high symbolic profile of many cultural facilities and buildings often turns them into the goals of regional cultural development policy rather than an instrument of it. To combat the proliferation of containers with no content, it is essential to provide public cultural spaces with explicit, solid programmes. A move towards rational objective criteria in regional planning for cultural facilities, taking into account both the basic requirements of the local cultural administration and existing strategic opportunities, is much rather needed than large-scale real estate projects.

FROM AN OPEN MUSEUM TO AN OPEN CULTURAL SPACE:
"VENEZIA SUONA"

The urban structure of the city of Venice makes it something of a natural stage for performances in the open air. During many festivities and events like the annual Carnival, squares of the city become cultural open space for theatres, dances and music performances. Venezia Suona ("Venice is playing") is a one-day event organised since 1999. During the event more than 100 international music groups play in the open spaces on squares in the historic centre, without the support of stages or other structures. The squares hold between 100 and 200 concerts, depending on the year. In last the five years over 10.000 musicians of all the types of music, from the rock to the classical, from the jazz to the popular, have played all over the city, often concluding the day with a collective concert. Venezia Suona is organized in collaboration with the cultural circle "Il Suono Improvviso", the local Authority for Culture of the City of Venice, the Veneto Region, the Province of Venice and many private sponsors.

Without acoustic pollution, Venice is an ideal place for this kind of event. The aim of the event is to promote the typologies of music that are not usual in a city where Municipality mostly promotes the opera and classical music, the kind of music which in the past made Venice famous all around the world. There is a strong tradition in the production and fruition of opera theatre and classical music with three dedicated buildings, but there are no facilities specifically dedicated to alternative kind of music.

The event takes place the nearest Sunday to the 21th of June, the day of the traditional European festivity of Music. In 2004 the event took place, for the first time, not only for one day in the Venice historic centre and the event lasted for two days. During the first day the groups played outside the city centre, in Mestre, the industrial area of Venice. The event was organized with the support of the Municipality and the organization of the City of Venice, which manages the two main parks outside of the historic centre of Venice.

Cultural regeneration

The urban planning technique sometimes referred to as 'cultural regeneration' or 'urban regeneration with the help of culture', has been widely used as a tool for urban development in recent years around Europe and United States. This has been seen mainly as a means of restoring and improving the quality of urban life through improvements to and the development of the unique characteristics of a particular place and its communities and inhab-

itants. It has been suggested that, for enhanced chances of success of such (often very large-scale) projects, the adoption of a holistic approach to urban regeneration is required, with policy-makers using culture as an organising principle for city management and urban design (Wansborough & Mageean 2000). There exists a wide agreement that culture should have a much more important position in urban planning that it has at the moment. Culture could potentially have an important mediating role between different municipal organisations in the planning processes. In Venice's EUROCULT21 national workshop the ability to promote a shared project concerning the local or the city's identity by using culture as a driver in urban development and urban regeneration was seen as an important strategic asset for cities. In Malmö, among many of the cities, stated that it was very important for culture to be incorporated into the urban planning process of the city.

The worldwide trend to transform old industrial spaces into cultural venues or to use culture and cultural values in urban regeneration projects has been visible in several cities participating in EUROCULT21. Urban design is integral to the process of cultural regeneration, as such things as mixed-use developments, environmental improvement schemes and, in particular, public art help in the expression and development of the culture of an area. As an example of this, the art council of Stockholm contributes in making the city attractive to its inhabitants by buying art for public spaces and also construction companies building in the city are required to contribute to the financing of the artworks in public space.

However, some problems associated with cultural regeneration which have been widely discussed in the research literature are the real and the perceived effects of gentrification that often follow urban regeneration, namely people with middle-class –backgrounds finding good housing opportunities, investing in and moving into working- or

lower-class neighbourhoods for various reasons. Besides upgrading the physical environment of the neighbourhood, this is often seen to lead to displacement of original residents and the break-up of local communities. In turn this is seen to lead eventually to growing social polarisation and segregation of cities; the so called 'dual-city' phenomenon (Mollenkopf & Castells 1992), being one of these issues. Whether gentrification as such is welcomed and encouraged or whether it is seen as an unwelcome side effect, is a normative and political question. There are many examples of more liberal city governments effectively encouraging gentrification through tax reductions and such measures and seeing it as a technique of improving the urban environment and physical conditions of specific neighbourhoods.

The issue becomes relevant in connection with urban cultural spaces when one considers one of the most classic and influential studies about gentrification, Sharon Zukin's book 'Loft Living Culture and Capital in Urban Change' (1989). In her study Zukin follows the process of gentrification that took place in New York City's East Village and Soho during the 1970s and early 1980s and especially the important role of local artist community as the unwilling instigators of the process. After most of the companies with small factories and workshops left Manhattan during the late 60's and 70's, many artists and other counter-culture people that rented cheaply empty industrial spaces in the inner-city converted them to working/living spaces for themselves. Eventually they created a vibrant artistic alternative scene in the neighbourhood with galleries and clubs. After the word spread in the media, it attracted real-estate developers and more adventurous middle-class professionals to invest in the district as they saw the great business potential. This in turn eventually led to most of the artists being forced to move out, because of the increasing rents, and real estate companies buying the buildings. After some years, the original artistic scene died out al-

most completely but the districts became some of the trendiest and most exclusive residential spaces in New York City. This example is connected to wider de-industrialisation and the disappearance of working class employment in the cities. This triggered the move of urban working-class people out of a central location in cities to suburban locations and the eventual break up of traditional urban communities, the accelerating of urban decay and the arrival of many social problems as a consequence. Zukin notes that at the time, very similar processes were taking place in other American as well as European cities.

This brief excursion also raises several questions about the role of individual artists and artist groups in the cultural life of a particular city, their demands and needs and how are they taken into consideration, in terms of provision of resources such as working and exhibition spaces.

As an active attempt to try to keep the local cultural and artistic scene alive in a city, the Finnish cities of Espoo and Helsinki, just like many other cities around the world, offer local artists specialised housing and working facilities for a limited period of time. Furthermore, one of the specific goals of the Finnish Housing Fair 2006 and the architects participating there is to plan and to build apartments for artists and taking their specific needs in to account. Besides the financial aid in form of arts grants, the cultural office of Helsinki provides spaces and facilities for the production, display and performing of arts. It lets out working premises in the main building of the Harakka Island, which is located just off the shore of Helsinki, to professional artists and craftsmen. In the same vein Liverpool provides secure and affordable studio space and other facilities for artists and craftspeople in the city centre. Quite different approach is used in Aarhus, where the municipal film centre is hiring out office space and studios on a commercial basis. In connection with this the establishing of VækstVærk – an environment

for creative entrepreneurs trying to earn a living out of cultural activities – is a new initiative to stimulate creative industries by offering office space and advice for cultural entrepreneurs with commercial ambitions.

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CULTURAL REGENERATION PROJECT:

BOLOGNA, 'MANIFATTURA DELLE ARTI'

Between the Renaissance period and the end of the nineteenth century the area of the port and the surrounding industrial area was the heart of Bologna's economy. After clearance under the town planning schemes of 1889 and 1937, and the bombings of WW II, the district remained in a state of degradation for many years. From 1991 until 2004, a large-scale urban renewal project, Manifattura delle Arti, was realized in coordination between Bologna Municipality, Bologna University and regional Urban Requalification Programme. Manifattura delle Arti covers an area of about 100,000 square metres. An old tobacco factory houses the municipal film library "Cineteca di Bologna". Castellaccio has been converted into subsidized social housing and the old paper factory 'Mulino Tamburi' houses currently the University's Department of Science and Communication. In ad-joining area, which dates back to the late nineteenth century, are located new sections of the film library, two new cinema screens and the University's music and drama workshops including a theatre, a cinema and audiovisuals room, an auditorium. The complex also includes renovated old salt warehouse, the ramparts of the old city gates, and a nursery and infant school complex, which is being extended to include a new Modern Art Gallery located in an old bakery.

The main aim of the project was regeneration of a degraded central district of the city. Positive results have been achieved from the services already opened. Some problematic issues have been the co-ordination of work between different organizations and delays in the schedule. Strengths of the project have the synergy between different cultural institutions, integration with the neighborhood and collaboration between the University and the municipality both for teaching and for cultural activities.

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Accessibility

One important issue to do with urban cultural spaces is accessibility. In this instance, accessibility means physical accessibility in the sense of availability of public transportation at different hours of the day or night, opening hours of facilities and spaces, possible admissions and pricing, exclusiveness or inclusiveness based on different prerequisites such as citizenship, gender, age, socio-economic status and so on.

One suggestion in response to some of these issues, that was discussed in one of the EUROCULT21 Training Event workshops in June 2003 was the idea of keeping public schools, which in most European countries are property of the municipality, open 24 hours a day. Schools could then be used for many kinds of cultural as well as other kinds of activities during the non-school hours. This idea was based on the simple fact that there are so many schools in every city, which are usually empty and unused after the school hours. This kind of extended usage could be the answer to the lack of places such as youth centres, sporting facilities (to a limited extent) and rehearsal spaces for musicians. It is true that, in many cases, schools are used as meeting places for community groups or for different types of evening courses and many other activities. However, the main idea of the proposal was that cities should provide spaces for cultural or community activities that are open much longer, even 24 hours a day, since cities usually own and oper-

ate a variety of facilities and physical spaces. In most cases, spaces such as schools, culture centres or community spaces are not open much after normal office hours or during weekends. Cultural activities in evening, night and weekends tend to be restricted to commercial entertainment and events.

Many authors have argued that, since today's working life and people's working hours are no longer limited to the classic Fordist schedule of industrial production from 8 o'clock in the morning until 4 o'clock in the afternoon, but are instead becoming more and more irregular, services – both municipal and commercial – should respond accordingly. Indeed, most of the larger and more cosmopolitan cities in the world are heading increasingly in the direction of becoming 24 hour cities (Bianchini 1998). Of course, many cultural institutions, particularly museums, have already been following these developments and changing their opening hours to provide extended opening hours for certain weekdays. Nevertheless, the practice could spread much wider in the field of cultural services.

In connection with the theme of accessibility, in City of Helsinki's cultural strategy the ability to provide cultural services near where the people live was considered an important objective. In Helsinki there are several different and quite successful cultural outreach-type projects, one of them being the Kontu.La-project, which brought cultural activities into an old empty shopping centre on a housing estate in a low income district away from the centre of the city (for more information see: http://www.kontupiste.net/). In Sweden, both Stockholm and Malmö wanted to develop new forms and models of meeting points for citizens and particularly for children and youth. These meeting points should not necessarily be run by the city administration alone, as too much bureaucracy in the administration and maintaining of municipal cultural spaces might appear discouraging for small artistic and community groups when they

Challenges

With regard to specific challenges concerning urban cultural spaces, the availability, accessibility and allocation of municipal facilities and spaces for citizens is always a central issue. Barcelona has stated in its policy that it is necessary to continue to invest in order to maintain a cultural ecosystem that is able to survive where possible outside the laws of the market; guaranteeing civic spaces that give better access to the public and offer pleasure and cultural participation. Camden stated that the best use is often not made of all the funded spaces and buildings available. Under-used spaces should be exploited more in cultural activities more bravely than is done at the moment.

Planning and strategic visions are another important issue. In the EUROCULT21 national workshop in Athens it was noted that cultural facilities are sometimes created without a clear vision of the future requirements for their infrastructure. This sharp criticism was no doubt linked with the Athens Summer Olympic Games and the massive construction that preceded it. It is clear, however, that this problem is not unique to Athens but occurs in many other cities as well. Many flagship buildings and projects might end up facing similar problems in the future if these observations are right.

Festivals and other similar events often pose serious demands for different municipal organisations, as they usually require co-operation across the scope of city administration. Stockholm's cultural administration is involved in festivals and events through the culture grants it gives out, the sports and leisure office has an events manager and the real estate and traffic office rents public spaces to organisers of events such as festivals. It is admitted that, unfortunately, there is a lack of co-ordination regarding festivals and events in the city's administration.

The Borough of Camden made the obvious but bold statement in the EUROCULT21 national workshop in Birmingham that people are always more important than the physical spaces and they should be supported first before buildings. High maintenance and administration costs of municipal cultural spaces sometimes take too large a part of cultural administrations' budgets. This can eventually lead to reduced opening hours and other restrictive measures. For the same reasons, it was stated that a high number of facilities can also sometimes mean a lower amount spent per citizen on arts, sports, museums and libraries.

If one could choose, as many cities have done, to follow ideas and future visions of creative and innovative cities with culture, cultural activities as well as cultural production as one of their main driving forces both in the social and in the economic spheres, and to suggest policy recommendations and ideas for strategies, the city or the urban environment as a whole should be seen as a cultural space.

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Chapter 11

✿ Iris Dähnke

Indicators for Culture

[Cities and governments assembled in Barcelona agree] to promote the implementation of forms of "cultural impact assessment" as a mandatory consideration of the public or private initiatives that involve significant changes in the cultural life of cities.
(Agenda 21 for Culture, Article 25)

Urban cultures and their need to be appropriately understood and democratically governed is a complex issue. For decision-making, a sound basis of knowledge is necessarily required. The European Commission has already taken steps to learn more about the state of culture in the European cities. EUROCULT21 as a thematic network between cities and scientists has exchanged experiences on this subject to contribute to the objectives laid down in the Description of Work. In this chapter the results of this exchange will be presented.

As a starting point, the general debate about the knowledge base on urban cultures must be both framed within the overall concept of EUROCULT21 and take into consideration other sources that are already available. In this sense, the first priority must be information-gathering and developing tools such as indicators in order to achieve a clear and worked-out perspective on how urban culture is analysed to be working. As has been described in detail in the foregoing chapters, the EUROCULT21 network has followed a comprehensive and advanced concept which integrates a wider definition of culture on the one hand and which limits the scope of culture on the other. In this way, the concept of

the Four E's satisfies a concern of the scientists in the network, who have seen a too limited understanding of culture as not reflecting the state of the art in cultural studies. The concept of the Four E's provides a workable framework of urban cultures, which the practitioners have regarded as being helpful for planning different aspects of culture in their cities.

As the concept of the Four E's is based on theoretical considerations and scientific principles, the creation of an empirical knowledge base on urban cultures would require a framework of cooperation where research is the central objective. Within EUROCULT21, opportunities to test the empirical value of the overall concept of the Four E's were limited by the framing of the network project, which was focused on exchange. Therefore, the activities undertaken to contribute to the debate on urban cultures has been realised first with impressive activities, which point to a future research perspective where the concept of the Four E's can be regarded as a guiding strategy to both integrate already existing knowledge about cities (as in EUROSTAT) and develop new tools for indicating the reality of culture in different European cities.

When looking at urban cultural policy primarily in the context of general urban policy, there is a danger of culture being instrumentalised merely to serve other aims, e.g. of integration, social cohesion, employment, etc. As researcher Sara Selwood states: "The rise of statistics has paralleled an extension of government control over the arts, and

the tendency to value culture for its 'impact' rather than its intrinsic value" (Selwood 2002b:1). Despite the need to develop quantifiable indicators to measure the impact of arts and cultural policy, we believe that it is essential to acknowledge that the "value" of artistic expression and individual creativity for a democratic society will at a certain point be untraceable. At a certain moment of real-life expression, they will escape statistical measurement and the attempt to attribute them to specific policies.

What is an indicator?

While statistics describe the collection of quantitative data, an indicator can be either qualitative or quantitative. Qualitative indicators usually consist of stories which illustrate experiences being had of a particular policy or event (for a discussion of the difficulties with this see Selwood 2002a and 2002b). Quantitative indicators are statistical measures based on numerical facts. The main difference between a statistic and an indicator is that indicators imply something about a phenomenon, whereas a statistic merely describes it. For example: There are four theatres in City A. This is a statistic, because it does not say whether this is a lot or a little, good or bad. Indicators need a relation to be meaningful. For example: There is one theatre per 100,000 inhabitants in City A compared to two per 100,000 inhabitants in City B; or, in City A there were six theatres in 1994 and four in 2004. A quantitative indicator is a statistic put in re-

lation to other statistics in order to produce meaning. Consequently, indicators can consist of complex relationships between different variables or even combine quantitative and qualitative measures under one umbrella question.

With cultural indicators, however, it can be said that the greatest problem is defining what they are actually supposed to measure. Here, much work fails. As Matarasso states: "Most of the current work on [cultural] indicators is notable for what it doesn't say … The missing element is … what it is they are supposed to measure" (Matarasso in IFACCA 2004: 6). When developing cultural and/or arts indicators, it is indeed absolutely crucial to think carefully about what precisely are the questions to be answered by the indicators.

Performance indicators v. culture indicators; monitoring v. evaluation

In the framework of cultural policy, indicators can be used for a variety of purposes, for example monitoring (observing cultural phenomena and trends), or evaluation (evaluating the efficiency of policies or outcomes of events aimed at impacting on cultural phenomena). To evaluate cultural policy, "performance indicators" are used. Indicators for monitoring can be called "culture indicators".

Many institutions, such as museums and community centres, have long been gathering data for *performance indicators*, often of a qualitative nature, relating often to individual experiences of users. However, the data is sketchy, the methodology is often flawed and unscientific, and the process is irregular – this makes serious and valuable analysis difficult (Selwood 2002a and 2002b).

Furthermore, the rationale behind concentrating on performance indicators itself must be questioned for several reasons:

1. Cultural and artistic activity is being reduced to its service value. This use value is dependent on changing political values and

trends. Sara Selwood refers to a critical essay by Josie Appleton entitled "Museums for 'the People'?": "Appleton perceives 'people-centred museums' as being at the core of this new orthodoxy. She writes that museums' missions around 'empowerment, inclusiveness, diversity and customer satisfaction' co mbine the ideologies of the economic right and the cultural left, and suggests that they threaten the very 'existence of the museum as such ... the collection, preservation and study of objects deemed to be of artistic, historic or scientific interest." (Selwood 2002b: 6)

2. When seeking to tick the positive list of expected outcomes of certain cultural policy measures, other outcomes, which were not intended, can easily be overlooked.

3. It is extremely difficult to measure outcomes of a cultural project. Performance indicators cannot measure the long-term effects that cultural activity might have on a community. If long-term effects are also taken into consideration, it is nearly impossible to attribute them to specific cultural policies. This would require taking time-spans of 10 years+ into consideration, which contradicts the political interest in taking short-term decisions on the allocation of public money.

4. Performance indicators can never give a full picture of cultural life in a city. By definition, they concentrate on the subsidised and policy-driven sector of culture.

Culture indicators, which are for example gathered in "Quality of Life" surveys, paint a broader picture. Urban culture indicators seek to describe the state of the art of cultural activity in a city. Culture indicators try to incorporate a holistic picture of cultural activity to describe the cultural experience of citizens in a specific city or country. Unlike perform-

ance indicators, culture indicators may focus on the individual experience (performance indicators focus on the use of existing provisions).

As François Matarasso states, performance indicators and culture indicators do not necessarily stand in opposition to one another: "Cultural indicators are simply broader in their scope than performance indicators. It is possible to envisage a system where broad data about activity and quality of life issues includes the specific interests of funding agencies in tracking the return on their investment; the successful implementation of such an approach would, among other things, require a common understanding of the nature of different kinds of indicator." (Matarasso 2003a: 4)

Input, output and outcome

Cultural activity consists of different elements and generates different processes. We can distinguish between input, output and outcomes. Input describes numerical cultural provision in a city, e.g. numbers of institutions, seat capacities, money invested. Output describes the generation of cultural products and participation levels: number of shows, number of visitors. Outcome describes the effects on a community: citizens' perceived quality of life, intergenerational and interethnic contact, generation of new job profiles and beneficial self-employment, reduced fear of crime, etc. (Matarasso has listed possible outcome indicators: Matarasso 2003b: 7ff.) Outcomes can least easily be attributed to singular cultural policies or activities. To put it briefly: outcome describes the good feelings of self-esteem, individual value and critical and creative thinking that involvement in cultural practices can generate (Selwood 2003, Matarasso 2003b).

European work on indicators: state of the art

Today, there is a multitude of work being done on cultural and arts indicators in a multitude of different institutions worldwide. In July 2004,

IFACCA compiled a list of some of the main projects. UNESCO, Interarts, Eurostat and Urban Audit are only some of the major bodies involved in the subject at European level. Work has been published on the subject since the beginning of the 1970s, so there is also a vast amount of literature available – thousands of works in English alone, according to IFACCA. One of the main problems of indicator work is that there is a lack of co-operation between different institutions, academics and national arts councils. This leads to duplication of work, with similar frameworks being produced in different places (IFACCA 2004). Another problem, according to IFACCA and also encountered in EUROCULT21, is a lack of clarity as to what an indicator actually is and how it differs from a statistic.

Eurostat

EUROSTAT began working on cultural indicators in 1995. In 1997, it was mandated to address cultural statistics instead of continuing to look at them in a cross-sectoral, generic way. EUROSTAT began working on its new task by summoning the Leading Experts Group (LEG), which produced a report in 1999 on cultural statistics in the EU.

In 2000, EUROSTAT set up a permanent working group on cultural statistics and three temporary expert groups (task forces) to continue the work initiated in the framework of LEG Culture. The expert groups concentrated on the following areas:

- TASK FORCE 1 – Statistics on cultural employment
- TASK FORCE 2 – Statistics on cultural expenditure and finance
- TASK FORCE 3 – Participation in cultural activities

The group working on employment (TF1) published a paper on cultural employment in Europe in May 2004. From now on, the plan is to publish statistics on cultural employment on a yearly basis. Regarding the work of the expert group an-

alysing cultural expenditure and finance (TF2), it can be concluded that still more work is needed to establish a statistical system on financing culture. The participation group (TF3) is working on a methodological handbook on how to achieve comparable data on cultural participation on the basis of different European and national studies. The group has also contributed to the development of EU-SILC (Community Statistics on Income and Living Conditions). In 2006, there will be a new module on cultural and social participation added to the EU-SILC questionnaire.

All the task forces finished their work in 2004. The permanent working group on cultural statistics is planning to meet in June 2005 to discuss future developments of the EUROSTAT work on cultural indicators. Now the plan is that the work initiated by the task forces will be continued within the EUROSTAT organisation. The goal is to prepare a development programme for cultural statistics in Europe. EUROSTAT also suggests that Europe needs common legislation on cultural statistics.

Urban Audit and Urban Audit II

The overall purpose of the Urban Audit is to enable an assessment of the state of individual EU cities and to provide access to comparative information from other EU cities. It is intended that the process will facilitate the exchange of information between cities.

Responsibility for the conception and management of the Urban Audit rests with the Directorate General for Regional Policy in collaboration with EUROSTAT. The pilot phase started in 1998. 58 cities were invited by the European Commission to participate in the Urban Audit during the pilot phase. Paris and London were not included because of their size.

The indicators of the Urban Audit cover five fields: socio-economic aspects, participation in civic life, education and training, environment, and culture and leisure. A compari-

son of the indicator scores will allow cities to judge their progress and identify any specific difficulties.

Urban Audit II, which includes more cities and refined indicators, is currently underway. In EUROCULT21, Urban Audit I indicators on culture and demography were used (Urban Audit II indicators were not yet available for use).

Initially, the EUROCULT21 Scientific Committee was doubtful of the Urban Audit Questionnaire. It was deemed to be too rudimentary to provide a useful insight into the field of cultural policy. However, it was decided to test these indicators in order to know the benefits and deficiencies of this list of indicators better, and all the partner cities were invited to answer a questionnaire consisting of Urban Audit indicators on culture and some other selected variables. These statistics were further discussed in the workshops regarding their usefulness to policy making and their availability in each partner city.

The cities found it quite difficult to answer the Urban Audit Questionnaire. In many cases, the information needed to answer the questionnaire was spread all over the city's administration – if it existed in the first place – and it was hard to get it all together. In other cases data was simply not available at all for the categories asked by the Urban Audit. Thus, the quantitative information acquired through the questionnaire did not satisfy the EUROCULT21 Management and Scientific Committees who had decided to test Urban Audit indicators first before developing any new cultural indicators. As already mentioned in Chapter 2: Working Methods, it was concluded that the information acquired was not really comparable. Problems were encountered, for example, with the availability of data at the city level as opposed to the regional level; available data referring to different institutions (e.g. only publicly funded museums, theatre including musical theatre, etc) or simply a complete lack of data at the city level. (As can be seen in the results on the Urban Audit Questionnaire published on

the EUROCULT21 website, there are many footnotes that indicate that answers to the same question do not always refer to exactly the same thing. Nor can it be guaranteed that answers from different cities do actually refer to the same thing, even when there are no explanatory footnotes!

In workshop discussions, much criticism of the Urban Audit questionnaire was voiced:

- The list of indicators, especially on city demographics, is considered too long and detailed;
- The list of cultural provisions is very arts based and does not include areas like heritage, sports, public spaces/parks, or recreational activities;
- The Urban Audit concentrates on input (number of seats/shows/venues) and gives little information on output and demands;
- There are important omissions: there is no breakdown for ethnicity in the general demographics; no differentiation is made between private and state-subsidised facilities; voluntary organisations are not included; there is no information on educational activities; and there is no information on the demographics of attendants of cultural events, which was considered essential by the cities' representatives.

Eventually, urban policy makers decided that the Urban Audit did not really provide answers to the interesting issues: that is, what is really important for the vitality of the cultural sector in a city. So the Urban Audit Questionnaire was not very useful for the EUROCULT21 project. It showed that work on the field of cultural indicators must be continued at the city level in more detail.

EUROCULT21 partner cities' collected data

At the beginning of the EUROCULT21 project, all partner cities were asked to provide information on the data gathered in their mu-

nicipalities (respectively regions or countries, if data was not gathered at city level but centrally). Three months after the deadline, only 10 of the 22 cities had provided this information, while some more cities provided partial answers. One can only assume that so many cities did not respond because the cultural officers themselves did not have experience of or were not confident in data-gathering in the cultural sector. Another reason, besides a general lack of time, might be that information was by no means easily available: for example, it might have been scattered in different departments of the administration.

Below is a summary of results of the Statistical Report, including information from the workshops where appropriate. For more detailed results see Statistical Report 1 (Silvanto 2004) on the EUROCULT21 website.

How and by whom (city/regional/national government) are the statistics collected?

Most city administrations are involved in some form of culture statistics-gathering at the city level. Only the municipality of Athens answered that culture statistics were only gathered at national level, not for individual cities. In many cities, e.g. Antwerp, Bologna, Huelva and Leipzig, data gathered by the city municipalities is complemented by data gathered by regional administrative bodies. Sources of information are usually arts associations, cultural institutions and regional/national data collected by central institutions (e.g. national statistics offices), which were then broken down to city level.

The Birmingham Arts Survey by Birmingham City Council's Arts Team is an attempt to map the arts sector, its employment patterns, range of activity and ultimately "health" over time. Performance indicators were developed with François Matarasso. It was launched as a pilot in 1999, and the project now includes 60 organisations. The performance indicators chosen were

not all the same as the Arts Council of England's, nor were they designed to be comparable with other local authorities. They were aimed at assessing – if possible – the "health" of the arts in one city.

What are the rationales behind the collection of cultural statistics?

Although their quantitative nature gives them the guise of objectivity, statistics are not value-neutral and can be used and interpreted for different purposes, depending on the political agenda of the user. The culture administrators in the EUROCULT21 partner cities considered cultural statistics to be essential tools for planning, decision making and monitoring in the cultural sector. Additionally, it was stated that they can be used to advocate culture and underline its importance at the city administration level.

What definition of "culture" is used?

There is no unity on the definition of "culture", in fact in many cases no official "working definition" of culture exists in the cities' policies. When gathering cultural data, some cities focused more on artistic expressions, while others – notably the British cities – included sports activities in the field of culture. Other cities oriented themselves on the UNESCO definition of culture (Jena, Tarnow), although the practical gathering of data does not necessarily comply neatly with these definitions. This means that "culture" statistics do not necessarily describe the whole spectrum of what is considered a cultural activity, but describe the range of available data in the cultural sector. It is also important to note that in most cases, cultural statistics refer only to cultural activities receiving public support.

Are the statistics available on the Internet?

In nine cities, statistics are fully available on the Web, according to the an-

swers given in the questionnaire. Six cities responded that data was partially available on the Internet, one that data was not available on the internet, and six provided no answer. Statistics Finland aims to release a compendium of cultural statistics every two years and publishes cultural statistics continuously on its website. The City of Helsinki Urban Facts collects and publishes statistics on Helsinki (including cultural statistics), which are not produced by the institute itself, but are gathered together from different institutions and organisations. Barcelona also goes to great pains to guarantee dissemination by making culture statistics available on the Web and producing a statistical yearbook each year.

The problem of making data and survey results accessible in a centralised manner, i.e. in one easy-to-find and legible place on the web and/or in a widely distributed paper publication, is a prominent issue in EUROCULT21 partner cities. Although the amount of data collected in many cities is quite considerable, central institutions responsible for compiling an overview of data and publishing the results are often missing. The establishment of a specific "culture" section in national statistics offices as in Finland is one step in this direction. Especially at city level, institutions are needed to collect and disseminate local cultural data. A "glocal" work approach, as initiated by Urban Audit, is desirable, using transnationally agreed definitions to enable comparability of cities. In the meantime, urban policy makers must ensure that the data gathered is made accessible so as to achieve its full use value.

What data is collected in European cities?

A large part of the EUROCULT21 work on indicators consisted of getting an overview of the "state of the art" of data gathering in the partner cities. As described before, this included an engagement with the usefulness and practicality of Urban Audit indicators for cultural policy makers. Additionally, in the Nation-

al Workshops and in response to the questions of the Statistical Report, policy makers provided information on what data was gathered in their respective cities and discussed what they would like to know from indicators. There is no room here to list all the types of cultural data gathered in the EUROCULT21 partner cities, but the following examples should serve to illustrate the scope of statistics produced.

Most cities gather primarily quantitative data on their cultural provisions (input) and on their use (output). As mentioned before, the public-funded sector receives most consistent statistical surveillance. In some cases, information on institutions not receiving any public subsidy is also collected and distinguished from publicly funded institutions. This distinction is made in the field of galleries (number of public/private galleries in Stockholm) and theatres (number of and performances in public/private theatres in Düsseldorf).

In most cities, the city library seems to be the cultural institution to have most detailed statistics on its activities. The most commonly collected data include the number of service points, sometimes sorted by type; the number of documents (collections), sometimes sorted by type; the number of acquisitions; the number of loans, sometimes sorted by type of material; the number of users, sometimes sorted by age; and the number of visitors to libraries. Camden also gathers statistics with a more qualitative edge, e.g. the number of users satisfied with the library services.

Museum data is also commonly gathered. Information on the number of museums and visits to museums form the core of these statistics in many cities. In some cases, museums are sorted by type (e.g. national/private, art/historical). Venice collects data on museum visitors distinguishing a set of variables, such as social/regional background, age, duration of stay and motivation. In Turin, since the 1990s visitors to the city's civic museums have been monitored, data of which is contin-

uously gathered and annually edited. Barcelona also lists the number of conferences, workshops and other activities organised in museums and the number of participants in these activities. The data gathered on art galleries is sketchier. Only Bologna, Barcelona and Gdansk provided information on the number of exhibitions held in the city and the number of visitors to these exhibitions. It can be expected, however, that small "off-scene" private galleries will inevitably escape this count.

Most cities gather statistical information of the number of theatre stages, number of seats, number of performances, and number of spectators. In some cases, a differentiation between different types of performances (music/drama/opera, etc) and/or between different venues (private/state/fringe, etc) is made (as in Düsseldorf, Gdansk and Huelva). In Barcelona, the statistics also include information on the location of venues and list plays with more than 10,000 spectators separately.

Museums, libraries and galleries have become established institutions in most European cities and their (quantitative) monitoring is widespread, bearing in mind their public purpose of enlightening and educating the individual, which stems from the Enlightenment tradition. When it comes to music, the picture painted by the statistics gathered in different cities becomes more varied and can hardly be compared – even in pure quantitative terms. Statistics-gathering apparently reflects particular priorities and policy and cultural traditions of different places. Out of the 11 cities that answered the questions on statistics-gathering asked by the EUROCULT21 Scientific and Management Committee, only 5 stated that they gathered data specifically on concerts. Again, the focus then was on the number of concerts, number of venues, number of seats and number of tickets sold. However, while for example Düsseldorf collects information only on concerts held in the main concert hall, Helsinki's statistics cover only concerts by symphony orchestras and

Stockholm's data refer only to concerts organised with public support. A comparative urban perspective is impossible.

At first glance, cinema statistics provide quite straightforward comparability, for where they are collected the figures usually indicate the number of cinemas or screens in the city, the number of seats, and the number of spectators/tickets sold. However, this data is not gathered in all cities, and where it is, a distinction between multinationals, independent and art house cinemas is not made, which drastically limits the interpretive potential of a quantitative analysis.

More data gathered includes statistics on archives (as in Barcelona, Hagen and Helsinki) and cultural heritage (Huelva, Bologna). These statistics areas are, however, less established for most European cities. Relatively little data is gathered on cultural events. Only Barcelona does extensive monitoring of festivals taking place in the city. Barcelona compiles information on music and performing arts festivals concerning their venue, number of seats, number of shows, number of performances, ticket sales, number of spectators (total and average per day), total supply of tickets, and occupancy (%).

Malmö is the only city to have a separate section on the independent cultural sector as a part of their cultural statistics. This includes the number of activities per independent organisation, number of activities inside and outside the municipality, number of visitors (residents and non-residents), and number of children and young visitors (residents and non-residents) at events.

As the above shows, while quite a large amount of data is available, methods of gathering it vary widely, definitions used are not unitary, and its usability beyond city borders in a cross-urban perspective is difficult. What is gathered are mainly quantitative statistics, often too varied in their methodology to be comparable to each other and thus an only limited foundation for comparative indicators.

EUROCULT21 indicators

A desire for having indicators as tools to evaluate cultural policy, to enable a cross-national comparative perspective on urban culture and to assess the vitality of urban cultural life, was voiced in all EUROCULT21 workshop discussions. The issues raised were manifold, and the wishes expressed by policy makers covered an enormous spectrum of policy making. What are policy makers' major demands of indicators? Deriving from what was discussed in the EUROCULT21 workshops, culture indicators should provide the following information:

- Indicators should support policy makers in self-evaluation and monitoring, and be useful in academic studies;
- Indicators should evaluate participation in cultural events (outputs), money spent on cultural facilities (inputs), cultural policies themselves (performance), and the capacity of cultural participation to generate identity, empowerment, self-esteem, self-recognition and a sense of belonging (outcomes);
- Quantitative data should be combined with qualitative data, e.g. on customer satisfaction;
- The level of state involvement in providing and controlling cultural facilities should be evaluated;
- Indicators should not only be useful to evaluate cultural provision with respect to the local population, but also tourist use (a concern expressed by Italian policy makers: for example, in Venice, museum visitor surveys have shown that 96% of those visiting the civic museums are non-locals);
- Indicators should give information on missing cultural provisions (e.g. exploring young people's needs);
- Indicators should provide a holistic picture of the non-funded cultural sector to give an insight into the real cultural vitality of a place and citizens' experiences

of cultural life in their city;
- The spatial distribution of cultural provisions over the city (in the centre, suburbs, outskirts, etc) should be evaluated and assessed with reference to users (origins and selected demographics);
- Indicators should seek to capture the affective elements of cultural experience.

Methodologically, indicators should:
- Use an agreed and limited definition of culture, e.g. the eight categories proposed by the LEG for UNESCO, which also form the basis for the EUROCULT21 Description of Work: cultural heritage, archives, libraries, press and media, performing arts, visual arts, multimedia, architecture;
- Be collected regularly over longer time-spans;
- Use a clear and commonly agreed set of definitions of cultural events and activities (what is a concert, an arts association, a theatre performance? etc).

When thinking through the various different expectations and needs expressed in the EUROCULT21 workshops in terms of indicators, one common denominator emerged which seemed to be of great relevance to all cultural policy makers: Participation in culture as an intrinsic goal. This assumption is also reflected in the cities' cultural profiles as an underlying rationale of cultural policy. Participation in culture is in itself a value to be achieved. Although it is very difficult to measure the exact outcomes of participation in culture, i.e. the economic, social and personal benefits, it is generally accepted that they exist. An example might illustrate this deep-rooted assumption: Take City A and City B, to be imagined as exactly identical in terms of employment patterns, inhabitancy, location, etc, for the sake of scientific discussion. City A's inhabitants go to work every day and after work go home and watch TV. After work in City B, its inhabitants play musical instruments, take part in neighbourhood plays, visit museums and

theatres, read books from the local library, visit painting classes, organise street festivals, watch music performances by local bands, play football on the local sports ground, or go to the cinema. No one would doubt that City B, after 10 years of this behaviour, will probably have lower unemployment and crime rates, greater social cohesion, more tourists visiting and higher life-satisfaction rates than City A. However, for the sake of argument, couch-potato City A might have a thriving media economy and a passive, homogenous inhabitancy, which is easily influenced by dominant discourses. But this is taking us too far into the realm of political interest, where an active and at times uncomfortably critical public might not be top of the agenda. In the realm of EUROCULT21, there was clear agreement that participation in culture was undeniably desirable. "Cultural activity is an infinitely diverse route to personal development in people of all ages, leading to enhanced skills, confidence and creativity. ... Culture brings people together, in celebration, exploration and community, and is key factor in home and settlement." (Matarasso 2003b: 5)

Cultural participation is not a lonely but a collective pastime: it forces the individual to think of him- or herself in relation to others and others' thoughts and stories expressed via a cultural good. As poet Rodrick Watson states: "Identity grows from the stories we tell to ourselves about ourselves" (Matarasso 2003b: 5). Participation in culture thus produces those stories which grow to constitute a cohesive identity and identification with a place. An individual's identification with and knowledge of his or her external world thus produces feelings of responsibility.

Despite a great enthusiasm for evaluating participation in culture, deeper engagement with the idea opened up many fields of discussion. What is included in "participation in culture"? Strictly speaking, this could include barbeques with neighbours and campfire music. Since these pastimes are impossible to capture in statistics, it was

decided to focus attention on the arts and large cultural events (e.g. festivals). As it was a common concern in many discussions, it was also decided to integrate non-funded activities, i.e. voluntary engagement of citizens. The following indicators of participation were identified:

1. Cultural Spaces outside the city centre (number, types of activity, location, users);
2. Uses of Urban Spaces for cultural events (how many events each year take place in open urban spaces);
3. Target Groups (number and type of special cultural initiatives for children/youth/elderly/immigrants/other minorities organised by the city);
4. Voluntary participation (number of voluntary groups, number of events involving volunteers);
5. Participation in Cultural Planning (involvement of citizens and professional groups).

In conjunction with the Urban Audit, these indicators combine inputs and outputs (not outcomes). It was decided to conduct a pilot in Venice, which was organised by the University of Venice in June 2004. In the course of this project it became clear that not all the data requested were already available or collected in a research process. The most common problems encountered related to a lack of available data and ambiguity in definitions used.

Problems related to the following issues:

- The impossibility of finding out data related to some issues, such as the users of cultural spaces outside of the city centre or the involvement of professionals in cultural planning; and
- the univocal definition of some terms in the collecting process. For example, the sources used different definitions in the classification of what is an "event". For this reason, the collection of data could not be always coherent and univocal.

In general, the conclusion was that these data are normally not available in the cities involved in the process. In order for work in this area to proceed, a better definition of the indicators, terminology and more resources for research are required to complete the test and achieve comparable data. In the next meeting of the Scientific and Management Committee, these indicators were further discussed and the main problem of using ambivalent terminology and concepts implying different meanings in different institutions was addressed. The present participation indicators were as a consequence considered too broad, too ambitious in theory and impractical in reality. Following the advice of an Urban Audit representative, the Scientific Committee decided to limit their scope drastically and concentrate on only one area: publicly funded museums. It was decided that one option for proceeding further towards the development of indicators is to consider access to museums and evaluate the concept of access in line with existing country-specific regulations and policies.

Prospects for the future

The work undertaken to improve the knowledge base on urban cultures underlines the complex question of how to measure the scope, impact and value of culture in European cities. It has been demonstrated that the existing data research strategies cannot be developed by simply adding some more indicators on top of them. This would ignore the fact that "culture" in the broad definition given in EUROCULT21 and the concept of the Four E's requires the integration of many cultural aspects which need further methodological considerations referring also to non-quantitative research.

The tools used by the EUROCULT21 network have had impressive results which are not only highlighted in this article but which also have been the basis for the whole compendium. Setting them into the

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Four E's concept has furthermore given them a consistent and coherent method of interpretation.

The research strategy for the deepening of knowledge on urban cultures deriving from the methodological work in EUROCULT21 suggests not only the setting up of a European project which focuses on the empirical research, but also a strategy for the praxis of cultural administration in the cities. Concerning the latter, the necessary steps in an urban level strategy for providing more knowledge need to be in line with the practical information that is already exists, but should enlarge the scope of information gathering. As a holistic approach often overburdens local administrations, resources for cultural indicator work need to be evaluated and guaranteed first. The important factor for the further strategy is that every information-gathering exercise must be linked to a well described need for more knowledge. To formulate a research question on a local level, a careful consideration of the already existing data is a crucial factor. This could be the main objective for a European data office on urban culture, which would inform local decision makers about all available information on their subject. The EUROCULT21 homepage can be a starting point for this institution.

Part III

Drawing Conclusions

Chapter 12

❧ EUROCULT21 SCIENTIFIC AND MANAGEMENT COMMITTEES

Policy and Research Recommendations

The findings of EUROCULT 21 reveal a number of common threads running through the cultural policies and practices of this diverse set of cities. There is evidence of a 'remarkable awareness of the significance of culture for the general development of the city' (F. Eckardt – Chapter 3) as well as shared pre-occupations with the nature of the relationship of culture to other policy areas. At the same time, it is possible to see similarities between the ways in which city authorities articulate some of the structural challenges they face, both internally and externally, as they seek to frame their cultural policies and set their cultural priorities. There is also a common concern over the continuing need to find better means by which to make the case for culture as a key component of urban governance. This is linked to a broad consensus over the types of indicator required to help shape cultural policies and plan for the future.

Policy Recommendations

The task of the Scientific and Management Committees of EUROCULT 21 has been to take into account what has gone before in terms of policy recommendations on urban cultural policy (e.g. Culture, the engine of 21st Century European Cities: EUROCITIES 2001 and Agenda 21 for Culture 2004), to reinforce such recommendations where necessary and, at the same time, introduce new ones based on the materials gathered during the course of the project. These recommendations represent the joint views of

members of the Scientific and Management Committees of EUROCULT 21 and are made on behalf of all the participants in the project. They are based on the factual information which every city authority has provided to researchers, the observations of cultural policy-makers, experts and commentators made during the course of the 10 National Workshops, the 'stories' submitted and the academic analyses and evaluation which have taken place over the past two years.

The Policy Recommendations which follow have been developed within the framework of the Rationale of the Four E's but are presented here under headings which largely relate to the structure of the Integrated Report.

Governance

• As culture touches many different aspects of urban life, it is important to develop cross-sectoral working by the cultural administration within the city authority. Management, steering and networking on behalf of cultural activities in the cities require an intra-administrative co-operative structure of communication and decision-making in which different departments and high ranking officials (mayors) have a part to play;

• Close consideration needs to be given to the development of new partnership models of urban cultural governance since a partnership approach can help cross administrative, institutional and social boundaries;

• It is important to aggregate various interest groups under a democratic framework in order to encourage the sustainability and wider ownership of culture at city, regional, national and European levels. A culture of partnership enhances the partnership for culture;

• To ensure the sustainability of a dynamic cultural offer, it is important to adopt, wherever possible, a long-term perspective. Often cultural activities can only address the cultural needs of the population if they are planned out and supported over time. A five-year planning cycle has been experienced by some cities as being useful;

• City authorities need to take into account a broader concept of culture that includes non-institutionalised activities and events. Artists and cultural operators outside the formalised networks are often essential contributors to the city's culture. It is important for cities to find ways of involving these 'intermediaries' in decision-making and planning procedures;

• If cities are to secure the good governance of urban culture, then they must support the ongoing 'professionalisation' (continuing professional development) of members of the cultural administration of the city;

• The good governance of urban culture also requires closer and more substantial communica-

tion between the city authority and different departments of the state administration.

Artistic Production and Performance

- It is important to build up networks between Arts Education Institutions, related further education institutions and 'professionalised' arts (creative industries, cultural institutions, commercial artists);

- New city initiatives have an important role to play in creating a dynamic and vibrant cultural life, but it is essential to develop strategies to ensure their continuation through the involvement of other actors in the process of establishing them (e.g. new festivals in consecutive years);

- As with other parts of the cultural and creative industries, there is a need to develop and provide a range of flexible funding and financing schemes (e.g. grants, loans, subsidised space, subsidised art classes) to guarantee long-term support specific to the needs of professional and non-professional artists engaged in a variety of art forms;

- All public space in cities should be considered as potential cultural space. Cities should develop specific strategies to encourage the use of public spaces for cultural activities and experiences accessible to every citizen. Individual artists and community groups should be given the chance to use municipal spaces and facilities for temporary and short-term cultural projects and activities;

- In order to ensure attention is properly paid to quality and excellence in arts production, consideration should be given to integrating professional artists into the funding and competition processes for the allocation of resources.

Enlightenment / Arts and Education

- Cities should aim to improve the synergies between their educational and cultural policies. There is a great need to work in a more cross-functional manner in the field of arts and cultural education and to break through traditional work and responsibility models;

- Given that culture is seen as increasingly important to the development of urban society, it is essential to strengthen the role of arts and culture in general education and to find new ways to make culture a significant and intrinsic part of young people's lives;

- Audience development must be considered as a strategic value in cultural policy, since it is important to ensure the widest access and widest range of experiences possible to all people at all stages of life in order to come closer to the goal of democratising culture;

- Given that cities are increasingly places where people of many different ethnic origins, cultures, faiths and backgrounds live together, it is vital to enhance intercultural dialogue by promoting knowledge and exchange which form the basis for mutual, tolerant and respectful understanding. Intercultural education through cultural experiences offers the possibility of seeing non-indigenous communities as a positive resource and gain for a city;

Community Arts and Empowerment

- It is important to counterbalance the impact of the public sphere and market forces by strengthening strategies at programme level for the funding and facilitation of cultural and artistic projects initiated from within civil society;

- Cities should strive to empower local communities by enabling citizens to influence the cultural planning and the strategies of cultural policy of their own communities;

- Local communities should be provided with chances to participate both in the planning and execution of urban regeneration projects that affect local inhabitants and their neighbourhoods;

- In order to ensure cultural diversity, it is necessary to give different social and cultural groups opportunities to express and experience their own culture within the city's cultural institutions, cultural spaces and organisational frameworks;

- Cities should seek to secure the highest quality of community arts by encouraging the highest level of aesthetic excellence in local and community-based projects through partnerships with professional artists and other cultural experts.

Economic Development

- In an increasingly global context, cities need to devise and implement strategies to promote their unique vocation and distinctiveness as a city, by identifying their main areas of specialisation in order to build long-term sustainable economic and social development through a coherent and shared identity;

- The creation of international connections in the cultural sector should be valued not only for the creative energies which such links can release but for their contribution to the promotion and image-making of the city;

- With the rapid advance of new technologies, cities must apply ICT for the purposes of creating new cultural services and products and assisting in the development of new and easier access to their cultural offering;

- Cities need to make more effective and creative use of their cultural assets in order to develop the role of culture in city marketing and to encourage cultural tourism, including the promotion of little known cultural venues and events;

- It is essential that cities develop strategies (e.g. for the provision of facilities and finance) aimed at attracting and retaining creative talent, since this is a key factor in securing their international competitiveness. This should also include training of young artists in entrepreneurial skills.

Indicators

- In order to provide local decision makers with all available information on their subject, it is important to establish one central European data office on urban culture and to enable the Urban Audit to widen the range of cultural indicators included in its work;

- As a further assistance to cultural policy makers, urban cultural statistics should be made more easily accessible via a statistics yearbook or publication on the internet;

- Given the problems identified during the course of EUROCULT 21 concerning the collection and reporting of data, consideration should be given to establishing agents at urban level responsible for the gathering and elaboration of data (e.g. from national sources and from individual institutions), and making them useful for cultural policy making at city level;

- In order to help resolve continuing problems of lack of comparability, it is important to facilitate an exchange on definitions and concepts used in the gathering of urban statistics between different urban, regional, national and European institutions.

Research Recommendations

The overall aim of the future research needs jointly proposed by the Scientific Committee and the Management Committee is to develop further the model of the Four E's: Enlightenment, Empowerment, Economic Impact and Entertainment, including the Fifth E: Experience as a way of evaluating urban cultural policies as such and the work of the cities' cultural institutions and organisations. We find it is of great importance to develop new theoretical models based on practice in an urban environment where new forms of production, new understandings of 'culture' and new forms of consumption challenge the traditional forms of funding of culture and where new partnerships are evolving.

Against this background it is our ambition to develop new quantitative and qualitative indicators of 'The Vibrant City', a city where the citizens' possibilities to participate in and express themselves through divers high quality experiences are maximised and the potentials of arts and culture in evolving a dynamic urban environment are sustained. First, however, we wish to make two general recommendations relating to the manner in which research is organised at European level.

General Recommendations

- We consider that it is important to retain a mobility strand within future Framework Programmes of EC- DG Research in order to ensure that research bodies can continue to benefit from the 'hands on' knowledge and experiences of practitioners. The opportunity for researchers involved in EUROCULT 21 to gain access to the data and thinking behind policy decisions through the participation of experienced administrators from the participating cities has been a major contributory factor to the successful outcome of this project.

- Considering the increasing emphasis at city level on the many-faceted role that culture can and should play within urban society, it is essential that both Cultural and Urban issues should be given a higher profile within future research programmes.

Recommendations relating to the Four E's Rationale: The Vibrant City – a new approach

The areas of research proposed to inform the development of this new approach are as follows:

Enlightenment

- To evolve new frameworks for the evaluation of the quality of content taking the context of arts production and performance into consideration;

- To analyse the employment situation of artists in the cities with a view to developing cultural policy measures aimed at creating opportunities for artists ensuring professionalisation and creativity;

- To analyse the impact of cultural education programmes on cultural consumption and habits.

Empowerment

- To build a coherent framework for the discussion and assessment of the empowerment potential of participation in community arts in collaboration between scientific researchers and cultural administrators;

- To initiate research into the involvement of civil society in cultural policy decision-making processes and cultural planning of the city;

- To assess how cities' cultural policies and strategies are responding to the challenges of the increased diversity of their inhabitants;

Economic impact

- To analyse the relationships between culture (production of meanings, arts, etc.) and industry sectors (fashion, design etc.) as sources of future European competitiveness in the knowledge economy;

- To undertake of European-wide studies focused on different models of cities considered in terms of their specialisation and the role of culture in supporting city economy and local development;

- To explore the connections between arts education and the creative industries as a background for the assessment of the artistic skills people in the creative industries need;

- To promote studies on innovation processes in the cultural sectors and the role of ICT.

Entertainment

- To evolve the theoretical framework behind the discussion of the "fun city" as a dimension of urban cultural policy and its relation to other rationales and aims;

- To analyse the impact of commercialisation on the recreational and leisure-time activities of the city.

Experience

- To define and discuss the concept of 'experience' in the context of urban cultural policy and how the diversity of experience can be enhanced by the diversity of organisation, culture and voice;

- To construct quantitative and qualitative indicators of 'experience' on the level of unique experiences (as festivals and events), cultural institutions and at the city level as a whole;

- To construct a model and an index based on the citizens' possibilities to participate in and express themselves through divers high quality experiences.

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- Barcelona
- Birmingham
- Bologna
- Camden (London)
- Catania
- Düsseldorf
- Gdansk
- Hagen
- Helsinki
- Jena
- Leeds
- Leipzig
- Liverpool
- Malmö
- Stockholm
- Tarnow (Cities on Internet Association)
- Venice
- EUROCITIES
- ENCATC
- OPC
- CPS
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Map of EUROCULT21 Cities

FINLAND

Helsinki

SWEDEN

Stockholm

Aarhus

GREAT
BRITAIN

DENMARK

Malmö

Leeds

Gdansk

Liverpool

GERMANY

POLAND

Birmingham

Hagen   Leipzig

Camden

Dusseldorf   Jena   Tarnow

Venice

Bologna

SPAIN

ITALY

Barcelona

GREECE

Athens

Catania

CITY OF BARCELONA

Notes: