



# the 1990 story

## Glasgow Cultural Capital of Europe





# BOEKMAN*stichting*

*Studiecentrum voor kunst, cultuur en beleid*



Herengracht 415  
1017 BP Amsterdam  
telefoon bibliotheek 020-624 37 39  
fax 020 - 638 52 39  
e-mail bibliotheek@boekman.nl  
internet www.boekman.nl

De uitleentermijn bedraagt 4 weken. Verlenging met 4 weken is mogelijk, tenzij de publicatie inmiddels is gereserveerd.

De uitleentermijn is verstreken op:

02 AUG. 2002

17 APR 2007



Еуролинк Осигурување АД Скопје  
EuroLink Insurance Inc. Skopje

**ПОЛИСА ЗА ПАТНИЧКО ОСИГУРУВАЊЕ**  
**TRAVEL INSURANCE POLICY**

Оптимум / Optimum   
Премимум / Premium   
ВИП / VIP

Договарач:  
Policyholder: Delfino Travel

Агенција / Agency:  
Broker / Broker: Delfino Travel

Осигуреник име и презиме:  
Name of insured: PECIOSKA SLAVICA

Референт:

Адреса (град, држава):  
Address (city, state): UL. VASIL STEFANOVSKI BR. 7-5

ЕМБГ:  
EIBG: 2707984455007

Доплата за спортски ризик 60%  
Sport risk (additional premium 60%)

Пасош бр.  
Passport no.: 2533451

Доплата за над 65 години 100%  
Persons over 65 (additional premium 100%)

Залочнува на:  
Valid from: 22.05.2007

Полусти / Discounts  
1. Студенти/Students  3. Бизнис/Business   
2. Семејно/Family  4. Групно/Group  
лица/persons 1

Завршува на:  
Valid until: 22.05.2008

Франшиза / Deductible  
1. 50 EUR  3. 250 EUR   
2. 150 EUR

Период на покритие:  
Insurance period: 365

Оснана премија по ден:  
Basic premium: 51.99

Вкупна премија:  
Total premium: 18 976.00

Изјавя: Го овластувам осигурувачот да бара податоци за мојата здравствена состојба и лекување. Ти ослободувам од обврска на чуждо престојно место тајна и ти овластувам здравствените институции и мојот матичен лекар да ти дадат сèраните податоци на Осигурувачот.  
Осигурувањето е случено по условите за патничко осигурување од 2006 година што се составен дел на полисата за осигурување, кои му се предадени на договорувачот/осигуреникот.

Датум на изготвување  
Date of issue: 27.05.2007

Договарувач / Осигуреник  
Policyholder / Insured: \_\_\_\_\_

Еуролинк Осигурување АД Скопје  
EuroLink Insurance Inc. Skopje  
0147419

Полис бр.  
Policy no. **№ 147419**

: (091) - 351.05 : 693.1 : 694.197 : 351.751 :  
THEORY / ANALYSIS

791.44 : (560) : = 20 :  
Peripheral Vision:

# Cultural Industries and Cultural Identities in Turkey

ASU AKSOY AND KEVIN ROBINS, Istanbul

In the following discussion, we are concerned with the relations between cultural spaces and identities, on the one hand, and cultural and media industries, on the other. More specifically we shall consider the significance of contemporary transformations in both cultural identities and cultural industries. Put simply, this might be seen in terms of the shift from national communities and cultures, underpinned by national systems of communication and cultural distribution, to a global cultural order, in which new kinds of cultural identification are associated with new organisations of cultural production and consumption. We consider this to be a complex process of change (in opposition to these schematic accounts that treat the shift from national to global in terms of the unproblematical progression or evolution of one distinct cultural era to another). In the new global order, as John Sinclair and his co-authors (1996, p.24) argue, 'multiple social identities [are] being overlaid in the individual subject', and these identities, they suggest, are 'related to the local, national, regional and global levels at which cultural products such as television programmes circulate'. Particular allegiances (local, regional, diasporic, ethnic, religious) turn out to be as significant as the new universalism of global consumer culture, and, of course, national attachment remains a fundamental way of belonging in the new order. Global change is also a contested process, with national institutions actively working to resist their disablement or dissolution (i.e. economic, political and cultural spheres). So we must consider developments in cultural industries in the context of this complexity and contestation in cultural change.

This means, further, that we must develop our accounts of cultural industries in terms of their location within the specific dynamics of particular global regions (there is little substance, that is to say, in abstract and general models of the relation between cultural identities and industries). What is crucial is the way in which global forces encounter particular local, national and regional circumstances, negotiating distinctive and determinate histories, configurations and trajectories of culture

and society. In choosing our focus for the present discussion, we have reacted against the prevailing emphasis on Western Europe and the United States in cultural industries research. Our concern here with Turkey and with what is happening now to Turkishness. Turkish national culture has been dramatically disturbed and provoked by contemporary global developments (including both economic transnationalisation and, in the political sphere, the emergence of a new world order). And in terms of cultural industries, there has again been considerable upheaval, arguably more significant than that which has been experienced in the European and North American industries. In selecting the focus that we have, we hope to contribute to the project outlined by Sinclair *et al.* (1996, Ch.1), to study cultural industries beyond the metropolitan centres of the North Atlantic region, thereby bringing to the understanding of global cultural change the insights of a 'peripheral vision'.

Before we proceed to consider Turkish cultural industries in the main part of this paper, it is necessary to provide a brief introductory account of the key dynamics and issues in the Turkish cultural space (for a fuller discussion, see Robins, 1996). The Turkish state came into existence in 1923, out of the ruins of the Ottoman Empire and faced with the dilemma of creating national coherence and identity in a culture in which 'the notion of national identity, let alone the veneration of the national past, had no popular roots' (Keyder, 1993, p.24). The Kemalist political and intellectual elite sought to fill this national cultural vacuum through the mobilisation and propagation of the modernising and westernising ideology that it had forged for itself in the dying years of the Empire. What emerged as the 'official' culture of the Republican period, to be imposed on the Turkish people from above, was an ideology that had been imported from the 'civilised' world (i.e. Europe), and was centred around the modern and western values of republicanism, nationalism, secularism and rationalism. From the perspective of the elite, these constituted a set of values in which all turks could participate equally, and modern Turkishness would be

constituted through this equal participation. What were essentially alien and synthetic principles in the Turkish context were seen as the ideal basis – and also the only basis – for achieving the collective unity and solidarity of Turkish nationhood. The critical point here is that the 'real' culture of the people could find no place in this ideal-modern national imagination, for to acknowledge the actual culture, with its religious, ethnic, linguistic and cultural pluralism, would be to acknowledge diversity and potentially division within the new national territory. And so, the imagined unity and homogeneity of the 'official' culture was asserted against the palpable pluralism and heterogeneity of the 'real' culture. Bizarrely, the actual culture became constituted as the Other of the Kemalist ideology, and, as such, it had to be subjugated and suppressed. As much as through any positive project and aspirations, the Turkish state and nation developed out of what it mistrusted, feared and repressed – Turkish identity is 'the product of various negations' (Senocak, 1994, p.80).

Republican Turkey developed as a culture of repression, first in the psychological or psychoanalytical sense, and then, perhaps inevitably, in the political and even military sense, suppressing the unruly elements among its own people. The elite has sought to maintain order against the (imagined and feared) forces of disorder, and this has pitted 'official' culture against 'real' culture, state against civil society, centre against periphery. But, of course, repressions, both psychic and physical, are difficult to sustain over time. If one could write the history of modern Turkey in terms of the assertion of Kemalist rationality and order, it would equally be possible to write in terms of the incremental reassertion of those forces that have been stigmatised as irrational and disorderly. In 1950s, with the advent of multi-party government, there was a significant development in popular cultural and political opposition. 'A confrontation evolved', argues Ağlar Keyder (1993, pp. 24-25), 'which was presented by the Republicans as one between modernity and tradition, but which in fact contained a multiplicity of dimensions, including the defence of local culture against a transformed (hence alien) and authoritarian great culture, the upholding of mass values against elitism, and the protection of religious laissez-faire against militant secularism.' What were being articulated were the 'religious, localist and other particularist feelings of the masses' (*ibid.*, p.25). The period of the military coup in 1980 may similarly be seen as marking a notable shift of ground, with the military, concerned to weaken the bitter rivalries between Left and Right that had crippled Turkish society, allowing greater expression to religious sentiments and sensibilities. The coup, according to Fuat Keyman (1995, pp. 112-113) 'opened a discursive space for the revitali-

sation of the language of difference', creating 'a possibility for the marginalised and silenced identity to surface and express its resistance to the national secular identity as the privileged modern self'. This moment in the reassertion of Islam, particularly, represented a fundamental challenge to the unifying principles that Kemalist politicians and ideologues had been struggling to defend since the inauguration of the Republic. What is clear is that what has been repressed from consciousness and awareness always threatens to return. The most recent developments, unfolding since the mid-1980s, which have returned ethnic, religious and rural-popular culture to the Turkish scene (Robins and Asoy, 1995), have served to further bring this truth home.

These current developments, which are having a decisive impact on the Kemalist order, are being precipitated by transformations that far exceed the sphere of Turkish culture and politics alone. Here we must first take into account the rapid expansion of the global economy, which has a growing impact on Turkey since the liberalisation measures of Turgut Ozal's *Anavatan Partisi* (Motherland Party) governments in the 1980s sought to replace a protectionist approach to the economy (import substitution) with market and competition policies. The consequent exposure to global economic, and thereby cultural, forces is clearly influencing and changing the social and political dynamics of the country. Related to this have been the geopolitical shifts brought about by the end of the Cold War, which again are unsettling the old order and demanding a new openness to change. If, for most of its history, the Turkish Republic has been a relatively closed and inward-looking society (a factor which must have contributed significantly to sustaining the Kemalist ideology and statist culture), now it is increasingly being drawn into a new and complex nexus of transnational relations. Turkey is reaching out to Europe (where it also has a sizeable diasporic population): it is involved in the Middle East; it is now rediscovering its links with former Ottoman territories; it is developing new trading relations with other countries in the Black Sea region; and it is actively promoting economic and cultural ties with the new Turkic states (former Soviet) Central Asia (Fuller and Lesser, 1993). Turkey has clearly become a significant player in what is emerging as a new global region.

These external developments have been provoking and stimulating change inside Turkish culture and society, opening up new possibilities for those within who are seeking to challenge the imposed and constraining of the Kemalist ideology. During the 1980s, Turgut Ozal played an important (but straightforward) part in this necessary work of ideological deconstruction. If Turkey was to become 'synchronised' with a rapidly

changing world, he argued, that it was necessary to release the repressed and dynamic elements in its culture, and to find the real idiom of its cultural identity. In the past decade, the country has arguably gone some way in this direction, though it still remains considerably short of achieving such an objective. There is now a greater awareness of ethnic identities, a recognition that the imposed or willed uniformity of Turkish nationalism has in fact concealed a whole mosaic of ethnic diversity and difference. The popular culture of periphery, the culture of the outsider, has become more visible as a consequence of the massive migrations from the Anatolian countryside and the proliferation of extensive squatter settlements (*gecekondu*) in the cities, with their own distinctive rural-urban sensibility, the cultural of *arabesk* (Stokes, 1992a). And religious culture is again part of the Turkish equation, with the majority *Sunnis* asserting themselves culturally and politically (the rise of the religious *Refah Partisi* (Welfare Party) has been an important development in the 1990s), and the sizeable minority of *Alevis* also making their presence and interest felt (though this has been a more fraught and tense assertion). What we are now seeing is the Other within recovering its reality. The elements of the culture that have been long repressed are now returning to the cultural and political scene – a development with great possibilities, but also inherent dangers.

We can identify vital forces for change, but what is also clear that the state is intent on obstructing their expression. 'The efforts of the Turkish nation-state to keep Turkish society in an isolated jar like a delicate preserve have failed,' judges Murat Belge (1995, p. 134). 'The walls the state built around society are not, after all, history-proof. However, most contemporary global currents have been wraped while trying to squeeze in through the crevices of the Turkish state fortress... The state still sits over society like an incubus.' Turkey is now poised at a critical point in its history, between release and reaction. Will it be possible to nurture and sustain a vital civil society in this culture in which popular expression has always struggled to find expression (not only as a consequence of Kemalist subjugation, but also, as Serif Mardin (1984) makes clear, as a consequence of its Ottoman heritage)? What prospects are there for articulating the diversity of cultural voices in properly functioning democratic system (in recent years the possibility of founding a 'second Republic' has been mooted)? Will progressive forces in Turkey be able to widen the cracks in the walls of the state, and how might they turn the invading global currents to more creative and imaginative ends?

These are the questions that concern us, and we want to raise them now in relation to the changing role of the cultural industries, which are absolutely

crucial to the expression of civil society and the achievement of democratic culture. In the following discussion, we shall adopt a narrative perspective, seeking to identify key phases and turning points in the development of Turkish cultural industries. First, we shall look at the state's hegemony over cultural forms (in the 1970s and 1980s): then we shall look at the opening up of the cultural scene in the period after 1990, as a consequence of globalisation and the proliferation of new, and illegal, commercial broadcasting activities; and, finally, we shall look at the state's attempts to reassert its order, albeit on the basis of a new compromise, from 1994. In each of these periods, we shall be concerned with the struggle between state culture and that of civil society – between the 'official' culture and 'real' culture, the centre and the periphery – observing key shifts in the balance of power. Our emphasis in this paper will not be on the broadcasting industry, as this has been at the heart of the cultural and political agendas we are seeking to elucidate, though we shall also consider other cultural industries (press, film, popular music) as the discussion proceeds.

#### THE TRT ERA: THE DISSEMINATION OF 'OFFICIAL' CULTURE

Now, we shall consider the early development of cultural industries in Turkey, drawing attention to the significance of broadcasting, and particularly television, which was first introduced in the 1960s under the monopoly of the state-run Turkish Radio and Television Authority (TRT). What we want to show is the implication of the broadcasting media in the dissemination of the 'official' culture of the Republic – the modern, rational, secular and nationalist ideology of the Kemalist elite. TRT, we shall argue, was central to the state's ambition and project to forge the synthetic unity of the modern Turkish nation. But, of course, we shall then go on to argue, there must necessarily be difficulties with such a false unity imposed from the top down. What we shall designate as the 'real' culture – it is the term that is commonly used in Turkey – could not simply and easily be repressed. At the end of this section, we shall consider on what terms, in what form, in what space, the popular culture was able to sustain its existence.

TRT was set up in 1964 as an independent state institution as envisaged by Article 121 of the 1961 Constitution, which defined radio and television broadcasting activities as a state monopoly to be run by an independent organisation. TRT started television broadcasting first in Ankara, the Turkish capital, in 1968, using a five kw transmitter given by the German government. In the early days, the broadcasting space was restricted, with even Istanbul depending on the physical transportation of programme material from Ankara. By the begin-

ning of the 1980s, however, the rate of penetration had progressed significantly, covering more than sixty per cent of the national territory, and reaching over eighty per cent of the Turkish population. The transition to colour broadcasting was achieved in 1984, and a second channel was introduced in 1986, this time based in Istanbul, to supplement the main channel with programming devoted to documentaries, art and high culture. A little later, TRT3 was inaugurated as a channel for youth (1989), and TRT4 began to distribute educational material for students (1990), though in both cases it was only for a limited part of the day. A further service was added in 1989, with TRT's GAP TV becoming the first and only example for regional public broadcasting, intended to support the objectives of the Southern Anatolia Project (*Güney Anadolu Projesi*) to bring economic, educational and cultural resources to the undeveloped (and, we should note, predominantly Kurdish) provinces of the East and South East.

What has distinguished TRT since its inception, despite the efforts in principle to establish its independence, has been its susceptibility to government intervention and interference. In so far as the head of the executive committee, the organisation that administrates the broadcasting services, is appointed by the Turkish President, there is considerable scope for the party in power to exercise its influence over TRT. Government control over finances and also over representation on the governing committee have also considerably weakened the autonomy of media executives and professionals. A further significant encroachment on broadcasting freedom occurred in 1972, when the new Constitution, drawn up after the military coup, replaced the requirement of 'independence' with that of 'objectivity' (this was reinforced in the 1982 (against post-coup) Constitution and in the new media law drawn up in 1983). This may have given a certain impression of balance or impartiality, as political parties put pressure on TRT to make their voice heard, and then criticised it when they felt that rival voices were receiving too much coverage. What was really at issue, however, was the denial of independence in a broadcasting system that was fundamentally under the control and influence of the prevailing government and state. TRT has operated according to an authoritarian state broadcasting model rather than a public service model.

Whatever the differences between parties, and between successive parties in government, what has been continuous through the development of Turkish broadcasting has been the logic of political dirigisme and manipulation. And what is significant for the purposes of the present discussion is how, and how much, this has extended further into cultural, or what is better seen as political-cultural,

dirigisme. The 'official' parties have found common ground – whatever the tactical and local differences that divide them – in the project of creating what they have regarded as a modern and western-style political and cultural system. The state broadcasting organisation has been the pre-eminent means through which this political elite has sought to instantiate the 'official' culture of Turkish Republicanism. What we can see in the development of TRT is the paternalistic and authoritarian nature of the institution of Turkish nationhood.

The promotion of this cultural offensive is clearly apparent in the programming output of the state monopoly broadcaster. TRT considered its objective to be the creation of a modernised and western-oriented outlook, and it sought to achieve this through the broadcasting of an uplifting repertoire of informational, educational and cultural materials. In the early, pre-television period the attempts to construct a new and modern Turkish musical culture provided a good example of TRT's approach. 'Eastern music' sections of conservatories has been closed in 1924, and were banned from the airwaves in the mid-1930s and in the place of what was perceived as an oriental and background musical culture, TRT, in liaison with the state and the new state conservatories, sought to install a new and 'pure' Turkish musical idiom based on 'authentic' rural melodies (Stokes, 1994, p.25). An account of that organisation at its high point, in the 1970s, indicates the continuing moral tone and ideals in much of TRT's television output (Cankaya, n.d.). Around one quarter of its programming schedule was taken up at this time with news and current affairs, most of which consisted of reporting government declarations. Instructional programmes were devoted to symbolic events in the formation of the modern Turkish nation and to agendas and campaigns concerning its further development and improvement. Cankaya gives examples for 1977: programmes on the abolition of religious rule in Turkey, the establishment of the Istanbul Turkish Music Conservatory, Forestry Week and the Day for Planting Trees, the Acceptance of the Turkish National Anthem by the Parliament, Tourism Week, the Canakkale Victory Day, International Theatre Day, the second İnönü Victory Day, the Week of the Disabled, and so forth. The clear intention was to instruct the Turkish public about the responsibilities of citizenship and make evident to it the rules of conduct and behaviour appropriate to a modern nation state. A serious broadcast in 1974, "Masterpieces of World Literature", was deemed to be filling a cultural void in a country whose literacy rate was still very low. Foreign (that is, European and American) programming was seen as very important in this respect. Western

classical music has, from the earliest days, been regarded as a beneficial influence and model. And Cankaya (n.d., p. 72) notes that, through the height of the television era, foreign films, series and documentaries constituted between thirty and fifty per cent of TRT's total programming output. There was a desire to absorb appropriate western cultural products for the inspirational influence they could have on Turkish cultural development.

Broadcasting in the TRT era was highly centralised: it was geographically centralised, in that most programming was produced in-house at TRT's Ankara studios, with no regard for regional production (Sahin and Aksoy, 1993); and this translated directly into cultural and political centralisation, with a small elite determining scheduling and programming policy in the light of Kemalist ideology (Ankara, the new capital, was the symbolic stronghold of Kemalist values, counterposed to the old capital of the Ottoman past, Istanbul). The explicit intention was to establish a cultural industry that would work to create a Turkish cultural identity in conformity with the elite's modern and now 'official' image. TRT's output was directed to an ideal, and idealised, people who were unified in their shared citizenship and national attachment. The broadcasting monopoly assumed a highly censorious attitude – which gave rise to practices of exclusion and open censorship – towards whatever it regarded as deviant in cultural tone or attitude. This stance has amounted to a purification of the cultural space: TRT has sought to rid the cultural environment of what it perceived as its peripheral, rural, sentimental, unruly, disorderly elements. The 'real' Turkey, with all the complexities and diversity of its civil society and cultural identities has been denied, or, more correctly, disavowed, in the name of the 'official' cultural ideal.

But, of course, these disavowed elements could not, and did not, just disappear. So we must consider how they existed during what we have called the TRT era. Our argument is that these repressed aspects of Turkish cultural life survived through their displacement to the cultural scene. Here, beyond the reach of state intervention (through to different degrees), they were able to sustain an important, if difficult, presence through their commercial viability. Let us here briefly consider three such cultural industries – the press, cinema and popular music – and let us do so with particular regard to their subversive implications for the Kemalist cultural order.

Our first example, that of newspaper publishing, displays characteristics in common with the broadcasting sector. Because of its ideological importance as a form of manipulation, though this was by more indirect means. In some respect, the shared values of political and business elites conspired to produce self-censorship and support for

the 'official' culture in the mainstream press (Oktay, 1987). But there were also economic grounds for the quintessence of the press. The circulation of newspapers in Turkey has always been relatively low, inducing the newspaper industry to accept state credits at low interest from the government – in return for which, of course, they were expected to grant favourable coverage. But the drive to make profits also had other, more cultural and more interesting consequences. For there was room to make money by increasing circulation, and circulation could be increased by introducing more popular and populist fare. It was this principle that was grasped by the high-selling tabloid *Tan*, in the early 1980s and then more dramatically by the national daily, *Sabah*, which commenced publication in 1985. *Sabah* has its origins in the city of Izmir, its boss, Dinc Bilgin, was not part of the national media elite, and had not been compromised by drawing on state financial support. This afforded the newspaper a valuable peripheral perspective that made it possible to challenge the limits of the 'official' culture. Bilgin transgressed a symbolic restriction when he started to publish his newspaper on religious holidays. He famously published a photograph of Suleyman Demirel (then the opposition leader, and now president of Turkey) in his swimming costume (Munir, 1993, p.146). The coverage of *Sabah* was blatantly sensationalist, but what it did was to break taboos, and thereby to raise important questions about culture, politics, and everyday life in a way that no other newspaper had previously dared. *Sabah* captured the public sentiment because it began to show Turkey as it really was, and because it articulated the perspective of those who had been marginalised in Turkey's society.

Our second example is that of cinema. From as early as the 1940s, Turkey had sustained a significant film industry – referred to as *Yesilcam*, after the street in Istanbul's Beyoglu district in which most of the producers had their offices – popular at home, but also in neighbouring countries (such as Egypt, Iran, Albania, Greece). The high point of this popular film culture was in the 1970s, when there were around three thousand cinema theatres across Turkey, and when approaching two hundred movies were produced every year (Abisel, 1994). *Yesilcam* was a production line for cheap-budget formulaic movies – adventures, comedies, musicals – which were sensational, sentimental, melodramatic in tone. It gave rise to popular film stars, including many famous arabesk singers (see below), with whose fates and destinies, both fictional and real, audiences could identify. It was the dramatic and emotional quality of these genre films that resonated with the marginalised elements in Turkish society: they expressed feelings and moods that found no correspondence in the

cold reason of the 'official' culture. What is highly significant for the present discussion of TRT's aloof attitude towards Yesilcam. It collaborated with very few Yesilcam producers, and very few Yesilcam movies were shown on the television screen. The sentimentality of American movies was clearly safer than the sentimentality of Turkish peripheral culture. TRT's censorious attitude is a perfect measure of the social meaning and significance of Yesilcam.

Finally, our third, and arguably most significant, example of culture in the periphery is that of popular music, and specifically the music known as arabesk. Arabesk, which again was at its high point in the 1970s, is a synthesis of Turkish classical music, rural folk genres, western pop and belly dancing music, with strong 'oriental' associations, and heavily laden with emotion and sentiment. It has been pre-eminently the culture of the margins and marginals:

The heroes and heroines of this music and its film are – in fact or fiction – labour migrants, representatives of a society in the grip of cultural and economic transformation, but at the same time powerless as outsiders to protect their sense of value and cultural integrity. Many of the singers are migrants from a remote and barbarised 'orient', the Arab speaking and Kurdish regions of south east Anatolia, who occupy the urban spaces between squatter town and metropolitan centres. The texts, films and remarkable personalities of the singers, many of whom are transvestites and transsexuals, play with markers of gender identity, emphasising the liminality and powerlessness of the subject (Stokes, 1992b, pp.213-214).

Arabesk was infused with the subjective mood of the periphery, with turbulent and violent emotions and with the themes of alienation and powerlessness (*ibid.*, p.214). It was identified as the culture of the *gecegondu*, the illegal settlement areas of the urban poor. From the 'official' perspective, its existence was interpreted as an attack on modern Turkish culture. It was regarded as a degenerate musical form promoting fatalism, masochism and passivity, a dangerous addiction of the people. And, again, censoriousness translated into censorship, with TRT banning arabesk music from the television screen (at one point Ministry of Culture officials went so far as to commission musicians to come up with a less dangerous variant, nicely described by the newspaper *Cumhuriyet* (10 February, 1989) as a "mild" state arabesk). What were disdained and feared were what were perceived as the backward, emotional and disorderly qualities of arabesk culture.

What existed in the TRT era, then, was a cultur-

al scene which was divided: between 'official' culture and 'real' culture; between centre and periphery; between order and (perceived) disorder. There were two distinct and separate worlds, existing in parallel to each other.

At the end of 1980s, this situation seemed still to exist. TRT sustained its broadcasting monopoly, and still campaigned to preserve the decorum of the state culture. Indeed, it was beginning to take its message and extend its mission beyond the confines of the Republic. In 1990, TRT-INT was inaugurated to transmit (via Eutelsat) programmes to Turkish speaking audiences in Europe. And then, in 1992, a further venture into transborder broadcasting came with the launch of TRT AVARASYA-TV, targeting the Turkic populations in the Central Asian Republics (the aim was to introduce these 'backward' ex-Soviet republics to the modern and civilised values of Turkey). But, even as TRT was thus extending itself, its authority and its centrality were being subverted from within. In spite of every effort to censor and marginalise them, the popular cultures that had existed parallel to the 'official' culture, began to make their presence felt in mainstream culture. The centre was being invaded by the periphery. More than just cultural industries, the phenomena of popular journalism, cinema and music amounted to, or perhaps reflected, a gathering movement – Martin Stokes (1992b, pp.217-221) describes in terms of an 'arabesk politics', standing for vital disorder against the stifling state order – in touch and sympathy with the 'real' culture and identities of a great many Turks.

The divide between 'real' and 'official' cultures was becoming reduced. The marginal cultures were gaining recognition and legitimation within the mainstream. It is to the developments that accelerated and confirmed this cultural transformation that we turn in the next section.

#### AFTER TRT: THE RETURN OF THE 'REAL'

At the end of the 1980s, Turkish society was being forced to change – and, of course, it was far from alone in this – by the forces of global change and the emergence of what has been called a new world order. The logic of globalisation was breaking open Turkey's protectionist economy and subverting its inward-looking and defensive political stance. Turgut Ozal was actively responding to these developments, seeking through his policies of economic liberalisation to 'synchronise' the Turkish economy with the rest of the world, and to strategically position the country within its global region. With the end of the Cold War order and the opening up of long-closed frontiers, Turkey was once again reacquainted with many of the old Ottoman provinces, and also reconnected to the Turkic cultures that had been contained within the old Soviet Union. These geo-economic and geo-

political transformations were dramatically changing Turkey's place in the world (Fuller and Lesser, 1993; Onis, 1995).

Inevitably, there were consequences for culture and identity. There was a new awareness of the historical complexity of Ottoman Turkish society and culture. The search for identity and for ontological security in a rapidly changing world resulted in a 'return to religion' (Cakir, 1992). At the same time, there was a growing recognition of ethnic difference and heterogeneity in the Turkish nation (Guvenc, 1993). The 'real' Turkey was articulating its cultural identity with ever greater forcefulness and fluency. Nilufer Gole (1993a, p.23) describes this culture making its presence felt – symbolically in Istanbul, the old capital of empire now reasserting itself against the official capital of modern Turkey – in terms of a 'synthesis in which local testures, colours and traditions are combined with modern global culture... The *'alaturka'* is attempting to globalise itself. To more and more Turkish people, the imposing and homogenising unity of Kemalism had come to seem inert and constraining. In the 1990s, there were significant possibilities for cultural and political revitalisation – for the deconstruction of the 'official' culture and the return of the 'real'. But they were, and are, only possibilities, for the state culture is resistant and resilient. As Murat Belge (1995, p.134) reminds us, 'at the end of the century, the "founding ideology" of the nation-state and its "state within a state" with its authoritarianism, its distrust of the masses, its paranoia about "enemies outside and inside", still rules the country.' Or, as Nicole Pope (1995, p.126) puts it, "Turkish society is years ahead of its political class."

Here we are concerned with just one aspect of this broader process and contestation. We are concerned with how cultural industries have figured in what is going on. And again, for very good reasons, we shall focus on developments in the television industry: on the spectacular proliferation of private channels after 1990. Just as state television was central to the cultural and political life of the Kemalist nation, it is clear that the new commercial stations have played a crucial part in sustaining the innovative and more complex developments that are now unfolding in Turkey. It was precisely their commercial and competitive motivations, we shall argue, that drove these new cultural institutions to promote cultural transformation: for, in the creation of new programmes for a new audiovisual market, the private channels recognised the importance of mobilising the 'real' culture that mass audiences could relate to. What commercial television did was to draw the popular culture that had been leading a parallel life – the culture of popular journalism, *Yesilcam*, *arabesk* – into the mainstream. And, thereby, they contributed significant-

ly to cultural revitalisation. This pluralisation of the media scene was associated, too with an opening up of political culture and debate. We can say that some of the necessary elements for a democratic public sphere have been put in place. But, in this respect, we think that the pre-eminently commercial orientation of the new media has been problematical. What we have seen is a limitation of free expression, as the new channels have shown themselves to be vulnerable to state influence and regulation. The vital years, were the unregulated ones from 1990 to 1994; subsequently, we believe, the institution of a new media law has curbed some of the creative spirit of the new broadcasting culture.

#### THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRIVATE BROADCASTING, 1990-1994

So, what happened, then, to bring about the demise of the TRT era? In September 1990, the state monopoly over radio and television broadcasting was dismantled in just a few months when a private company called Magic Box started broadcasting its Star 1 channel by satellite from Germany. Significantly, one of the founding partners of Magic Box, a Swiss-based company, was Ahmet Ozal himself – a staunch advocate of the free circulation of both goods and ideas – who initially gave the first signal for private broadcasting to take off when he told reporters that, even though it might be unconstitutional to set up private television stations on Turkish soil, there was nothing illegal in broadcasting into Turkey from abroad, like CNN. The Magic Box venture opened the floodgates for the rest of to follow; in a matter of just two years Magic Box started its second channel, and the number of private television stations broadcasting from abroad increased to seven. The Constitution was effectively undermined, and a competitive though extra-legal broadcasting market became the *de facto* norm in Turkey. It was Ozal's free market approach to broadcasting that had given the necessary impetus to the development of an expanding private television and radio sector. As the General Assembly of the Radio and Television Broadcasters Association later observed, if private broadcasters were breaking the law, then they were doing so with the President of Turkey himself as almost an accessory (*Cymhuriyet*, 4 April 1993).

The way in which the private broadcasters managed to bypass the crucial Article 133 of the Constitution (which granted a monopoly over radio and television broadcasting to TRT) was straightforward. Production studios, situated in Istanbul, leased satellite channels from the PTT to uplink television programmes to transponders leased from Eutelsat and Intersat. The signals were then downlinked to the reception and transmission equipment of the private television stations. In legal terms they were classified as foreign

transmissions, and therefore beyond the scope of the Constitution. The authorities were unable, and also seemingly unwilling, to halt this process. The opposition parties, much of the press, the advertising community, and associations like the Football Federation, were for their different reasons all more than happy to see the monopoly of TRT broken. With this proliferation of new television stations, not only did TRT lose its monopoly, but also its audience and its advertising revenue. Shortly after the commercial escalation, it was calculated that TRT's audience share was eaten away to less than 25 per cent (Clark, 1993a) and that it had lost as much as 50 per cent of its advertising revenues to its new competitors (Rossant, 1992). The broadcasting environment became a flourishing marketplace, with the major finance groups and the mass circulation daily newspapers taking controlling stakes. The new Turkish television industry was compared to that which developed in Italy in the 1980s (in the period when Berlusconi came on the scene) – with the provision that 'what took a decade in Italy is happening faster in Turkey' (Clark, 1993b).

It was not only economic interests that lined up to grab a piece of the electromagnetic spectrum. A great many other interest groups, cultural organisations and political groupings also saw an opportunity to be seized (and, in their cases, without the inconvenient detour of satellite technology). What had started originally as the strategy of big money to thwart the monopolistic set up of the TRT, soon turned into a display of the resourcefulness of the local and small; many local authorities and entrepreneurs set up their own locally-run radio, and in some cases television stations, stealing audiences from both the state and channels and the big private concerns. Those representing particular cultural or political interests also turned to the medium of television to communicate their message. In 1995, to the great consternation of the Turkish government, MED-TV began broadcasting Kurdish programmes by satellite link from London. There has been the development of muslim Channels, in the broader context of a flourishing Islamic culture of journalism, publishing and intellectual debate (Beki, 1996; Cakir, 1992). Samanyolu Television was established in 1990 by the highly influential Fethullah Gulen community; Mesaj TV was set up by the Kadiri community; Kanal 7 was set up, first in Istanbul and then with full national coverage, by members of the Iskanderpasa group; and TGRT was launched by the large media group (Turkiye Gazetesi Radyo ve Televizyonu) group founded by followers of Seyid Abdulhakim Arvas of the Nakasibendi sect. But, of course, it was large-scale economic interests were pre-eminent in the creation of what was a new business and industry in Turkey. The public

responded very positively to what Magic Box offered them; a new and glitzy mix of American movies and series (of a kind that TRT did not show), football, talk shows (in which previously taboo subjects were openly discussed), and quizzes and game shows. The huge possibilities in the Turkish broadcasting market (Turkey is a country of 60 million people) quickly brought a series of rival channels into existence – Interstar (which followed Star 1 when Magic Box folded in 1992), Kanal 6 (a new company founded by Ahmet Ozal), HBB, Show TV, Kanal D, ATV – all seeking to apply the same popular and commercial formula. And potential overseas investors were looking to distinguish the winners from the losers – as a *Variety* headline (12 April, 1993) put it, 'Foreign money waits till the shakeout's done'.

Competition was fierce in these pirate times. The contest over international programmes and rights pushed up prices, while ever larger sums were being bid for local stars and celebrities. At the same time, competition was leading to cuts in advertising rates. Escalating production costs coupled with dwindling revenues meant that new private channels were operating in deficit. And yet they survived, and their numbers even continued to increase. This was not only because there was fierce competition for big rewards in the long term, but also because of the form that competition took in the Turkish context. For most of the new channels were set up by the vast holding companies that dominate the national economy. The strategy of these companies was to ride out the competition by subsidising short-term losses in their television operations from the considerable reserves accumulated through their other activities. This created a situation in which competition and the proliferation of channels continued for an unusually long time – in fact competition and consolidation were developing hand in hand.

Consider the five major commercial stations (see Figure 1). Interstar belongs to the Uzman group of companies, which also owns banks, electricity companies, cement factories and a football team. Show TV is controlled by Erol Aksoy, who also runs a number of financial companies, large banks and service companies. TGRT belongs to Ihlas Holding, which also runs banks and marketing companies. Kanal D is owned by the Dogan group, number one owner of newspapers in Turkey, and also strong in the banking sector. ATV is jointly owned by Dinc Bilgin Medya Holding; which has a strong position in the newspaper market, and Cukurova Holding, with major interests in banking and finance. Television channels had recourse to the finances that allowed them to carry on spending more than they earned. Crucially, resources were transferred when the holding companies used their television outlets to advertise

Figure 1: The five major commercial television channels in Turkey

Media Companies	Parent Companies	Other Concerns
Interstar	Uzan Holding	Banks, Electricity Companies, Cement, Construction, Textiles, Football
Show TV Cine 5 (Subscription TV) Show Radyo (Radio) Marie Claire (magazine)	Erol Aksoy	Banks, Leasing, Insurance, Marketing, Tourism, Publishing
TGRT Turkiye (Daily Newspaper) TGRT FM (Radio) IHA (Ihlas News Agency)	Ihlas Holding	Banks, Distribution Health, Food, Services, Publishing, Trade
Kanal D Milliyet (Daily Newspaper) Hyrriyet (Daily Newspaper) Meydan (Daily Newspaper) Posta (Daily Newspaper) Spor (Daily Newspaper) Radio Klup (Radio)	Dogan Holding	Banks, Distribution, Health, Publishing, Insurance, Trade, Tourism, News Agency, Textiles
ATV Sabah (Daily Newspaper) Yeni Yuzyil (Daily Newspaper) Takvim (Daily Newspaper) Bugun (Daily Newspaper) Fotomac (Daily Newspaper)	Dinc Bilgin Group and Cukurova Holding	Publishing, Distribution, Banks, Manufacturing, Insurance

their other products. But what was also valuable were other forms of support, for example marketing and distribution, and also information and know-how – those whose owners had newspaper interests could call on up-and-running journalistic operations.

This peculiar situation of controlled competition produced an exceptional combination of space and resources that allowed for experimentation. On this basis, the commercial television companies made their distinctive contribution to the vitality and change seen in the 1990-1994 period. Competition and rivalry led to creative innovation, the breaking of cultural taboos, and the pushing back of censorship. Television executives and producers rapidly established a market (where there had previously only been a state 'service') by responding to what they identified as their viewers' 'real' tastes and interests. In describing the project of ATV to create 'a modern channel', Ibrahim Altinsay argues that 'the power of television is not just political – it has a strong social power' (quoted in *Variety*, 11-17 April 1994). He is describing the shift from state television as agent of the 'official' culture to commercial culture to commercial televi-

sion as mediator of the 'real' culture.

#### REALITY TELEVISION CULTURE

This proliferation of broadcasting channels – large and small; commercial, political, cultural, religious – was associated with a rapid marginalisation and revitalisation of the 'official' culture, and differentiation of the Turkish audience along lines of taste, culture and identity. Alongside channels broadcasting continuous American pop music and American accents, there has been the opportunity to seek arabesk, concerts, Turkish sitcoms, Kurdish news (albeit with considerably more difficulty), or readings from the Quran. As one journalist put it, 'civil society [was] organising itself fast', and the mushrooming satellite dishes became 'symbols of how taboos and prohibitions [were] being dismantled' (Cemal, 1993). What was becoming increasingly apparent was the disorderly complexity and energy of a civil society that had been inhibited by the order of the state for approaching seventy years. What was coming into existence was precisely the kind of new cultural ecology that Sinclair *et al.* (1996) draw our attention to: in this case a distinctive *alaturka* medialandscape.

This period saw the resurgence of civil society, argues Nilufer Gole (1993b, p.13), a culture asserting its autonomy from the state, and now with its 'tongue united'. And what was incredible was how many voices were, and how they wanted to talk about all manner of things and issues that had been repressed by the 'official' culture. Official 'untouchables' – Kurdish leaders, *Alevi*s, religious leaders, veiled women, radical feminists, transvestites, homosexuals, even former secret service agents – paraded through current affairs and talk shows. Films that were banned or heavily censored in previous years were broadcast uncut. Taboo subjects were tackled in uncensored debates and discussion programmes. What had been long repressed came rushing back to the surface of the culture. The new media were instrumental in bringing to consciousness the defining tensions of Turkish society, questions of ethnic origin, religion, language and group aspirations.

Television was drawn to reflect the actual life of Turkey. More novel than, say, images of American society and culture, was the sight of the 'real' face of Turkey (which had never been visible on state television). The proliferation of small television channels was a response to the desire to see local and regional cultures on the screen. Nabi Avci, of the muslim Kanal 7, describes that channel's policy as 'giving voice to a large section of Turkish society who cannot be heard in the mainstream media channels', and maintains that it 'is not only popular among the religious, but is appreciated by all those who would like to see Turkish culture on their screens' (interview with authors). Most significant in this respect, however, was the approach of the mainstream commercial channels. What they did was to draw on the marginalised culture – the peripheral culture – that we described as having a parallel life during the TRT era. They bought up the rights to Yesilcam vein. They palyed arabesk and Turkish pop. They developed reality shows that continued the 'gossip and blood' style that *Sabah* had pioneered. And what they did was to bring the marginal and peripheral culture into the mainstream.

'Reality proves popular with Turkish viewers': this *Variety* (11-17 April, 1994) headline has more resonance than was perhaps intended. Television was responding to what Nilufer Gole (1995) described as the desire to see actual Turkish life in its most basic and 'naked' reality. The consequences are uncertain, ambiguous. It may be argued that the fundamental divisions within the society are deepened. Sevda Alankus-Kural (1995), for example, argues that, in the mainstream programming of the commercial channels, Kurdish and Islamic culture is only treated when it becomes 'mediatic', that is a threat to the state. In a culture that has long been haunted by its 'imagined enemies' (Yavuz,

1996), we cannot be surprised by such collusion with the 'official' ideology. But there is a more positive perspective, too, particularly when we take into account what is available overall. Ayse Oncu (1994, p.25) describes the effect of a *Refah Partisi* television campaign as being to defuse the mythology of the 'dark face of Islam': 'Projected on to the television screen, individualised and personalised, it became simply a different visage like any other, surprising and fascinating by its very familiarity – urban, literate, middle class.' What is significant, Oncu argues, is that Islam has become 'issue-tized'. In her view, the new commercial television 'has broken through the closed and immobile corpus of "official-ceremonial culture" to issue-tize Islam in the public domain' (*ibid.*, p.34).

What is at stake, it seems to us, is precisely this question of issue-tization – the extent to which cultural representation can be transformed into political representation. There have clearly been significant achievements, for example the news and current affairs output of Kanal 7, and individual programmes such as ATV's *Siyaset Meydani* and Kanal D's *Arena*. But only partial progress has been made in the creation of a democratic public sphere. Sahin Alpay (1993, p.80) cites the President of the Turkish Journalists' Association, Nezhir Demirkent, as arguing that Turkish journalists are democrats of a very subjective nature. They all demand freedom for themselves, but are not prepared to recognise others' rights. Tolerance which is the most important value in a democracy, is not a widespread commodity in Turkey.' In many cases, it has seemed as if the rhetoric of democracy voiced by the commercial media has simply been a means to legitimate their own selfish and opportunistic ends. At times, their commercial interests have driven them into sensationalism and irresponsibility – notoriously in the case of Interstar and TGRT, who both broadcast false reports in April 1994 of a Serbian attack on the Bosnian town of Gorazde using chemical weapons, thereby provoking mass demonstrations in the streets of Ankara and Istanbul. In an account that has emphasised the positive aspects of the new 'reality culture' in Turkish television, it is perhaps appropriate to end on this more cautious note. For if much has been achieved in cultural representation, there are still considerable difficulties and obstacles in the way of political representation.

#### CONCLUSION: AFTER 1994

In the brief period from 1990 to 1994, a peculiar combination of circumstances, involving transformations in culture and identity, and, at the same time, in cultural industries, conspired to produce a new diversity and creativity in the Turkish media scene. We have been concerned with the complexi-

ties of cultural transformation in a peripheral region of the new global order (in the sense intended by Sinclair *et al.* (1996)). These complexities we have interpreted in terms of the struggle between repressed or marginalised elements within the culture – the periphery within the periphery – and the 'official' or state culture that occupies its centre-ground. What is at issue, we argue, is the elaboration of a cultural space that both corresponds and responds to the realities of civil society.

We have sought to bring out the positive aspects of development in the early 1990s, but, of course, we also recognise the persistent existence of forces that oppose change. The state culture remains powerfully negative, ever vigilant against the enemies it perceives within and without. Writers, publishers and intellectuals continue to be persecuted for their views on the Kurdish question, including 'star suspects' like Turkey's most famous writer Yasar Kemal (Pope, 1996; see also Kemal, 1995). There is still concern about the subversive potential of broadcasting. At the beginning of the decade, the director of the Radio and Television Commission was expressing his fears. 'What', he asked, 'if tomorrow CNN or some other channel were to broadcast *Midnight Express* [which was then banned in Turkey]; or what if the mayor of Los Angeles [who was an Armenian by origin] makes a speech attacking Turks?' In July 1996, the London-based MED-TV lost its place on Eutelsal and went off-air, as a consequence of political pressure from the Turkish government (Bowcott, 1996). Censorship continues to be a reflex response from the state to what it perceives to be cultural and political subversion.

And if, in the mainstream of the society, the 'official' culture has been considerably undermined, this does not mean that the state has just given way. Whilst it has, indeed, conceded ground in the cultural sphere – relinquishing what could never be recovered – it has sought to maintain its interest in the matter of politics. In April 1993, the politicians, in Ankara finally invoked Article 133 of the Constitution, and declared that all private radio stations and most television stations were illegal. Only the private television channels that were broadcasting from outside the country were spared closure; these, it was reasoned, could not be closed because Turkey was a signatory of the European agreement on transborder television. As to why the government had finally brought about this precipitous action, after delaying so long, a number of reasons were put forward. Some argued that the government was concerned about the rising number of overtly religious channels. For others, it could be seen as a response to the music publishers' campaign for the private radio stations to be banned because they were wantonly breaking copyright laws. One of the opposition parties

claimed that the action was autocratic, reflecting 'the government's inclination to create a single-voiced democracy' (*Hurriyet*, 1 April, 1993). What the then prime minister, Suleyman Demirel, claimed was that the situation had gotten 'out of hand' (*ibid*), and that the closure was necessary in order to create the right conditions for introducing new broadcasting regulation. Finally, order was restored in the Turkish media environment when a new Broadcasting Act was passed through the Parliament in April 1994.

It was the illegal and disorderly quality of the broadcasting scene that had sustained its vitality. After 1994, the situation changed significantly, with a move towards stabilisation and normalisation of the new media market. Whilst this was deeply problematic for small stations (and, not unexpectedly of course, small illegal enterprises continue to exist and even flourish), for the big broadcasters and their holding company owners, it came as a very welcome development. These organisations now wanted to put an end to the protracted period of competition that has pushed their costs up and their advertising revenues down. The fact that potential broadcasters would henceforth have to apply for a license, and would be subject to strict financial, technical and administrative regulation, would act as partial limit to competition. The established interests were now in a position to consolidate the dominant market position they had achieved. Show TV, ATV, and

Kanal D set about forming a joint media advertising sales company, for example. The new law created the conditions in which industrial concentration could proceed.

From the point of view of the state and political interests, the new law was also a positive development. For it served to create a more restrictive and controlled media industry, one in which the government now had the right and the resources to intervene. The Radio and Television High Commission (RTUK) was given responsibility for monitoring the contents of radio and television programmes at local and national levels. In the first year of its existence, RTUK gave forty warnings to fifteen radio and television stations, and these warnings translated into from one-day to three-day closures according to the severity of the offense. Almost all national television channels – Interstar, ATV, HBB, Kanal 6, Show TV and TGRT – have faced blackouts at least once since 1994. RTUK monitoring of content has gone so far as issuing anticipatory warnings concerning the coverage of future events. Inevitably this has brought about greater caution and the tendency, in many instances, to self-censorship. For the moment at least, the state has recovered much of the initiative, though now within the new framework of a commercial media environment.

After 1994, the media environment in Turkey has become more guarded and restrictive, less multivocal. But we should recognise what has been achieved. The cultural transformations that have been brought about by the new media can not be undone. In the political sphere, there is a new visibility, giving sustenance to what Nicole Pop (1996, p.158) describes as a 'growing social consciousness'. And, of course, there are still alternative – peripheral – visions and voices (including those of second- and third-generation Turkish migrants in Europe, who are now intervening in Turkish affairs). The momentum of change has slowed, but it has not by any means been halted.

## REFERENCES

- Abisel, N., 1994, *Türk Sinemasi Uzerine Yazalir*, Istanbul, Imge.
- Alankus-Kural, S., 1995, *Turkiye de medya, hegemonya ve otekinin temisli*, *Toplum ve Bilim*, 67, pp. 76-111.
- Alpay, S., 1993, *Journalists: cautious democrats*, pp. 69-91 in Heper, M., Oncu, A. and Kramer, H. (eds.), *Turkey and the West: Changing Political and Cultural Identities*, London, I. B. Tauris.
- Belge, M., 1995, *Trapped in its own history*, *Index on Censorship*, 24 (1), pp. 127-131, 135.
- Beki, M. A., 1996, *Green publishing becomes professional*, *Turkish Daily News*, 12 April.
- Bowcott, O., 1996, *Row looms over Kurdish TV satellite ban*, *The Guardian*, 3 July.
- Cakir, R., 1992, *La mobilisation islamique en Turquie*, *Espirit*, August, pp. 130-142.
- Cankaya, O., 1986, *Türk Televizyonunun Program Yapisi (1968-1985)*, Istanbul, Mozaik.
- Clark, J., 1993a, *Pubcaster locked in taffy pull*, *Variety*, 12 April.
- Clark, J., 1993b, *Young Turks spark TV boom*, *Variety*, 12 April.
- Cemal, H., 1993, *Islamicilerin televizyon atagi...*, *Sabah*, 13 January.
- Fuller, G. E. and Lesser, I. O., *Turkey's New Geopolitics: From the Balkans to Western China*, Boulder, Westview Press.
- Gole, N., 1993a, *Istanbul's revenge*, *Istanbul (English Language Edition)*, 1 (1): 20-23.
- Gole, N., 1993b, *Liberal yanilgi*, *Turkiye Gunlugu*, 24, pp. 12-17.
- Gole, N., 1995, *Modernlik zaman bilinc ve desen*, *Yeni Yuzuil*, 26 February.
- Guvenc, B., 1993, *Türk Kimligi*, Ankara, Kultur Bakanligi.
- Kemal, Y., 1995, *The dark cloud over Turkey*, *Index on Censorship*, 24 (1), pp. 141-147.
- Keyder, C., 1993, *The dilemma of cultural identity on the margin of Europe*, *Review*, 16 (1), pp. 19-33.
- Keyman, E.F. 1995, *On the relation between global modernity and nationalism: the crisis of hegemony and the rise of (Islamic) identity in Turkey*, *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 13, pp. 93-120.
- Mardin, S., 1984, *Le concept de societe civile en tant qu'element d'approche de la societe turque*, *Les Temps Modernes*, 456-7, pp. 53-65.
- Munir, M., 1993, *Sabah Olayi*, Istanbul, Altin Kitaplari.
- Oktay, A., 1987, *Toplumsal Degisme ve Basin*, Istanbul, BFS Yayinlari.
- Oncu, A., 1994, *Packaging Islam: cultural politics on the landscape of Turkish commercial television*, *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 10, pp. 13-36.
- Onis, Z., 1995, *Turkey in the post-cold war era: in search of identity*, *Middle East Journal*, 49(1), pp. 48-68.
- Pope, N., 1995, *Letting go*, *Index on Censorship*, 24(1), pp. 124-126.
- Pope, N., 1995, *Open to Change*, *Index on Censorship*, 25(2), pp. 155-159.
- Robins, K., 1996, *Interrupting identities: Turkey Europe*, pp. 61-86, in Hall, S. and du Gay, P. (eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity*, London, Sage.
- Robins, K. and Aksoy, A., 1995, *Istanbul rising: returning the repressed to urban culture*, *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 2(3), pp. 223-235.
- Rossant, J., 1992, *Turkish television: uncontrolled growth of private stations*, *Communications and Broadcast Review Turkiye*, Autumn, pp. 23-31.
- Sinclair, J., Jacka, E., and Cunningham, S., 1996, *Peripheral vision*, pp. 1-32 in Sinclair, J., Jacka, E., and Cunningham, S., (eds.) *New Patterns in Global Television: Peripheral Vision*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Stokes, M., 1992a, *The Arabesk Debate: Music and Musicians in Modern Turkey*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Stokes, M., 1992b, *Islam, the Turkish state and arabesk*, *Popular Music*, 11(2), pp. 213-227.
- Stokes, M., 1994, *Turkish arabesk and the city: urban popular culture as spatial practice*, pp.21-37 in Ahmed, A. and Donnan, S. (eds.), *Islam, Globalisation and Modernity*, London, Routledge.
- Sahin, H. and Aksoy, A., 1993, *Global media and cultural identity in Turkey*, *Journal of Communication*, 43(2), pp. 31-41.
- Senocak, Z., 1994, *Der l'erdrangungskunstler: die Turkei zwischen Terror und Demokratie*, pp. 79-85, in *War Hitler Araber?*, Berlin, Babel Verlag, Hund & van Uffelen.
- Topuz, H., 1990, *Kablolu TV girisimleri*, pp. 152-155, in Topuz, H., Aziz, A., and Onen, M., (eds.), *Yarinin Radyo ve Televizyon Duzeni*, Istanbul, ILAD/TUSES.
- Yavuz, M. H., 1996, *Turkey's 'imagined enemies': Kurds and Islamists*, *The World Today*, 52(4), pp. 99-101.

## the year to come

- ③ INTRODUCTION
- ⑦ SETTING THE SCENE

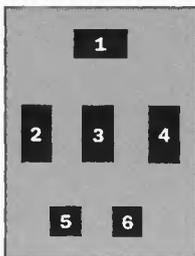
## the year in focus

- ⑩ THE CULTURAL CAULDRON
- ⑰ THE SEARCH FOR A SYMBOL
- ⑳ THE CITY OF...WHAT?

## the year in time

- ⑳ INVOLVEMENT & INVESTMENT
- ㉓ THE LEGACIES OF 1990

# contents



Background:  
CWS (Glasgow) Band

- 1.  
The Arts is Magic!  
Tam O'Shanter  
Photo: SRC
- 2.  
The Paper Boat  
In New York
- 3.  
World  
Highland Games  
Photo: STB
- 4.  
Bus shelter design,  
Angela Reid
- 5.  
The Big Day:  
Aswad
- 6.  
1990 Balloon

- ㉕ 1990 FESTIVALS OFFICE STAFF  
FESTIVALS ADVISORY COMMITTEE  
FOUNDATIONS, INSTITUTIONS & OTHERS
- ㉖ PRIME SPONSORS, SPONSORS,  
SPONSORS IN KIND, BENEFACTORS, DONORS

### CONTRIBUTORS

Dominic d'Angelo    Robert Palmer  
Joseph Farrell     Neil Wallace  
Jackie McGlone     Sam Warnock  
John Myerscough

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

All photographs by Alan Crumlish, D.S.B. Photography, Kevin Low, Alan Donaldson and Alan Wylie, except where credited separately. Photographs marked SRC courtesy of Strathclyde Regional Council. We gratefully acknowledge all who have contributed to the personal reviews included in this publication.

Published by  
Glasgow City Council  
Department of Performing Arts & Venues  
City Hall, Candleriggs  
Glasgow G1 1NQ

© 1992 Glasgow City Council  
ISBN: 0 901557 76 5

Designed by Pointsize Associates  
Typeset by Image and Print  
Printed by M & M Press Ltd

the year to come



**This** is a report of Glasgow's year as Cultural Capital of Europe. It was a year when Glasgow, one of the most convivial cities in the world, threw the world's biggest party. A year when the very idea of culture moved centre stage.

For many millions of people, 1990 in Glasgow offered the chance to do, see or hear something special, to rejoice in a common identity, to debate the essence of that identity. The year also offered opportunities to promote Glasgow and its achievements to the rest of the world, to draw attention to a city celebrating its cultural strengths.

Traditionally, Glasgow people are tough, reticent, friendly, a little aggressive and, at the right moments, incorrigibly romantic. With their feet firmly on the ground, they are not afraid of the occasional glance at the stars. Given an awareness of the right moment, they will seize it and turn it to their advantage. 1990 was such a moment: Glasgow embraced the accolade of Cultural Capital of Europe and set out to make the most of it.

The culture of Glasgow is a complex weave, one which dances as much as draws, and often through adversity. A culture unafraid of subjecting itself to sustained self-scrutiny. The philosophy behind the city's approach to its reign as Cultural Capital tried to reflect that complexity, to achieve a truer currency for the idea of culture and the kind of commodity it is.

Culture is not only about art. It cannot be confined. The culture of a city is what people do now and have done in the past. It is a process which includes all and excludes none.

Glasgow's culture is as powerfully expressed on its streets as in its galleries, in its discos as much as its theatres, and when it comes to Glasgow's cultural practice, it is always a matter of choice and alternatives. 1990 offered a platform for the many cultures of Glasgow, and tried to ignore quaint obsessions with 'high' and 'low' culture. As terms they were irrelevant during a year which featured Glasgow's culture as lively, cosmopolitan and most aggressively pluralist.

In one sense, 1990 was really no more a cultural year than any other. However, Glasgow's enhanced European status for that year offered a unique city-wide stage for a vast array of projects and events, in a programme founded primarily on the best that the city's own cultural organisations could offer.

In part, that programme viewed Glasgow's cultural life and heritage from a perspective both contemporary and historical. There was consistent encouragement to involve Glasgow artists and athletes, children and the elderly, people with special needs, the city's ethnic communities and those with different religious beliefs. There were opportunities for international cultural exchange and partnerships. The presentation of work from the rest of Britain and Europe, and from other parts of the world, sat alongside the work of performers and artists from Glasgow itself.

## INTRODUCTION

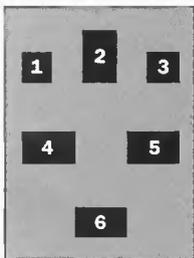


1990 was a triumph for the city and people of Glasgow.

We were determined that 1990 would be a celebration to be enjoyed by as many as possible: with eight million people participating I'm confident we achieved our objective. I was particularly delighted that so many organisations and community groups took part in an array of celebrations.

Glasgow is now internationally recognised as a true City of Culture, and that gives me tremendous satisfaction.

**Councillor Pat Lally**  
Leader of Glasgow City Council



Background:  
**Dampbusters**

1.  
**Diagram of an Object,**  
Dhruva Mistry

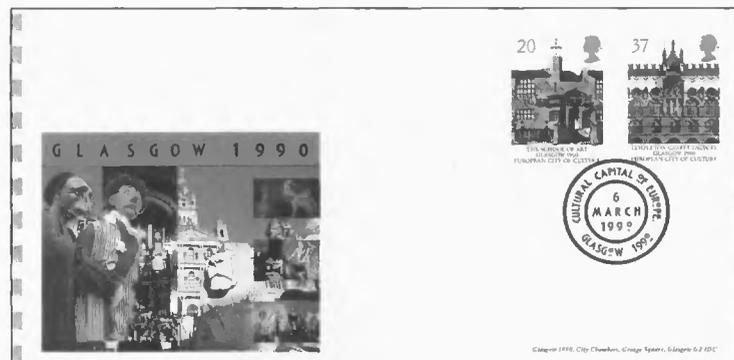
2.  
**Glasgow Fair:**  
Mark Saunders and  
John Sampson  
Photo: Martin Shields

3.  
**Rob Roy**  
Photo: Alasdair Cameron

4.  
**Sarafina!** Photo: SRC

5.  
**Dressing the City**  
Easterhouse bus,  
Louise Roddick and  
Deborah Campbell

6.  
**World Day**  
of Architecture:  
Glasgow Sheriff  
Court House  
Photo: PSA



21 million School of Art 20p stamps, 5.6 million Templeton's Carpet Factory stamps, and almost 100,000 sets of postcards: these first day issues became Post Office best-sellers.



Three and a half million visitors came to Glasgow in 1990: some were more obvious than others, and these were among the first.



My favourite 1990 memory? One of more than a thousand projects funded by the Regional Council to spread the celebrations all round Strathclyde: bringing together school children and pensioners, special needs students and hospital patients to explore the potential of clay. The ceramics they produced were delightful: more impressive was the skill and confidence they developed, and the fun they had.

The Year of Culture was a once-in-a-lifetime event: the seeds sown in 1990 will continue to grow in years to come.

**Councillor Charles Gray**  
Leader of Strathclyde Regional Council

A distinctive emphasis of 1990 was on creation and participation: special cultural projects undertaken during the year were not planned to impose or invade; they surrounded and inhabited the city. Many of them took people by surprise.

Doors were kept open to the sweeping breadth of imagination of over 700 Glasgow cultural organisations. Something like 22,000 people had a direct hand in organising events. To the funders of the year's programme, this was an attractive investment in people, in their skills, their vision and their ambitions – a vibrant mix of personalities who brought about the inspiration that made special things happen.

1990 activities involved every school in Strathclyde Region. They took place in churches, synagogues and mosques, in hospitals, prisons, homes for the elderly and training centres. They happened inside theatres, galleries, universities, community centres and warehouses, and outside in parks, playing fields, civic squares and on the streets.

Such devolution of the programme was deliberate. It involved placing commissions, actively discussing new ideas, maximising national and international opportunities for collaboration and exchange, and inviting both world-famous and emerging artists and performers to participate.

1990 was part of an evolutionary process, but it was also part of a well-managed campaign by which Glasgow has moved from having some of the worst slums in Europe to becoming Cultural Capital of Europe. In all the

**'Culture is usin' a wholemeal loaf tae mak' a jelly piece.'** *Oor Wullie*

debate surrounding the elevation of Glasgow, that evolutionary aspect must not be lost: 1990 was not an event in isolation, it was only one year in a line of development which stretches back into the history of the city, and forward into the future. Nor have its effects simply evaporated with the end of the year: Glasgow has embarked on a programme of cultural development few cities in the world have had either the resolve or the stubborn optimism to attempt.

The year itself and its events are without precedent: 3,439 public events; performers and artists from 23 countries; 40 major works commissioned in the performing and visual arts; 60 world premières in theatre, dance and mime; 3,979 performances of 656 theatrical productions and 3,122 musical performances, 2,200 of them free; 1,091 exhibitions, and 157 sporting events.

The 1990 programme was a means by which creative energies and talent could be mobilised, but chance as well as intent played its part: examination from above may show some coherence and pattern, but experience is usually from within, and from this perspective, it is possible to see both cohesion and contradiction, perhaps at the same time. Dissent and challenge are powerful tools in achieving cultural change. That too is the nature of Glasgow and the essence of culture, and so one purpose of the year was to focus attention on cultural difference and distinction. Another was to magnify media attention and intensify the debate concerning the future of the city.

Although this report acknowledges successes and achievements in



Sequence dancing in city shopping centres. World champions Donnie Burns and Gaynor Fairweather in the City of Culture Ballroom & Latin Championships. A chorus line of pensioners in the Renfrew Review. 1990 let everyone take to the floor.

**'Art is long, life short;  
judgement difficult,  
opportunity transient.'** *Goethe*

1990, the thousands of individuals and families in Glasgow, as in every major city in the world, who still face daily the degradation of poverty, unemployment and homelessness, cannot be ignored. Any expectation that a cultural celebration, however complex, can obviate the historical and economic injustices that pervade some of our communities is unrealistic, but those who simply sit on the sidelines and rebuke the irrelevance of cultural activity have closed their eyes to the power of creativity. A city must look to its future: it cannot stand still and rely on the achievements of the past, no matter how impressive they may have been. Cultural activity is crucial to the quality of life in a city. Creativity feeds on itself, and leads to ways of dealing with a city's problems. The return is greater prosperity, enhanced confidence and self-esteem for those who live in the city, and increased enjoyment for those who visit.

Creativity cannot flourish in isolation, so Glasgow's cultural year offered opportunities for people to work together. From the moment Glasgow learned of the 1990 award, the spirit of co-operation which the city has nurtured in recent years came fully into play. Partnership depends on a readiness to deny artificial barriers. It relies upon mutual respect and the recognition of common goals. To create the Year of Culture programme, collaboration was not only possible, but essential.

Throughout the year Glasgow displayed the results of partnerships that were often as complex as the cultural history of the city itself. In concrete terms, cultural organisations, local

authorities and financial institutions discovered they could work together to achieve success. Some had ideas and dreams; others offered money and resources. Artists, politicians, business people, educators, individuals from different places, of various persuasions and every age, came together to create something for Glasgow. Such an approach may seem nothing more than common sense, but for many such potential for joint effort had been frustrated before by a concentration on difference rather than on a common goal. Not so in Glasgow in 1990.



Did the year succeed? It is impossible to gauge the success of 1990 only by reference to statistics, impressive as these may be. The criteria for success or failure were not constant, but changed according to the many objectives set simultaneously by different organisers and participants.

It is unlikely that any city has ever before attempted anything like this in such a concentrated time-scale. Personal verdicts on the details of the programme will always vary considerably, but the experience gained by the city has been remarkable.



I know what an outstanding success Glasgow's reign as European City of Culture was. The legacy of that year is one of renewed confidence and strengthened European relationships. It is a legacy which will stand both the city and Scotland in good stead in 1992 and for many years beyond.

**John Major**  
Prime Minister



**City, a large-scale community performance project, involved a cast of 250 on three sites, with audiences shuttling between them by bus. With Glasgow itself as the backdrop, who needed stage sets?**

**Spray-paint Picassos: budding artists with an aerosol were given a car park, a ladder, and an unlimited supply of wall at Castlemilk's Glenwood Secondary School.**

*Photo: Glasgow Herald*



Members of *Call That Singing!* waited for the train bringing H.M. The Queen and H.R.H. The Duke of Edinburgh for the Royal Inauguration of Glasgow's Year of Culture. The visitors arrived, the chorus sang, and everyone could breathe a sigh of relief.



In the past decade Glasgow has shown determination and flair in challenging the traditional image of a great city. Glasgow's year as European Capital of Culture in 1990 continued the renewal while keeping the self-identity of the city strong.

The true legacy of 1990 is the renewed confidence in the talents of the people, in all the arts, which I saw in March 1990 and feel every time I visit Glasgow.

**Neil Kinnock**  
Leader, The Labour Party

There are indeed questions to be asked in a report such as this. Has the year re-positioned Glasgow in the eyes of the public internationally? What are the quantifiable economic benefits? Is success only to be measured by an increase in audience numbers or visitors? What will the longer-term impact be? To what extent is the momentum generated by 1990 being slowed by the recession and the hardships of the poll tax? What has the city's artistic community learned?

This report does offer some answers, but it will be some time yet before the long-term results emerge, before it is possible to assess the effects of an enhanced understanding of culture and its importance to the management of a city.

Many people will continue to remember 1990 only for the events they experienced – *The Big Day*, *The Bolshoi Opera*, *The Ship*, *Glasgow All Lit Up*; the European Special Olympics, the opening of the Royal Concert Hall and a series of outstanding concerts; visits by important international companies like Peter Brook, the Stuttgart Ballet or the Wooster Group; major exhibitions of the works of Camille Pissarro or Vincent Van Gogh, or of innovative European visual and performing artists such as Fabro and Anne Teresa de Keersmaecker. Others may recall their own involvement in a play, making music, or participating in projects such as *Call That Singing!*, *Big Noise*, *Keeping Glasgow in Stitches*, the Glasgow Kite Festival, *Rarin' to Go*, *StreetBiz*, the Glasgow Fair, and dozens and dozens more. Most residents and

**'Who'll sing the anthems, and who'll tell the stories?**

**Will the line hold, will it scatter and run?**

**Shall we at least be united in glory,**

**Only remembered for what we have done?'**

*Bill Bryden, The Ship, performed in Glasgow, September 1990*

visitors will have their own private, individual experiences, not easily forgotten.

The Year of Culture was a year of discovery, an invitation to invention, a chance to share experiences, a launching pad for new schemes and ideas. Often it was an attempt to ignite the spark of the unpredictable, to live slightly dangerously by going that bit further. Many hundreds of individuals and groups who organised projects will most certainly remember a kind of almost uncontrollable and unpredictable energy pervading what they did. Anything so ambitious is bound to have some honest failures, and a few courageous experiments which did not succeed. These too are recorded in this report.

Success often stems from seizing opportunities and making the most out of them, and Glasgow's European cultural accolade presented many opportunities. Glasgow could have chosen to do almost anything – or nothing – in 1990: the meaning of the Cultural Capital of Europe title was there to be *re-invented*.

Today, Glasgow has staked its claim to be a leading European city with a strong cultural identity. 1990 was a never-to-be repeated opportunity to re-establish the power of creativity and culture in defining our communities. It is our heritage, our plurality. The task of recognising our culture must be first, not last, in the importance of the way we live: we must place it as our very top priority. It is the culture of Glasgow that empowers, and will continue to empower, a shared and persisting vision of our city. ■

**SETTING  
THE SCENE**



We asked you to take on the job. You said yes and went on to do it magnificently.

I know that eyebrows were raised when my predecessor, Sir Richard Luce, announced that Glasgow was the Government's preferred candidate. We knew that the critics were mistaken then. Now they know it themselves.

You assumed the role of European City of Culture and you carried it through with outstanding style. We are all very grateful.

**Tim Renton**  
Minister for the Arts

The concept of a 'European City of Culture' was launched in June 1985 by the cultural ministers of the European Community to help draw EC member states closer together. Each year a country would be nominated to select a city to become Cultural Capital of Europe: its celebrations would generate growing awareness of the different cultures existing within cities, regions and states of the European Community. In 1985, Greece nominated Athens as the first to hold the title. Other cities followed: Florence in 1986, Amsterdam in 1987, Berlin in 1988 and Paris in 1989.

During 1985 the then Minister for the Arts Richard Luce, approached major UK cities – including Glasgow – seeking bids as 1990 Cultural Capital of Europe. Glasgow City Council called a series of meetings with arts organisations, commercial bodies and funding agencies to formulate the city's submission and in April 1986 Glasgow presented its case.

In its submission, Glasgow sought the nomination stating "...The cultural facilities and institutions, the organisational structures and the personalities vital to the success of such a prestigious enterprise already exist in the city. Furthermore, there is a spirit of co-operation and common purpose amongst the cultural community which has been strengthened by a number of successful joint ventures. Glasgow is confident that the city can mount a cultural programme which will enhance the status of Cultural Capital of Europe, will be a credit to Britain, and will be good for Glasgow."

Short-listed alongside Bath, Bristol, Cambridge, Cardiff, Edinburgh,

Leeds, Liverpool and Swansea, and following a visit by staff from the Office of Arts & Libraries in August 1986, Glasgow added a supplementary submission. It outlined a framework for a 1990 programme covering a range of events and seasons, including new developments within existing programmes, special one-off 1990 projects, and participation by European cultural organisations in the celebrations, as well as an outreach programme taking Glasgow's culture into Europe.

On 20th October 1986, Richard Luce announced that he had selected Glasgow as Britain's nomination as 1990 Cultural Capital of Europe: "Glasgow put forward the best case. It has an impressive range of cultural activities and excellent facilities. The city has an international outlook and a keen desire to expand its European connections. I am convinced that the city will mount and finance a programme which will do credit to the UK and demonstrate to Europe some of the most positive aspects of the arts in Britain today."

The following month the British recommendation was unanimously ratified by the European Community cultural ministers, and planning in Glasgow began.

Within six months the 1990 Festivals Office had been established by Glasgow City Council with Robert Palmer as Director and Neil Wallace as Depute Director. Its role was to co-ordinate and plan 1990 activities. Early on, two strategic decisions were taken which would influence how Glasgow would celebrate its title:

**CULTURAL  
CAPITALS  
OF EUROPE**

- 1985 ATHENS
- 1986 FLORENCE
- 1987 AMSTERDAM
- 1988 BERLIN
- 1989 PARIS
- 1990 GLASGOW
- 1991 DUBLIN
- 1992 MADRID
- 1993 ANTWERP
- 1994 LISBON
- 1995 LUXEMBOURG
- 1996 COPENHAGEN

Glasgow's year as Cultural Capital of Europe began with fireworks, music, open-air shows and 16,500 people dancing in the streets. Then the performers arrived.



- the cultural programme would take place throughout the year, rather than just for a few weeks or months as all previous cities had done;

- the definition of culture would encompass everything that makes Glasgow what it is: history, design, engineering, education, architecture, shipbuilding, religion and sport, as much as music, dance, visual arts and theatre.

Discussions took place with more than 300 city-based cultural organisations, with Strathclyde Regional Council, with national and international representatives of cultural, governmental and commercial bodies, seeking to develop and finance a programme of events to form the basis of the city's celebrations. By the time those celebrations came to an end, more than 700 organisations had taken part in planning, developing and carrying out the City of Culture celebrations.

A 1990 Festivals Advisory Committee was established, chaired by the Lord Provost, comprising more than 60 members drawn from the major artistic and cultural organisations throughout Glasgow, and including representatives from national Scottish institutions, the European Commission, the Scottish Office, and the Office of Arts & Libraries. It received reports from the Director, commented on strategy and programming proposals, and provided continuing guidance and suggestions throughout the year.

At the same time, Glasgow City Council provided a £15 million Cultural Fund to finance 1990 events. The distribution of funds was overseen by a special Sub-Committee on Festivals, composed of senior councillors and chaired by the Leader of the Council, Cllr Patrick Lally.

Strathclyde Regional Council contributed £12 million to 1990 activities, allocated throughout the region and particularly in the areas of education and social work.

In 1988 and 1989 the Festivals Office was able to give a taste of what to expect as Cultural Capital of Europe. Highlights included the UK première of Peter Brook's *Mahabharata*; summer theatre seasons at the Theatre Royal and Citizens' Theatre; international dance programmes bringing Dance Theater of Harlem, Nederlands Dans Theater and New York City Ballet to Glasgow; the launch of StreetBiz, Glasgow's first international street performance festival; expanded *Mayfest* and *International Jazz Festival* programmes; and *New Beginnings*, a city-wide presentation of arts from the Soviet Union.

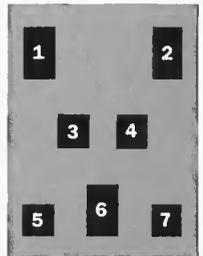
Specialist staff were brought in with expertise in community arts, visual arts, sponsorship, sport, public relations, database systems and special needs. By December 1989, thousands of hours had been spent planning and developing the 1990 programme, meeting artists, community groups and cultural organisations, travelling abroad searching for special events, scheduling and re-scheduling. Even as Glasgow's reign began, programme planning and development continued: it would do so throughout 1990.



Probably everyone was surprised when Glasgow became European City of Culture. It was like a fairy tale, where a rather ugly duckling suddenly turns into a beautiful swan.

The project, running through the year, was extremely ambitious. Of course there were mistakes, but overall the various performances gave joy to many. That in itself brought what had been a dream to a magnificent reality.

**John H. Young**  
Leader of the Opposition &  
Conservative Group  
Glasgow City Council



Background:  
Woodcut (detail),  
Douglas Thomson

1. Either/Or Installation
2. Cambodian National Dance Theatre
3. Umberto Eco
4. The Little Mermaid  
Photo: SRC
5. The Big Day:  
Sheena Easton
6. UK Tae Kwon-do  
Championships
7. Dome of Discovery:  
Cycling Skeleton



the year in focus



## THE CULTURAL CAULDRON

Roy Lichtenstein's 'The Student' featured in *Gemini G.E.L.* at Glasgow Print Studio. The 1990 programme brought international artists to Glasgow not only to display their talents, but also to provide examples of excellence and inspiration for artists living and working in Scotland.



Exciting, controversial, stimulating, mould-breaking and image-making: Glasgow 1990 was all of these and more. The year had its successes and its failures—what event on that scale does not?—but its achievements were considerable.

Glasgow's image as a cultural capital is now firmly reflected in the eyes of the world's artistic community. Tourists continue to flock to the city's cultural facilities. The existing arts audience was challenged by an arts diet of extraordinary richness, whilst many others in the less advantaged areas of the city and region had their first taste, and developed an appetite.

Question: where do we go from here, and how do we sustain what 1990 started?

**Seona Reid**  
Director, Scottish Arts Council

It was a year when Glasgow became the crucible of international culture, a glorious blend of dance, theatre and music, film and visual arts, sport and architecture, of activity great and small, all fused into a wonderfully exciting and eclectic whole. Yet the very size of that mixture ensured only one thing: no matter how long a spoon audiences used, it would be impossible to taste everything.

Was there an answer to the sheer size of the 1990 programme? Or was the secret simply to savour and enjoy the many pleasures of the year as and when they arrived? Many events hardly needed waiting for as they sought to jump the gun, heralding the onset of 1990 even before the City Chambers burst into firework flames at the Hogmanay Party which launched the year.

For some, perhaps selection by art form was the answer, concentrating on one area of human achievement and talent, overdosing on the rich variety of events and activities. In music alone, the range of events was enormous: the home-based Scottish National Orchestra (soon to change its name not once, but twice), the BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra, the Scottish Chamber Orchestra, all launched winter programmes bestriding the end of 1989 and the opening of the Year of Culture; whether one-off performances – the International Celebrity Recital series, bringing world-ranked musicians to the city – or longer-term programmes such as Gusztáv Fenyő's series of performances encompassing the complete cycle of Beethoven piano sonatas – the opportunity was there to be seized.

Programmes recognised solo talents such as Yo Yo Ma and Kathryn Stott, the sitar playing of Ravi Shankar, the ever-ebullient percussionist Evelyn Glennie, a range of Sunday organ recitals at Kelvingrove, as much as group ones. Orchestras of great size and reputations to match – the Leipzig Gewandhaus, the Cracow Philharmonic, the Leningrad Symphony, the European Community Youth Orchestra, the Polish Chamber Orchestra, shared headlines with quartets by the dozen.

Music from every era could be found, from the *Glasgow International Early Music Festival*, the Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment, and La Capella Reial De Catalunya at Glasgow Cathedral, to the *Musica Nova* season of contemporary works and *The Martyrdom of St Magnus* at Tramway; music on vacuum cleaners, music on computers.

There were concerts requiring small resources, and others requiring great ones: a *Concert for Ten Pianos*, and not one but two separate performances of Mahler's *Symphony of a Thousand*. Pat Kane gigged with the John Rae Collective; *Sarafina!* brought The Music of Liberation from Soweto; the Royal Shakespeare Company's hugely energetic *Showboat!* Music in the most splendid surroundings – once the Glasgow Royal Concert Hall opened in October – was matched by music in the most seemingly inappropriate ones: the year-long *Music in Architecture* series, seeking to complement the city's rich heritage of buildings, even recreated Victorian concerts in a city swimming pool!

Such enterprise provided a neat postscript to lecture series by the



Judith Weir's 1990 commission *The Vanishing Bridegroom* proved a high point of Scottish Opera's busy year, while Glasgow Grand Opera's *Turandot* demonstrated yet again the strengths of the city's amateur musical tradition.  
Photo: Eric Thorburn

Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland. For some, it might lead neatly into the Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland 150th anniversary exhibition, *For a Wee Country*. For others, simple geographical proximity might dictate what 1990 events were to be seen.

After Berlioz' *Te Deum* at Kelvingrove, a visitor could see the Hunterian Art Gallery's impressive survey of European masterpieces, *The Art of the Print from Mantegna to Goya*, catch live music performances at The Halt Bar, or any one of a range of lectures and courses at Glasgow University. Interestingly, Berlioz framed the year: his January *Te Deum* balanced by his *Grande Messe des Morts* in December. It was only one happy coincidence in a year which abounded with them.

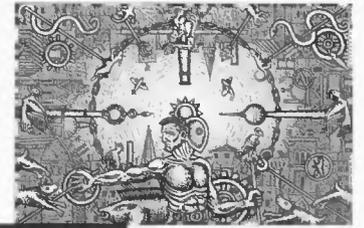
The 1990 theatre programme was as wide-ranging in size and scope, with performances reflecting current social concerns as much as historical ones, from Glasgow-born and based companies to ones of the highest international standing. Communicado presented

their bizarre, hectic pageant, *Jock Tamson's Bairns* in the poet Liz Lochhead's womanist reading; disliked by some, for many the show remains one of the year's theatrical high spots. Here, a range of talents combined to produce the complete effect, as did the award-winning Clyde Unity Theatre, whose fine examples of new Scottish writing in *Ma Mammy's Story* and *Will Ye Dance at My Wedding?* were performed at venues large and small throughout the city. Equally, and even if more starry names were present, the strength of the Wooster Group's *L.S.D. (...Just the High Points...)* lay in the merging of talents, as did the heart-rendingly spectacular Genevieve de Kermabon's *Freaks*, matching actors in a circus environment.

By contrast, the Citizens' extraordinary production of Pirandello's *Enrico Four* relied heavily on the talents of the classical actor Greg Hicks in the title role, a performance matched by the hugely popular Robbie Coltrane as Dario Fo's *Mistero Buffo*. And was the Royal Shakespeare Company's production of *Les Liaisons Dangereuses* a triumph of personal performances or company technique?

Solo dance, company dance, both were in abundant evidence throughout 1990: Third Eye Centre's *New Moves* season brought innovative performances to Glasgow, but also enabled budding local talent to learn and develop, with DV8 taking up residency in the city for the season, and new choreographers such as Mike Mayhew and Becky Edmunds participating in workshops, talking about the influences behind their developments as well as displaying their work.

Murray Robertson's work was among several by Scottish artists participating in the Glasgow-Berlin Book Project, a long-running collaborative programme given added impetus by the Year of Culture.



Glasgow more than fulfilled the idea behind the Cultural Capital of Europe, which is to celebrate our common culture and history in one of the cities of the European Community. Once again we realised, amid fundamental democratic changes in Eastern Europe and the coming down of the Berlin Wall, that art knows no national boundaries.

For my part, our common culture and heritage became even clearer, when the Berlin Philharmonic, under the baton of Kurt Sanderling, played music by some of Europe's greatest composers in the magnificent Glasgow Royal Concert Hall, an outstanding performance by a renowned orchestra which has reinforced the relations between Berlin and Glasgow.

**Baron Hermann von Richthofen**  
German Ambassador

Nederlands Dans Theater danced into Glasgow, as did Young Europeans from across the continent for workshops with Scottish choreographers. Phoenix Dance Company from Leeds worked in residence in Renfrew schools, while Berlin students joined Strathclyde dancers in a moving interpretation of Fauré's *Requiem*.



Les Ateliers UPIC from Paris, together with special needs students from Glasgow, created light, music and dance with computers. It was one of a range of collaborative projects demonstrating the internationality of arts activities.



My abiding impression of Glasgow 1990 is of people's involvement, a kaleidoscope of memories which includes the happy faces of French and Scottish youngsters participating in sport. The friendly face of a French-Arabic writer talking to a Scottish-Asian author. The eager faces of young mentally handicapped Glaswegians creating computer music. The fascinated looks of passers-by in George Square, watching some rather odd street performances...

**Bénédicte Madinier**  
Délégué Culturel, Délégation  
Culturelle Française

Members of The Scottish Ballet – busy throughout 1990 – joined overseas stars at the Theatre Royal for the International Dance Gala in the presence of H.M. The Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh marking the official hand-over of the Cultural Capital of Europe title from Paris to Glasgow. More dance had been in evidence at the Citizens' the same day when special needs group Jigsaw participated in Strathclyde Regional Council's wide-ranging presentation of work sponsored by its Departments of Social Work and Education.

Dance and visual art combined in Edgar Degas' superb *Images of Women* at The Burrell, featuring elegant ballerinas and cabaret artists alongside milliners and fashionable demoiselles. It was a talent investigated further in *The Life and Works of Edgar Degas* at the same venue: such survey exhibitions, exploring the influences behind an artist's work as much as his specific oeuvre, were a fascinating feature of 1990, while the influence of a particular city on an artist's work and life – Paris in the case of Degas, Amsterdam in the case of Rembrandt – also served to highlight awareness of the many cultural ties binding those individual cities nominated as European Capitals of Culture.

On any one day during 1990 seventy exhibitions were under way; which of course meant that no matter how many were seen, some were always going to be missed out. If David Mach's *Here to Stay* at Tramway was a monumental exercise in man-made sculpture, *The Sugared Imagination* displayed the icing on the cake at the People's Palace on a more domestic scale, while the



Hunterian Museum's *Giants, Gems and Jewels* revealed what Nature alone could achieve.

Works by modern artists matched works by past masters, colour paired with monochrome, giant sculptures balanced by the most delicate etchings. The 1990 roll-call reveals a cast list of almost unheard-of variety and quality: *Steven Campbell on Form and Fiction*, Peter Howson's paintings and prints, John Bellany's and Ken Currie's solo shows, Jasper Johns, Bruce McLean, Glasgow Boys and *Glasgow Girls*, Joseph Crawhall, the *British Art Show* counterpointed by the *Great British Art Exhibition*.

If the Year of Culture showed British art to the world – and 3.5 million visitors came to Glasgow during the year – it also brought world art to Glasgow: Picasso, Edouard Vuillard, Whistler, *The Age of Van Gogh*, Joseph Beuys' installation and performance videos, *Rembrandt By Himself*.

Whether the work was as visually powerful as Francis Bacon's lithographs and etchings and Henry Moore's bronzes, or as emotionally profound and atmospheric as Camille

*Fused* combined artists from the UK and The Netherlands and set them to work in a disused basement. The result: an exhibition which shed new light on contemporary multi-media art.

Pissarro in *The Burrell's Impressionist at Work*, or as eclectic as that celebrating 21 years of *The Compass Contribution*, or even as instantly involving and entertaining as *The Art Machine*, none could claim that there was nothing to do or see.

Any cultural indigestion coming on might be worked off in the form of sport, whether as a participant or as a spectator: besides Glasgow's normal diet of football and other sporting fixtures throughout the year, 1990 featured such events as the *Scottish Netball Championships*, the *UK & European Tug of War* and the *European Indoor Athletic Championships*. Something more Scottish? The *World Highland Games* or the *Scottish Country Dance Festival*. Something more exotic? The *UK Tae Kwon-do Team Championships*. On a larger scale? The *European Special Olympics*. On a smaller scale? The *Croquet Home Internationals*.

During 1990, you paid your money and you took your choice. But you didn't need to pay anything at all at over 2,000 performances and almost 1,000 exhibitions. There was the free spectacle

of the *Scottish Power Challenge* in George Square, when the world's strongmen matched muscle and marrow; *The Big Blaw*: the World Pipe Band Championships at Bellahouston Park; or September's *Doors Open Day*, when office blocks became visitor attractions in a year in which buildings private and public, domestic and ecclesiastical, suddenly developed into venues for exhibitions, concerts and performances of every kind.

Yet the city's many long-standing arts venues remained and flourished: established cultural organisations took an added shine in a Year of Culture which, to a surprising degree, revealed how much 'culture' Glasgow has always possessed and enjoyed. Scottish Opera's thrilling *La Forza del Destino*, *Les Troyens*, or Judith Weir's specially commissioned *The Vanishing Bridegroom*, were as impressive and successful as evidence of continuing enterprise as the one-off visits by The Bolshoi Opera or Glyndebourne Touring Opera. Glasgow's *International Jazz Festival*, too, was supplemented by the Tommy Smith Quartet, the Miles Davis Group and Dizzy Gillespie's United Nation All-Star Orchestra. And that still left the *Glasgow International Folk Festival*, the *National Mod*, *Wet Wet Wet* and the Rolling Stones, and Francis Albert Sinatra. Being able to witness even a small percentage of that was infinitely enriching.

Serendipity played its part. Audiences could see *The Art of Shipbuilding* in February, investigate *Visiting Ships* on the Clyde throughout the year – including the return of the QE2 – and see Bill Bryden's *The Ship*



It was indeed fortunate for those of us who form the British Committee of the European Cinema Society that Glasgow had been nominated as European City of Culture in the year that we assumed responsibility for organising the annual European Film Awards ceremony. The superb co-operation of the City Council and its officials resulted in us being granted every facility we could possibly have desired, including of course the glorious new Glasgow Royal Concert Hall as our venue.

Glasgow, which has emerged as a cultural centre from its industrial past like some extraordinary phoenix, proved to be the ideal place in which to celebrate the essentially Twentieth Century art form of cinema.

Sir Richard Attenborough



150 years of pedal power: the L.A. Cycle Challenge brought professional competitive cycling to George Square, and KM 150 celebrated the two day ride from Dumfries to Glasgow in 1840 by bicycle inventor Kirkpatrick Macmillan.

Photo: Graeme Bell

L.S.D. (...Just the High Points...) fused Henry Miller's 'The Crucible', Timothy Leary and the acid era and the McCarthy hearings with the Wooster Group's own particular brand of startling sixties Imagery.



We enjoyed Glasgow very much. The Wooster Group's performances as part of the European City of Culture programme remain a high point in our touring history.

Cynthia Hedstrom  
The Wooster Group

Flowers filled Pollok House at Pentecost, part of the ecumenical *Spirit of the City* programme. Rock musicals, theatre and concerts, as much as visiting preachers and inter-church celebrations, all indicated that spiritual faith, as much as any art form, is central to the broad definition of culture.



take to the slipway in September. And Mackintosh was everywhere, as *Artist & Architect*, with *A Genius for Design*. Once his *Architectural Drawings* had placed him *In Context* he could be celebrated on the *World Day of Architecture*. The much-vaunted Luciano Pavarotti sang, as did La Gran Scena in a gorgeous *Mayfest* opera spoof. Glenda Jackson gave her all as Brecht's *Mother Courage* at the Citizens' one month, *The Masters of German Expressionism* were on view the next, with the Berlin Philharmonic and Heinz Kuzdas' *Art on the Berlin Wall* photographs still to come.

Throughout 1990 people told each other of such excitements, cursed themselves for missing one event, and wondered how they could possibly have overlooked another. The frustration of 1990 was that it was impossible to see it all.

International events came, international events went: the British Academy of Film & Television Arts staged a glittering celebrity forum after its televised Crafts Awards ceremony at the SECC. Indeed, there were times when television seemed nothing but programmes about or based in Glasgow: *The Scottish International Piano Competition 19:4:90* – commissioned short works for television screened unannounced on Channel Four – and the European Film Awards at the end of the year. Glasgow Film Theatre showed every competing film to the Glasgow public even as the judges were making up their own minds. Individual photographers showed their abilities at venues throughout the city, with Street Level Gallery exhibiting photographs reacting to 1990 even as they happened, while an older talent was

'... this city of dark and light  
blowing a great brazier to life ...'

Edwin Morgan

on display in Thomas Annan's *Old Closes and Streets of Glasgow*.

Films from Latvia and Poland featured in *Points East*, a wider season exploring responses to the changing political realities of Eastern and Central Europe and the USSR. The unfolding drama in those countries, and particularly the re-unification of Germany, set the scene for a number of 1990 events, just as Glasgow had been on display in Berlin for that city's celebrations as European Cultural Capital two years earlier: Glasgow's 'flying G' paired with George Wyllie's *The Big Burd*. Even the much-criticised and hugely expensive *Glasgow's Glasgow*, savaged by some who thought that history had been re-written to present a more sanitised version of Glasgow's colourful past, was inspired by *Berlin, Berlin*, an earlier German exercise with a similar approach to interactive exhibition-making.

Some dissenting voices expressed the fear that the annual *Mayfest* programme, with its strong community base, would disappear under the great blanket of international culture enveloping Glasgow, but its central presentation of arts from Africa's Frontline states maintained *Mayfest's* unique identity, mixing culture from every quarter.

As the year progressed, the city's appetite for things cultural seemed unabated: *Dance into Glasgow* brought London Contemporary Dance Theatre, the marvellous Nederlands Dans Theater 2, Trisha Brown's Dance Company from New York and Anne Teresa de Keersmaecker's company from Belgium. And still to come were performances by Moscow Festival Ballet, the Birmingham Royal Ballet and Stuttgart Ballet.



*Cyrano de Bergerac*, nominated in six categories at the European Film Awards in Glasgow, lost to *Henry V* as Best Film, but still became one of the most successful French films ever made.

By the summer, however, the wonderful *Five Theatres of the World* season was attracting enormous critical acclaim and tiny audiences. Was it the scheduling, in the height of the summer holiday season? The fact that all the work was performed in foreign tongues? Or simply the fact that many felt they had over-dosed on culture?

The season included the Katona Jozsef Theatre from Budapest in Gabor Zsambeki's hilarious *King Ubu*; the Indonesian Surakarta company in three different productions of traditional gamelan performance; Leningrad's 70-strong Maly Drama Theatre in an epic, two-evening staging of *Brothers and Sisters*; a rare visit from Japan's Sankai Juku with the enthralling *Unetsu*; and Stockholm's Dramaten with two new productions by Ingmar Bergman, *A Doll's House*, and Yukio Mishima's *Markisinnan de Sade*. It was work of extraordinary quality and depth.

Equally extraordinary were the many events featuring artists and work from cultures quite outside the western European experience. If the Year of Culture concept had been initiated by the European Commission, and sought to introduce the cultures of EC member states to one another, no less valuable than the music, dance, theatre and visual art from continental Europe brought to Glasgow for 1990 was the opportunity to experience the arts and culture of a quite different order.

The *Eastern Music Dance Drama Festival* featured not only Ravi Shankar but also 'A Love Betrayed', a Punjabi folk drama performed in English by a multi-racial cast. *Tagari Lia* brought to Glasgow the largest presentation of work by Aboriginal artists ever seen outside Australia. As part of the all-embracing *Festival of Jewish Culture* 'The Treasures of the Holy Land' exhibition displayed glorious antiquities from 10,000 BC to the 7th century AD. In response, *Scotland Creates* at the McLellan Galleries covering a 5,000 year period, left little doubt that Scotland has always been and remains endlessly creative and entrepreneurial, with a continuing hunger for learning more about ourselves and others.

The importance of the role of women in arts and cultural activity, for example, was highlighted throughout 1990 by Women in Profile. The *Women 2000 Festival of the Arts* celebrated that contribution through exhibitions, theatre, music and dance. *Womanhouse* constructed a large-scale living artwork from disused housing in Castlemilk, and the Women's International Film Festival, *Hertake* revealed that, as early as 1916, Mary Pickford was the world's highest paid film director.

Such opportunities had to be seized, or they were gone: 'La Vita Humana' – part of the *Glasgow International Early Music Festival* – or Glasgow artist Tom McKendrick's fleet of 100 ceramic submarines, with quadraphonic sound and lighting effects, or the sell-out performances of Peter Brook's thrilling *La Tempête* at Tramway, the theatrical space which this stage magician now regards as a second home.

**The Big Blow.** 190 bands participated in the Annual World Pipe Band Championships at Bellahouston Park. Entries from Canada, Australia, Eire, the USA, even the Oman, might be anticipated – but Sweden?



If somebody had told me ten years ago that the Bolshoi Opera would mount two full-scale operas in Glasgow in 1990 I just would not have believed it – but it happened, and a lot more besides.

My greatest personal pleasure of 1990 was to conduct concerts in Glasgow's splendid new Royal Concert Hall, 28 years to the day after the loss of St Andrew's Hall.

Glasgow is set fair to hold its reputation in the years to come as one of the great cultural cities of the world. I am proud to be one of its citizens.

**Sir Alexander Gibson**  
Musician

**Glasgow's Glasgow** hit the headlines for much of 1990, and not for the best of reasons. Was it too big? Was it too expensive? Was it done well? Such questions were central to the public discussions about the Year of Culture programme.



It is history now that the city succeeded in widening the definition of culture during 1990 by exploring areas of social life not dominated by class or status. Such an achievement was won among an excess of carnage.

My abiding memory is of the city's own people creating an event and welcoming half a million visitors through the doors of an exhibition about Glasgow, and of the fact that all but a handful of them left intrigued and fulfilled.

**Doug Clelland**  
Glasgow's Glasgow

It was also in Tramway that the talented young director Robert Lepage made his Celtic-Canadian collaboration *Tectonic Plates*, widely regarded by the critics as one of the theatrical events of the year, and to which Ping Chong/Mickery came with the British première of *Deshima*, a remarkable fusion of performance and visual art.

Many Year of Culture activities resulted from initiatives pre-dating the 1990 accolade: Glasgow City Council's long-established twinning relationships saw the citizens of Rostov-on-Don adding a banner of their own to the twelve produced by the *Keeping Glasgow in Stitches* project; while *Temperamenti* revealed the quality of work produced in Turin by the Arte Povera movement, and Strathclyde Regional Council's own linked regions, Asturias in northern Spain and Nord-Pas de Calais, each brought their own culture into the city. Artists and arts organisations from Glasgow also found themselves heading overseas – or preparing the way to do so – as part of a rapidly expanding range of artists exchanges and programmes, and George Wyllie's *The Paper Boat* sailed into New York harbour to a reception usually reserved for ocean liners.

It is such joint initiatives and relationships, rather than a simple, if hugely impressive, roll-call of events, which reveal the true value of Glasgow's Year as European Capital of Culture. Many partnerships and collaborative projects initiated through meetings of individual artists or arts organisations during 1990 have still to come to fruition. What is important for the city's cultural community is that they have been initiated. What is important for Glasgow is that 1990 was the springboard.



Music, music, everywhere . . . and much of it big and brassy. Berlioz' *Grande Messe des Morts* at the RSAMD required four brass bands; Strathaven Academy pupils serenaded the City of Culture train at Glasgow Central, and the CWS (Glasgow) Band became UK national champions, the first Scottish winners in over 100 years.



**Weighty words:** David Mach's massive newspaper columns marched down the length of Tramway in *Here to Stay* – which wasn't.

Photo: William Long

**Does** any one event symbolise 1990? Is there one single performance, exhibition or activity among the thousands on offer which sums up the nature of the Year of Culture? Certainly, throughout Glasgow's reign as Cultural Capital of Europe many thought it necessary to search for one.

Perhaps the commonest symbol of 1990 was the recital by Luciano Pavarotti, in that no individual event was so frequently referred to in pubs or in the Scottish media during the year. And the debate stirred up by that single subsidised concert by one larger-than-life Italian tenor seemed to centre on the question, Is enjoyment enough?

It was always anticipated that the great international companies and performers – Sinatra as much as Pavarotti – would simply come and go, leaving Glaswegians grateful for the memory. Yet the question, Is enjoyment enough? was asked of events at every level, and particularly community events: they were, it seemed, to be judged not merely by their success in providing high quality exhibitions or performances, nor in simply adding to the nation's fun, but by their capacity to lay foundations which would prove permanent. Such a requirement is a difficult one to meet, as the organisers of events as diverse as the National Garden Festival and the Billy Graham mission have found.



Who's that band?  
On *The Big Day*  
artists came, artists  
went, and in George  
Square they waited  
for Wet Wet Wet . . .

The 1990 community activities leaving the deepest imprint were often those undertaken by community groups with the nous, drive and organisational ability to make best use of the opportunities offered by the accolade of European Capital of Culture. Often those groups had been set up some time before the Year of Culture itself. A pre-eminent example is the Cranhill Arts Project: among the first to approach the Festivals Office on its establishment, their 1990 programme was impressive both in its breadth and ambition.

In May they revived the 'backcourt concert', a feature of city life in the bad old days when, in the enclosed areas created by Glasgow's tenements, travelling entertainers would perform in front of local folk. Cranhill invited Billy Bragg, a Zambian rock group and Scottish singer Arthur Johnstone to re-create such a concert for the Year of Culture, introduced by a local figure, Gary Stevenson.

If that was a spectator event, Cranhill's most impressive achievement lay in establishing a framework for active participation by local residents. Staging three photographic exhibitions – *The Crawfords*, centring on the photographic work of one family, *The Biscuit Tin*, a project displaying family photographs of Glasgow in earlier times, and *Glaswegians by Glaswegians*, an informal chronicle of city life as lived and seen by the people of Glasgow – each sought to view life from the perspective of the people who created and lived in the city.

## THE SEARCH FOR A SYMBOL

'Let All of Glasgow Flourish', part of the *Common Thread* banner project, designed and produced by Jane Carroll and Alistair McCallum.



1990 marked a huge achievement: the interaction between artists and trade unions; the development of contemporary banner design; the establishment of the trade union banner as a work of art. In general, I had a huge cultural hangover. I seem to remember having just the best time, so much energy and creativity and exhaustion. Never again? Until the next time...

**Christine Hamilton**  
Arts Officer, STUC

**'From now until the end of  
consciousness, we are stuck with  
the task of defending art.'** Susan Sontag

Re-established on Glasgow Green 800 years after its foundation, the Glasgow Fair combined a vintage funfair and outdoor entertainment with variety acts from the USA, The Netherlands and France. 80,000 visitors came. Now re-launched as an annual event, the Fair is one of many projects continuing beyond the Year of Culture.



For me, the highlight of 1990 was the phenomenal response of the children of Glasgow, their parents, teachers, playgroup leaders and others actively involved in the welfare of children.

My greatest thrill as Magic Bob was performing in halls and community venues that had lain virtually unused, watching streams of children cramming in through the doors, filling every space a bum could be squeezed into. Just as delightful was the joy of sharing in a colossal series of events, a joy to be seen in every face.

**Magic Bob Qullieti**  
Borderline Magic

Cranhill Arts Project forged international links too, with its exhibitions being shown in over twenty-five countries.

Perhaps the real value of such projects lies in the energy released, in the creativity given room to breathe, in the doors opened. One of the great 1990 set-pieces was *Glasgow All Lit Up*, organised by the community group Welfare State International which, with no previous link with Glasgow, established a base in Govan for the Year of Culture. They assisted local people in learning the skills necessary to create lanterns for an evening procession through the city. The lanterns produced were as varied as the people who made them: schools and women's groups, community committees, even casual collaborations by people in pubs. The commitment of those who took part was reminiscent of social or recreational life in Italian or Spanish villages, where an entire year is spent preparing costumes and floats for an annual carnival or saint's day celebration.

On the day, assembly points were established around the city from which people would process towards Glasgow Green. The risks for anyone attempting to stage an outdoor event in Scotland are well known: predictably, the rain that day reached monsoon proportions. Even so, the lanterns triumphed, overcoming the worst of Glasgow's weather: huge models of the People's Palace and Glasgow Cathedral, witty caricatures of Mrs Thatcher, loving representations of Robert Burns, and a splendidly malicious artistically posed nude supported by sweating toilers – were these a worm's eye view of the City

of Culture, ironically re-formed in terms of a radical craft tradition?

Welfare State's activity throughout the year generated great excitement, provided an opportunity to heighten enjoyment, passed on skills, and the event itself was an outstanding success. Nor should anyone snigger at the 'triviality' of such work: all art and cultural activity exists, among other things, to provide games and toys for adults.

The statement made by the lantern-carriers included the refusal of people to be left out: in a fractured society like today's it is simply not possible or desirable to exclude whole communities from participation. Which is why many of the criticisms made in Glasgow during the Year of Culture were beside the point: they claimed that the festivities were in the interests of an élite, while all around the people on whose behalf complaints were being made were involving and expressing themselves in activities which they found pleasing and satisfying.

The forms of that self-expression were obviously varied, as were the motives which drove them to organise such initiatives, and the kind of satisfaction participants expected to receive from their involvement. Some existing organisations used 1990 to boost potential, as did Springburn Museum with its exhibition contrasting Springburn past with Springburn present, or the Learning in Later Life group for a festival for the over-fifties snappily entitled *Rarin' To Go*. Their aims were different from those of community councils serving specific areas of the city, or ethnic or religious



**A View from The Inside**, an exhibition by inmates of Scottish prisons at Glasgow School of Art, was the first of its kind held outside a penal establishment. Some dwelt on the pain of imprisonment; others took a more escapist view.



The Clyde made Glasgow . . . *The Ship* was launched every night from its base in the Harland & Wolff yard, in performances which charted the rise and fall of Glasgow shipbuilding. A large cast, and larger set, yet at heart this was still a play about the lives and work of individuals.

communities. *The Festival of Jewish Culture*, the Chinese New Year celebrations, *The Glasgow Mela* and the Scottish Gaelic festival *Glaschu 1990*, each hoped to ensure that their own community's contribution to the city's cultural life was neither down-played nor overlooked.

At any other time, *The Festival of Jewish Culture* would have been a major event in its own right, with a programme including the playwright Arnold Wesker, the Canadian novelist Mordecai Richler, cookery with Evelyn Rose and exhibitions of Sephardic art, as well as a concert by the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra. Irish groups came together to present an *Irish in Scotland Forum* comprising traditional dance, workshops on the Irish language, musical evenings and a production of Brian Friel's play *Freedom of the City* at The Arches Theatre. Ghanaian residents in Glasgow involved themselves in the formation of the 1990 Steel Band. Ethnic communities sought to invite people to observe or take part in those things which made them distinctive, each anxious to express their own identity. If that caused difficulties in putting together *The Glasgow Mela*, a festival at Tramway presenting the arts and culture of the Indian sub-continent and the Far East, the event itself bore no sign of such internal tension, and was one of the most popular events of 1990.

Perhaps the *Highland Dance Championships* held in April also belong among the ethnic activities. Or perhaps they should be counted among the *City of Culture Scout Rally*, or the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, whose organisers were anxious to associ-

ate themselves with the City of Culture. On the other hand, the General Assembly – meeting in Glasgow for the first time in 400 years – might be more appropriately filed alongside the various and widespread religious activities, stretching from the ecumenical and year-long *Spirit of the City* programme, to the public lectures given by the Glasgow Buddhist Centre.

Diversity was the only unity. In September Test Department produced *The Second Coming* in a former engine construction factory in Springburn as an assault on the heritage industry; those who remained unconvinced could join an *East End Heritage Tour*. *Writing Together* brought novelists and poets from all over the world to Glasgow, then dispatched them to work with writers' circles throughout the city. Some returned puzzled at the sight of decorated buses, taxis and bus shelters, all brightened up in the name of culture.

A common factor in successful community activity, almost a precondition for worthwhile work or groups coming into being, seems to have been the relationship between one individual with vision and determination and a community willing to be galvanised and challenged. The story of Glasgow's activities during 1990 is the story of a number of such people who dedicated a remarkable amount of time to things in which they believed. Fashionable jargon dubs them 'enablers', but they were the people who provided the stimulus and the context in which others accomplished tasks of their own. They also had to persuade an often sceptical public that a project was worth doing at all.

StreetBiz brought street performers to Glasgow from all over the world: Ilotopie from France proved one of the most popular. Then again, they weren't that difficult to spot.



Winged men fly through a storm of feathers. Demons on stilts ride motorcycles down Buchanan Street. Arctic explorers lead huskies up Sauchiehall Street. A pyjama-clad family prepare breakfast at a bus stop. Space-suited saxophonists abseil from the City Chambers. Dome-headed aliens invade a building society. Rainbow-coloured nudists ride the escalators in Prince's Square.

1990: quite an extraordinary year!

Susan Deighan  
Project Director, StreetBiz



*Ra: Path of the Sun God* was the first full-length animated film ever produced in Scotland. Showing it at Tramway involved re-creating Ancient Egypt with incense and twelve tons of sand: a subsequent screening on Channel Four proved slightly less arduous.

Fear dhe na sia  
sanasalrean  
bàrdachd a  
dh'fhollisich an  
Comann  
Leabhralchean airson  
Glaschu 1990 a  
chomharrachadh. Tha  
an dàn le Dòmhnall  
MacAmhlaigh is an  
dealbh le Dòmhnall  
Mac a' Ghobhainn.

One of six poetry  
posters published by  
the Gaelic Books  
Council to  
commemorate  
Glasgow 1990. The  
poem is by Donald  
MacAulay and the  
illustration by  
Donald Smith.



Glaschu 1990: Irish and Welsh poets Nuala Ní Dhomhnaill and Bobi Jones in a Celtic evening; Litreachas Gàidhlig an 1990, with poetry readings, lectures on Glasgow Gaels and films; and bi-lingual poetry posters as a tangible reminder.

**Ian MacDonald**  
Editorial Officer,  
The Gaelic Books Council

Two such people were involved in two of the most successful events of the year: Clare Higney as onlie begetter of *Keeping Glasgow in Stitches*, and Joe McGinley, driving force behind the community choir *Call That Singing!* The first was a sewing project, involving some 600 people from all walks of life to create a series of banners, one for each month of the year. Each tapestry was designed by a local artist, with the actual sewing carried out by groups of people, with or without previous experience. The May banner, entitled 'Painting the Town Red', sketched by Andrew Hay, represented the socialist tradition of Glasgow, while September, 'Football Crazy', was based on a design by cartoonist Malky McCormick and sewn exclusively by men. The whole project relied on collaboration between professionals and enthusiastic amateurs. At the end of the year the result was unveiled to popular acclaim in Kelvingrove Art Gallery. Perhaps no single project so ideally symbolises the harnessing of creative energy as this: jointly the banners depict the life of the city in all its variety and richness; they were manufactured by Glaswegians themselves; and the artefacts are of a rare and splendid beauty. It is one of the few pieces of work which can be guaranteed to outlive 1990: together the banners constitute an enduring enhancement of the artistic heritage of the city.

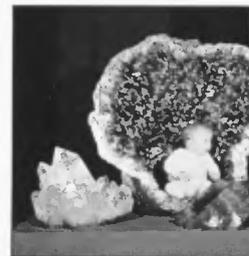
The community choir *Call That Singing!* was similarly open to all-comers. After a tentative appearance at the 1990 Hogmanay celebrations, its real début came in February at the Kelvingrove Art Gallery and thereafter

the choir turned up at many events round the city. In all, it is estimated that around 1,500 people attended rehearsals, establishing a repertoire ranging from the Russian song 'Kalinka' to well-known Scottish traditional pieces and music hall favourites.

Perhaps its real testimonial was an anguished letter to The Glasgow Herald from a member of the choir responding to media reports – incorrect as it transpired – that the choir would not survive 1990. Those reports, accompanied by an unfavourable, if friendly, review of the choir from the paper's music critic, were indicative of the dual role the media played throughout the Year of Culture.

The role of the media in 1990 is connected in an unexpected way with the issue of the standards by which the year's community events should be judged. For many people, including its participants, the success of an event was to be gauged by the number of column inches it generated (in real terms, coverage of community events featured in the press rather than broadcast media). An unfavourable review was always to be preferred to no review at all.

Relations between the 1990 Press Office and community organisers were often fraught, with the latter believing themselves ignored because community events lacked the glamour of international ones. There came a time in 1990 when it seemed that no one could organise a private party, school football match or pub sing-song without alerting the media and feeling snubbed if it was not prominently reported. Often this desire arose from nothing more unusual



Not all art needs the human touch: *Glants, Gems and Jewels* at the Hunterian Museum revealed a natural creative process at work.

than human vanity, but the absence of any report was invariably raised into a slight on the gender, class or race of the people involved. Generally, press publicity before or after an event is felt to bestow that event with dignity and status; perhaps it would be wiser to conclude that the success or otherwise of a community event lies primarily in the satisfaction it affords its participants and, through achieving a level of personal or group contentment, the way in which it also preserves or advances native culture.

What lay behind such disputes was often a concern over whose culture was being celebrated – ‘ours’ or ‘theirs’, where ‘theirs’ could be either that of strangers or that ‘imposed’ from above. Curiously, this was not a concern that surfaced during the enormous street party that was *The Big Day*.

The biggest musical event of the year, in Glasgow or elsewhere, *The Big Day* included three main stages around the city housing musical groups of different styles, and all day long people moved happily from one to another. The plan was to afford community groups the opportunity to play in the intervals between star name performances, but this level of integration did not really work, and many groups felt they had only walk-on, walk-by, parts. On the other hand, for that day at least, Glasgow became a large village celebrating its own fiesta. The music catered for most tastes, but even those immune to the appeal of Wet Wet Wet, Deacon Blue, the African National Congress Choir, Nanci Griffith from Nashville or The Average White Band, had the opportunity – more



Dramaten's *A Doll's House*: ecstatic reviews and half-empty houses. Even a year as European Cultural Capital couldn't stop the holiday season.

common in Continental Europe than in modern Scotland – of being part of a society which had set aside one day for communal enjoyment and festivity.

*The Big Day* was remarkable for its sheer scale, but several communities in peripheral housing schemes organised their own carnivals or galas which galvanised their communities to the same extent. As in other contexts, the most successful events were put together by people with local roots and prior experience, experienced not merely in organising comparable occasions but also in manipulating bureaucracy.

Castlemilk's *The Big Doo* offered a range of activities including barbecues, puppet shows, and folk music. *Springburn Gala Day* featured dogs, decorated floats and the Drum Kitchen. *The Easterhouse Feis* was organised by the firmly established local Arts Project and chose to examine the Celtic roots, whether Irish or Scottish, of local residents. The programme, lasted over two weeks, included drama, language workshops, Gaelic football, a literary ceilidh and a fashion show. Many other groups used the Year of Culture to rediscover their roots and to reassess history, probably the most positive dimension of that nostalgia which was such a recurrent feature of so many exhibitions and projects, from *Up Oor Close, Roon Oor Back* to the revival of the *Glasgow Fair*.

A musical about Jesus with *Godspell* in Drumchapel. Attacks on bad housing with *Dampbusters* in Easterhouse. The history of one district of Glasgow with *Phoenix, Rise Again* in Cathcart. Whether polemic or pantomime, large-scale or intimate, Glasgow overflowed with local groups staging theatre throughout 1990, an abundance of talent demanding a continuing commitment in years to come.



One memory out of hundreds: *Welcome Home*, a performance project involving University students and senior citizens in Clydebank, about the return of the troops after World War II. An elderly lady in the audience bounces up: "That bit's about me! I told them that! That's my story!"

**Jan McDonald**  
Professor of Drama,  
Glasgow University



Culture? Since the notion was introduced last century in Germany, no one has been any more successful in defining it than in attaching a precise meaning to such fundamental human ideas as justice or art. Its meaning centres on those activities which people feel give value to their lives, sports as much as sculpture and debates about ultimate values.

During 1990 those debates often centred on the major international events of the year, such as the Pavarotti concert. In general, references to it were antagonistic, as though the very fact of his performance in some way proved that the whole Culture City celebrations were a fraud, perpetrated to defile the culture of unsuspecting citizens.

Yet throughout 1990, the attempt to celebrate an international culture went check by jowl with a requirement to celebrate local culture, to allow for the expression of creativity and the opening of doors onto Glaswegian life by Glaswegians themselves, revealing unexpected inner vistas. One Sunday in September, designated *Doors Open Day*, distinguished buildings in Glasgow, from which the public are normally excluded, were opened up. For many people born and bred in Glasgow it was a revelation to discover that hidden behind the facades were such astonishing buildings as the neo-Venetian library of the Royal Faculty of Procurators, or the splendid and historically important Merchants' House, as well as the striking architectural harmony of 'Greek' Thomson's St Vincent Street Church.



**Reconciliation at the Pollok Centre was one of many permanent additions to the Glasgow cityscape unveiled in 1990.**

*Photo: John Logan*

As a symbol of 1990, however, *Doors Open Day* raises other issues: the buildings which opened up for a day to permit greater participation and enjoyment, then closed to allow for business as usual. Around these two activities of opening and closing cluster all the questions worth asking about Glasgow 1990 as far as the city itself and its own indigenous cultural life are concerned.

The year ended as it had begun, with a Hogmanay Party in George Square. For those who were there, the opening party was hugely enjoyable, yet that enjoyment was something which television coverage and media reporting failed to convey. Perhaps that contrast, between the sheer fun people had and others' perceptions of it, constitutes a final symbol for 1990, Glasgow's Year of Culture.



The Glasgow 1990 Steel Band has become one of the most successful projects undertaken during the Year of Culture. Now an integral part of Scottish musical culture, 90% of its members are Scots, including first generation ones, and it is the first truly multi-racial steel band in the British Isles.

**Jonathan Squires**  
Glasgow 1990 Steel Band

**'Good Grief,  
it's Glasgow!'**

*New York Times*

**How** does a city promote a whole year of cultural activity? How does a city use that year to promote itself, its citizens and its resources? How can it do so in the face of decades of industrial decline, high unemployment and major social deprivation, at a time when almost every other major European city is attempting to do the same?

The task of promoting and publicising Glasgow 1990 began as soon as city won the UK nomination. The campaign, co-ordinated by representatives of Glasgow City Council, the Greater Glasgow Tourist Board and Strathclyde Regional Council, was aimed at three specific groups: visitors and tourists, opinion-formers and decision-makers and, most importantly, the people of Glasgow. The aims of that campaign were clear:

- To tell people throughout the world that Glasgow was Cultural Capital of Europe in 1990.
- To underline the importance of 1990, what it could achieve for the city and its people, and in increasing business and arts activity.
- To exploit the social and economic opportunities presented by the year.
- To persuade people to get involved.
- To ensure that increased commercial investment and cultural activity continued beyond 1990.
- To demonstrate that Glasgow 1990 represented the culture of an entire city, in all its forms.

Promoting Glasgow 1990 centred on four specific areas: advertising,

printed material, merchandising, and a co-ordinated marketing and public relations programme.

The costs of advertising the City of Culture Year were significant. £2 million was allocated to cover national newspapers, magazines and poster sites. Controversially for some, the advertising agency Saatchi & Saatchi were appointed to co-ordinate the campaign, and in September 1989 the slogan "There's a Lot Glasgowing On in 1990" was launched nationwide. The slogan was admired and attacked in equal measure, and spawned countless variants which simply served to spread the 1990 message even further: you had to remember the original slogan to recognise the parody.

The volume of printed material on Glasgow 1990 was equally massive. A special 'Highlights' brochure included selected events planned for the year: two million copies were distributed throughout the UK and at British Tourist Authority offices world-wide. Four quarterly information brochures were compiled and produced: one and a half million copies were circulated throughout the UK.

The 'Glasgowing On' slogan and the Glasgow 1990 'flying G' logo were impossible to miss: they appeared on posters and leaflets, buses and umbrellas, pens, badges and, of course, T-shirts. With clothing companies printing them by the score – and in a variety of languages – whether official or unofficial, pro- or anti-1990, Glasgow's City of Culture status is still displayed on the beaches of the world from Majorca to Melbourne.

**THE CITY  
OF . . . WHAT?**

**Decorated taxis,  
decorated buses,  
even decorated bus  
shelters: everywhere  
you looked during  
1990, art stared  
right back at you.**



Taking visitors to the city on a *Taxi Tour of Old Glasgow* during 1990, I soon began looking at Glasgow through the eyes of a tourist, appreciating that it is indeed a fine city, one of beauty and vitality, and on a par with any major European city.

**Douglas Hegney**  
Taxi driver

*No need to say this  
part by each note a  
survey out of it for me*

- One of the benefits: conferences generated 11539 Move  
 - the '153' figure alone itself does not tell the story for a healthy comparison  
 - the various are pointed out those are potentials for why money.

**19:40: 19 works, each four minutes long, turned up unannounced several times a day on Channel Four, exploring the creative potential of television. David Mach's 'The Clydeside Classic' was broadcast to coincide with the World Snooker Championships.**



From Govan Cross to Gorbals Cross my bit of Glasgow is mostly gone. For me, 1990 was a memorable year full of new sights which help reconcile the loss of the old.

**Gus Macdonald**  
 Managing Director, Scottish Television

**'The great city reborn to shine in Europe'**  
*The Times*

Luciano Pavarotti came, sang, and waved goodbye. A symbol of cultural élitism? An indication of 1990's international approach? Or simply the best operatic tenor in the world?  
 Photo: Daily Record

1990 not only helped people in Britain find out what the city had to offer, it also provided a prime opportunity to attract tourists and business visitors from overseas. This was particularly important in a year in which Glasgow Airport attained international gateway status: regular intercontinental flights have made Glasgow a major point of entry into the UK for holiday and business travellers.

Greater Glasgow Tourist Board helped travel agents, trade press and tour operators organise visits to the city, worked closely with the British Tourist Authority's New York office promoting transatlantic flights into Glasgow, and provided 1990 information at travel, holiday and conference exhibitions in the UK and around the world. Conferences have become increasingly important in generating income for the city's economy: 153 of them were held in Glasgow during 1990, and another 76 confirmed for the future.

At the British Travel Centre in London - a focal point for visitors to Britain seeking help with travelling outside the UK capital - a 1990 information desk was opened. In Glasgow, former telephone kiosks were converted into electronic information units, answering almost 300,000 enquiries during the year.



The hub for both local and international media during the year was the Press Centre in St Enoch Square. Its staff hosted press conferences and organised photocalls, as well as providing space for arts groups to launch their own projects. The Press Centre became the meeting-point for international correspondents visiting Glasgow: 426 of them came, from 48 countries ranging from Austria to Zimbabwe. By the end of the year the Centre had established a list of more than 5,000 media contacts around the world.

Throughout the year press releases covering important news events and background information on the City of Culture programme were sent out from the Press Centre, many of them overseas. The Centre prepared listings of events covering every event happening each month; to support them, a photographic archive was established, and by the end of the year more than 10,000 slides and prints were held on file.

The result? Millions of words written and spoken about Glasgow and the 1990 programme by the world's media: in the UK alone, press coverage amounted to the equivalent of a month's editions of The Glasgow Herald or The Guardian. If Glasgow had been asked to pay for the amount of newspaper space taken up with 1990 events, it would have cost more than £5.4 million.

Naturally, press coverage was concentrated in particular national newspapers: in Scotland they were The Glasgow Herald, The Scotsman, Scotland on Sunday and The Sunday Times Scotland, supported by detailed listings information in periodicals ranging from

Artangel Trust's *Civic Monument* employed spectacular costumes, music and choreographed movement to take an oversized look at work and leisure, love and death. It also created an instant – if temporary – monument of its own, with a massive stage in George Square, as one of the many outdoor events to gamble on Glasgow's unreliable weather during 1990.



**'Renaissance  
am River Clyde'**  
*Schone Welt*

The List to Scottish Field. Of them all, Glasgow's Evening Times generated the greatest coverage: the sheer volume of it left Glaswegians in no doubt as to what was happening in 1990.

Outwith Scotland, The Independent, The Guardian, The Daily Telegraph and The Financial Times all carried regular items on every conceivable aspect of the year, from general articles on the city's 1990 celebrations to the transformation of Glasgow, previews and reviews of performance and visual arts events, sport and community celebrations. Such coverage, however, often tended to regard Glasgow 1990 as a regional event rather than the significant national and European event that it was.

Radio and television journalists were also present in large numbers during the Year of Culture: television crews from 14 countries covered events in 1990, and 92 programmes, including broadcasts on ARD (Germany), BRT (Belgium), TVE (Spain) and ABC (Australia), featured information on Glasgow as Cultural Capital of Europe. Those programmes varied from broadcasts of the Scottish International Piano Competition, the Royal Inauguration and the European Film Awards to documentaries on individual artists and televised guides to Glasgow. Community events featured less often, although coverage by

Scottish Television's NB was regular and wide-ranging. By the end of 1990 over 250 programmes had been made, more than 42 hours of material about or involving Glasgow's year as Cultural Capital of Europe, including *Blue Peter* and *Songs of Praise*. The total estimated television viewing figure was over 130 million, boosted by hours of continuous radio coverage worldwide. In all, through television and radio Glasgow received positive publicity worth more than £15 million in more than 48 countries.

Such coverage was important: television is the major cultural event of the past thirty years, and figured prominently as one means of widening access to 1990 activities. As a cultural form in its own right, television itself contributed to the 1990 programme through *19:4:90*, as did radio with *The Bell in the Tree* on Radio Clyde.

The effects of such marketing, advertising, press and public relations strategies are not confined to 1990 alone: new visitors, new projects will continue to flow into and enrich the city. If Glasgow's time as Cultural Capital of Europe has ended, Glasgow's positive promotion of itself has not, and the benefits of the massive investment made in 1990 – human as well as capital – will still be felt in years to come.



One hundred and ninety-nine thousand, nine hundred and forty-seven A3 posters. Sixty thousand, seven hundred and seven A2 posters. Five million, seventy-one thousand, seven hundred and fifty-two leaflets. One million, nine hundred and seventy-six thousand and fifty-four brochures. One million, nine hundred and ninety-nine thousand, five hundred and twenty-five magazines. What was going on?

**Angus White**  
Direct Distribution

It is my hope that the ~~entire~~ effects of such event cannot be restricted to 1990 alone. Whenever it becomes a sustainable, then the real magic of it will unfold, and most likely it will be easier to measure the effects.

The media coverage has been a huge hype

They have certainly created the tumult they wanted

but from the document as it is in a political paper, there aren't much

of detailed goals or more lengthy - it develops more.



the year in time



Was it worth it? In essence, every argument, public and private, which took place during 1990 about the value of the title Cultural Capital of Europe, about the cost of particular events, the numbers of tourists who came to the city, or whether 'real' jobs were created, sought a response to that specific question.

Were there real benefits? Were those benefits – if any – long-lasting or short-term? Such questions are entirely practical and typical of Glasgow, as concerned with increased participation and investment as with improved quality of life or cultural gain.

Did 1990 involve a broad cross-section of the people of Glasgow? And did Glaswegians take part in numbers which justified the amounts of money spent? Did 1990 generate investment to create long-term jobs for local people, or improve the prospects for doing so? Did it attract significant numbers of new visitors to the city, or strengthen Glasgow's status as a tourist destination?

In jointly commissioning an independent report on Glasgow's year as Cultural Capital of Europe, Scottish Enterprise, Glasgow City Council and Strathclyde Regional Council sought to answer precisely such questions. The report, compiled by John Myerscough, an independent consultant and former member of the Policy Studies Institute, is summarised here.

The Myerscough study provides a statistical picture of attendance at arts events and attractions, an analysis of the economic and social impact of Glasgow 1990 – including an account

of development in Glasgow's cultural sector – and an indication of post-1990 opportunities arising from the lessons of the Year of Culture.

The work of the study included three special market research surveys carried out by System Three Scotland, comprehensive surveys of arts organisations and institutions, and an overall assessment of the economic impact of 1990 by Ecotec Research & Consulting Ltd.

### THE BACKGROUND

Once the accolade of Cultural Capital of Europe 1990 had been awarded by the European Community cultural ministers, the drive and finance came primarily from the local authorities. The motive to profit from the event arose from the desire to demonstrate a new face of Glasgow, as a European post-industrial city geared to growth and a commitment to using the arts as a means of communicating its renaissance.

Glasgow City Council and Strathclyde Regional Council decided to adopt an all-encompassing approach to the 1990 programme, spread over an entire 12 month period. This contrasts with previous European Cultural Capitals, which had devised concentrated programmes of arts festival events.

In addition to the regular activity undertaken by Glasgow's established arts institutions and organisations, a substantial programme was provided by independent projects, centrally-initiated promotions and support to the work of the main institutions. A range of initiatives were funded in the fields of education, social work, community

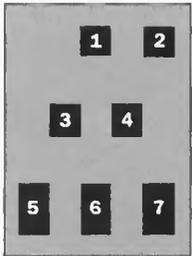
### INVOLVEMENT & INVESTMENT



Glasgow's reign as European Cultural Capital in 1990 was undoubtedly a milestone in the history of our great city. Although by no means the answer to all Glasgow's problems, it was a vital chapter in the city's renaissance.

The cultural vitality and economic health of the city are inextricably linked. The cultural energy and co-operative spirit generated by 1990 provides the ideal platform from which all those committed to Glasgow's future can work together to ensure that it takes its place as one of the great cities of Europe.

**Lord Macfarlane**  
Chairman,  
Glasgow Development Agency



Background:  
Dance Theater  
of Harlem

1.  
Ayrshire Arts Festival  
Photo: SRC

2.  
1990 Dragon  
Boat Race  
Photo: SRC

3.  
Glasgow Fair:  
Sand Dancer

4.  
The Fall  
of Kelvin Walker

5.  
The Bolshoi Opera:  
Mlada

6.  
Ruchazle, Ruchazle

7.  
Henry Moore bronzes

Look at Myerscough's Doc.

It might not be thoroughly able to replicate the long term effect as the paper was piled up with many impact studies esp. regarding Glasgow's case, or so-called triumph.

published in 1992, two years following the event. However, the literature has been Among, is the study carried by the Cult pol. re. centre under Glasgow Univ.

In 1992, they produced 1800 paper and sections they have formed measures to assess impact.



Each month during 1990, one ninety year-old Glasgow citizen was nominated to receive the VIP treatment: Charles Oakley clearly relished the prospect.

Photo: The Glaswegian

events and celebrations. Many agencies and organisations were galvanised into delivering projects for 1990.

Revenue support for the 1990 programme totalled £32.7 million, mainly provided by the two responsible local authorities. Programming accounted for £26.8 million, including community events and celebrations (£5.1 million) and social work/education (£3.7 million). Other areas of expenditure were marketing (£4.9 million) and administration (£0.9 million).

#### OUTCOMES

- System Boost

Glasgow 1990 delivered a major boost to the city's cultural system. The much-expanded tide of activity neither engulfed the system nor, for the most part, harmed existing institutions.

The public responded with a 40 per cent jump in attendance at theatres, halls, museums and galleries, rising from 4.7 million in 1989 to 6.6 million in 1990. Adding outdoor and community events (1.7 million) takes participation in Year of Culture activities to 8.3 million. Commercial entertainment (cinema and pop and rock concerts) was estimated at 3.7 million in 1990.

- More access and interest

The momentum generated in the Year of Culture achieved significant developments in local attendance. The proportions of residents currently attending (the 'reach') increased in all art forms, taking Glasgow above British averages. Increases in 'reach' ranged from 10 percentage points for plays to 2 points for opera.



The Year of Culture programme touched the lives of four out of five adult residents in the region. Some 54 per cent went to the theatre or a concert at least once in the year; 61 per cent visited a museum or gallery.

The main extensions of 'reach' during 1990 were achieved by renewed attendance on the part of residents whose active interest had previously lapsed. First-time attenders accounted for between 2 per cent (museums) and 19 per cent (dance) of the public.

Residents responded positively to the Year of Culture. Almost all residents agreed that the 1990 programme "improved the public image of Glasgow". Some 61 per cent thought the programme "made the city a more pleasant place to live".

There was little support (16 per cent) for the view that the 1990 programme was "only for visitors to the city". It was a strong belief of 22 per cent of residents that "too much public money was spent on the 1990 programme".

*Feast of the Pheasant* by the Scottish Early Music Consort at Tramway, and courtly dances by pupils at Knoxland Primary School, proved that a medieval big night out wasn't all tights and troubadours.



1990 was the year when Glasgow took the lead in the international arts arena and showed what has always been known here, that the city has been a crucible for artistic endeavour for centuries.

To me the real accolade of being nominated City of Culture was not solely a tribute to the wealth of artistic talent in the city, but an acknowledgement of the appreciation that the people in Glasgow have for the arts in all its guises, reflected in the massive support given by the general public to 1990 events.

**David Nickson**  
Chairman, Scottish Enterprise

- Market development

All sectors of the market expanded in 1990, but there was a swing in composition from residents to visitors. Tourist visits to arts events and attractions were 81 per cent above the level for the last previously measured year (1986). Day visitor admissions to arts events and attractions were 89 per cent higher than in 1986.

Resident attendance rose by 31 per cent. The Glasgow City increase of 52 per cent contrasted with the weaker response of Outer Glasgow, with a 6 per cent rise.

The spending on centrally-initiated projects and cultural spectacles made an impact mostly on the resident market within the region. The visitor market responded more to the work of the existing institutions (with enhanced programmes) and the promotional campaign.

- Tourism development

Glasgow 1990 expanded the region's tourism base. Whilst museums and galleries remained the main tourist attraction, theatres and concerts established a visitor base in the tourist market. A negligible factor in 1986, tourists averaged 10 per cent of theatre and concert attendance in 1990.

Market strengths of Glasgow as a tourist destination were developed during the Year of Culture. Overseas markets accounted for 38 per cent of Glasgow 1990 trips. Some 71 per cent of non-English 1990 tourists were first-timers in Glasgow.

The domestic market was 57 per cent repeat business, and over half

were on short breaks; 1990 tourists were concentrated in prime market areas, socially (ABCIs) and geographically (London and the South East).

Consumer responses to the destination improved during 1990. Significant tourism prospects were confirmed by the Year of Culture, with 74 per cent of domestic tourists indicating an intention to return to the city.

Glasgow 1990 demonstrated that the city was a cultural destination with tourism potential, especially in the short-breaks market.

- Other benefits

The initiative generated a positive net economic return to the regional economy of £7.1-11.1 million. Extra employment arising from Glasgow 1990 was estimated at 5,575-5,801 person years. Gross public sector cost per job was calculated at £6,980, which compares favourably with estimates of £20,000 plus per job in other initiatives.

Glasgow 1990 levered private sector support for the arts. Contributions were made by over 340 businesses. The private sector commitment to arts events and attractions and 1990 projects was valued at £6.1 million.

**Benedict Scott's play *The Lambs of God* went without a professional production for 40 years to be re-discovered in 1990. In Glasgow's Year of Culture many neglected artists and forgotten works were celebrated anew, adding to the city's cultural heritage.**



We formed Clyde Unity in 1986 to stage *The Lambs of God* by Benedict Scott. We toured this long-forgotten Unity play with no money, no practical experience, total commitment and a battered Transit van. In 1990 we took our bows on the stage of the Citizens'. *The Lambs of God* had had the production it deserved, and we had become a professional company. It was a very special moment.

**Aileen Ritchie**  
Clyde Unity Theatre



**The Glasgow Youth Olympiad at the Kelvin Hall. With synchronised swimming at Drumchapel, the European Special Olympics, curling, football, cricket and the National Archery Championships, in 1990 Glasgow opened its doors to sportsmen and women of every discipline and at every level of ability.**  
Photo: SRC

The cultural industries (the art trade, music industry, designer trades, film and video, etc.) were a growth area, up 3.9 per cent since 1986. Though they were not a prime focus of the Year of Culture, some sectors (e.g. film) did benefit from the initiative.

Glasgow 1990 substantially improved perceptions of the city at home and abroad. There was a 15 percentage point increase in the belief (in London and the South East) that Glasgow was "rapidly changing for the better". But there remains scope for further improvement.

The Year of Culture was valued as a backdrop for business: improved awareness of the city at home and abroad is a positive business influence.

The 1990 social work programme broke new ground in integrating the arts into a pattern of social care. The education programme, which included a range of innovative projects, should yield long-term benefits.

#### • Cultural impact

The capacity of the cultural sector was expanded by the initiative. The legacy of capital projects, such as the McLellan Galleries and the Royal Concert Hall, reinforced the investments of the 1980s and expanded Glasgow's ability to address various opportunities which the year highlighted.

The increasing numbers of individual artists (in the visual arts, etc.) based in Glasgow indicated the city's growing role as a 'creative centre'. Extra creative opportunities were provided by the Year of Culture. New commissions were arranged, including a small legacy of public art projects.

International contacts were expanded and the range of visiting performers and exhibitions will have made an impression on a generation of Scottish artists.

Some smaller performing arts organisations were galvanised by the year and most of the art galleries and museums in the city had a very active 1990. There were important developments in the scale and significance of temporary exhibitions presented during the year.

The Glasgow public responded generously to the new Royal Concert Hall. Tramway proved its worth as an international venue for the visual and performing arts. Glasgow gained experience in promoting special arts events and attractions, including cultural spectacles.

The Year of Culture was "good for pop music and young people", especially *The Big Day* promotion.



Creating Garnethill Park was a particularly valuable experience in terms of my personal relationship with the project and the people of Glasgow, as well as in the close and trusting partnership established. It is something which has inspired and enriched us all, culminating in a visible and enduring creation in the heart of the city as a new piece of urban culture.

**Dieter Magnus**  
Architect



**The Glasgow Mela**  
attracted 70,000  
people in ten days.  
Photo: SRC

**Glaswegians by Glaswegians.** Tourists took photographs of buildings, Glaswegians took pictures of each other. Which were more important?



GLASGOW 1990: SOURCES OF FUNDS		£M
GLASGOW CITY COUNCIL		
Glasgow 1990 Programme (1988-1990)	14.72	
Marketing, Advertising, Press, Print and Publications (1988-1990)	4.04	
Administration (1988-1990)	0.58	
STRATHCLYDE REGIONAL COUNCIL		
Glasgow 1990 Programme – including education and social work projects (1988-1990)	11.75	
Marketing, Advertising, Print and Publications (1988-1990)	0.74	
Administration (1988-1990)	0.34	
SPONSORSHIP		
Business Sponsorship, BSIS Awards Charitable Trusts and Donations	6.46	
CENTRAL GOVERNMENT		
Office of Arts and Libraries	0.50	
EUROPEAN COMMISSION		
	0.08	

*Sources of funds are shown net of box office revenue, merchandise and other earned income. Grants to specific projects from sources other than those indicated are not included.*

**Hands-on sculpture at the Kibble Palace: Coming to Hand** sought to involve those with visual impairment, as did **A Sense of Touch** at the Hunterian Museum. The European Blind Union's conference **Art Horizons 1990** attracted delegates from 16 countries to discuss access for blind and visually impaired people to art, culture and entertainment. In Buchanan Street, Kathleen Chambers' **Topography Map** provides a permanent guide to city streets and buildings.



### • Opportunities

The nature of future opportunities highlighted by the Year of Culture means that action will be needed to maintain the momentum and capitalise on the gains made during 1990. Development successes included market growth, increased access to the arts and improved perceptions of the city. These will need reinforcement.

A number of areas of opportunity have been defined which will require sustained effort:

a) A programme of market development: to build on the opportunity created by 1990 and to tap the areas of latent demand;

b) Cultural tourism strategy: to develop the promotion of Glasgow as a 'European cultural tourism destination' – especially in the short-breaks market – and capitalise on the hard work already done in achieving high market awareness for the city:

c) Cultural industries: to address this sector of opportunity by building on existing training strengths and business resources to secure Glasgow's position as the UK's principal cultural industry centre outside London.

None of these will be effectively addressed without firm resolve to nurture the creative resources of the city. Glasgow 1990 drew attention to existing achievements in the European context. It is now necessary to return to building the creative base and establish a phase of asset development with 'targetted investments' to extend artistic opportunities for its main institutions.

Glasgow's Year of Culture was conceived as both a celebration of achievement and an exercise in development. More than most British cities, Glasgow has used the arts to strengthen and communicate its regeneration. The positive outcome of Glasgow 1990 has created further opportunities for the city to address in seeking to realise its chosen future as one of the great cities of Europe.



**The Art Machine** at the McLellan Galleries. From **Big Noise** to Hillpark Secondary's radio station, 1990 was packed with events and exhibitions for children – and their parents.

Glasgow's 1990 accolade has successfully effected long-term improvements in the quality of life for many citizens, building a strong foundation for equal opportunities in the arts. The impetus for this progress was the work of marginalised artists, justifiably profiled at national and international level during the year. Independent initiatives, encouraging the use of the arts by people who are socially disadvantaged, are now more likely to be publicly supported, benefitting amateur and professional artists alike.

**Kathleen McArthur**  
Projects Director, Project Ability

**THE LEGACIES  
OF 1990**

Writers, dancers, painters, artists of every kind from around the world came to Glasgow during 1990. Sheherazade Alam, a studio potter from Lahore, worked in residence with people of all ages, creating a ceremonial ceramic lamp for peace, enhancing international links as well as displaying practical talents.

Photo: SRC



As part of *Writing Together*, a multi-racial Writers' Conference on the themes of race, class, gender and nationality brought many international writers to Glasgow, and into schools, libraries, pubs and prisons.

There were memorable debates around the central themes: they didn't always work, but they could do, in the future!

**Maggie Chetty**  
Strathclyde Community Relations  
Council

**Cities** either prosper or decline, but they never stand still. If Glasgow's programme as Cultural Capital of Europe placed one objective higher than any other, it was to ensure that prosperity would grow, that the city could clearly be seen to have been better off with rather than without 1990, that after all was said and done, what would be perceived would be a net cultural gain.

But can the Year of Culture be measured in this way? And if so, has that gain been achieved? Is the legacy of a concentrated event attracting over £80m of new investment a concrete one, or just a cocktail of aspiration and failure, civic hubris and community empowerment, objective and subjective opinion, claim and counter-claim? At least three phenomena testify to the long-term benefits of a year as Cultural Capital of Europe, even if they aren't all tangible ones.

The first legacy concerns the extraordinary scale of the effort. That alone is unlikely to be forgotten. From the very beginning it was said that Glasgow would take the title and make it mean something, do it greater justice as a platform for self-identification than any previous title-holder. If 1990 was to be attempted it would have to be attempted properly: it would be a year about many cultures and ideas of culture, out-sized, uncontrolled and highly visible rather than miniature, predictable and insignificant. And on this scale, the authorship of Glasgow's Cultural Capital of Europe programme would be shared as widely and openly as possible rather than contained or protected. It would be several festivals, not just one, and the

arts would represent just one of several communities of interest throughout the city, reinforced by sport, media, heritage, architecture and others.



The *Mayfest* exhibition 'Art from the Frontline' focussed on work from the states bordering South Africa. As with the work of artists from the countries of Eastern Europe and the USSR, audiences could gain first-hand experience of reactions to rapidly changing political realities.

Whether or not 1990 will be recalled in the same breath as those other great international celebrations in the city's history (1888, 1901, 1911, 1938 and 1988) is unclear. But the sheer aesthetic of co-operative effort is probably one of the most significant ever seen in the field of urban culture. The legacy of that effort is a mixed one. 1990 put strains on Glasgow's infrastructure. It developed many new partnerships and threatened some existing ones. Others it failed to create. It revealed gaps in provision, and filled many of them. It taught the creative communities how to excel themselves – *The Big Day*, *The Bolshoi Opera* – and when to be more careful – *Glasgow's Glasgow*, the *Five Theatres of the World* season. But such shared effort is never wasted. It is an investment, an education, a route to a more mature understanding by the simple process of learning by doing.



Tibetan monks at the Mitchell Theatre. The General Assembly at Glasgow Cathedral. People of every faith and none could find something of value in the 1990 programme.  
Photo: Glasgow Herald

The most visible legacy is of course the capital one, one which confronts and quietens even the most vocal and extreme anti-1990 critics. Glasgow now has a brand new Royal Concert Hall and Tramway. The McLellan Galleries, King's Theatre, Theatre Royal and Citizens' have all been substantially refurbished, and extensions completed to the People's Palace. The Dome of Discovery, The Arches Theatre, a second auditorium in Glasgow Film Theatre, Dieter Magnus' Garnethill Park, a relocated Scottish Mask & Puppet Centre, are all developments carried out because of Glasgow's Cultural Capital status.

In addition, many other more modest projects, enhanced flood-lighting programmes, schemes to improve disabled access or facilities, buildings restored and cleaned, were implemented or accelerated because of 1990. Today, most of those developments have been absorbed naturally into Glasgow's cultural life, part of the palimpsest of change in any thriving city. That, too, is a part of the 1990 legacy: a new will to understand and exploit change. It is found at many levels.

The first level is the simple capacity to welcome the need for change, to grasp its opportunities and work with, rather than against, the force of it. 1990 was not, as some claimed, or others might have wanted, a cultural whitewash, a sustained exercise in nostalgia. Nor was it an excuse to romanticise the past, or run away from realities about the future and how to manage that future. Many 1990 projects, like Test Department's *The Second Coming*, or Cranhill's *Glaswegians by Glaswegians*, looked over their shoulder at the past, but energised what they found into something about now, something in which ideas of history or tradition were at peace with the vibrancy of contemporary things.



Public art projects flourished in 1990. TSWA allowed artists to gild a column on 'Greek' Thomson's derelict Caledonia Road Church, let Ian Hamilton Finlay carve multi-lingual messages on River Clyde bridge supports, and enabled Peter Fischli and David Weiss to create miniature travellers at Glasgow Airport.

Every one a winner. Larger than the 1986 Commonwealth Games in Edinburgh, with sports ranging from athletics and gymnastics to equestrian events, football and swimming, the *European Special Olympics* brought over 3,000 athletes with mental handicaps from 33 countries to venues throughout Strathclyde.

Photo: Glasgow Herald



We were in Celtic Park Stadium, listening to Paul Coia opening the *Special Olympics*. We were waiting for the runner bringing the Olympic torch from Greece, watching its progress on a huge monitor.

We watched proud competitors from lots of different countries entering the stadium. We cheered for them all, but loudest for Scotland because Alison's cousin was in the basketball team. Then the Olympic torch arrived: what a wonderful moment.

Allison Miller and Lorna Mitchell  
Braidbar Primary School

The Israel Philharmonic Orchestra was only one of many major overseas orchestras to take advantage of the newly-opened Royal Concert Hall during 1990. For such renowned performers as the Berlin Philharmonic, the Leipzig Gewandhaus and the Bolshoi Orchestra, Glasgow has become a regular fixture on the international concert circuit, Where the World comes to Play ...



In 1990, for the first time in thirty-nine years, Glasgow was the venue for a *Festival of Jewish Culture*. Concerts, recitals, exhibitions – ten of them – films, literature, events for children, theatre, all washed down with chicken soup and beignets. In 1990 Glasgow was the centre of European culture, and for ten days in November that culture was Jewish.

**Louise Naftalin**  
Chairman, Jewish Arts

Working practices for artists and arts organisations also changed: some found new partners or sources of support, and many international links were made. Those are permanent, and they continue to broaden and deepen. Glasgow now occupies a strategic place in several international networks across several continents. Prominent Glasgow organisations play key roles in such networks, regular collaborators with similar bodies all over the world. At a city-wide level that is profitable for everybody – organisations, artists, audiences, the creative process itself.

1990 also triggered important changes in attitude both here and abroad. Far fewer people in the European cultural field can say or think what they used to say or think about the city. Even if they've never been to Glasgow, the general sense of 'something changing' is widespread. And at home, policy-making bodies like the Glasgow Development Agency, the economic development sections of our local authorities, politicians at Parliamentary and local level, tend to think differently about the central role of cultural development in the process of urban recovery. The cultural community has become a new partner in that process, one which presents its own challenges to decision-makers. Even if the longer-term impact and benefits of that partnership are things which Glasgow has still to feel, the need for honest assessments of what did work, as much as what didn't, are essential if that fragile balance between cultural and all other kinds of development, is to be established and sustained.



A major 1990 conference sought to establish *Arts without Frontiers*. At the Theatre Royal *King Ubu* – hilarious even in Hungarian – proved that in the Year of Culture those frontiers had already been crossed.

Glasgow's tradition of open political dissent was also serviced by the Year of Culture celebrations; if constructive debate and criticism was welcomed and engaged, unfounded diatribe was not, especially by the members of the city's cultural organisations who were striving to make 1990 a success. No one ever pretended that a year as Cultural Capital of Europe would solve deprivation in Glasgow, nor was that a direct objective. In showing how Glasgow seized the opportunities arising from 1990, this report indicates the relevance of that year to the city's real identity, its day to day work, and its massive call to its own communities.

"Finest memory is finest hope" wrote the novelist George Eliot, by which she meant that communities only thrive by reference to the importance and meaning of their own pasts. For much of this century Glasgow, for reasons right and wrong, was robbed of such a reference. 1990 belonged to Glasgow. Against all odds, and certainly all expectations, Glasgow surprised the world and did it, made it work. Now, it is ours to look back on, to learn from, and to remember.

**FESTIVALS  
ADVISORY COMMITTEE**

CHAIRMAN: The Rt Hon. the Lord Provost Mrs Susan Baird, JP

**1990 FESTIVALS OFFICE STAFF**

Director *Robert Palmer*  
Depute Director *Neil Wallace*  
Personal Assistant *Jill Scott*  
Assisted by *Alicia Murray*

Finance Assistant *Anne Paton*

Office Manager *Antoinette Moore*

Reception *Tracy Collins*  
*Colin Craigie*  
*Donna Dick*  
*Elsbeth Kennedy*  
*Denise Kilkenny*  
*Joan McInchinn*

Sponsorship Director *Wendy Stephenson*  
Assisted by *Charlotte Fairbairn*  
*Judy Galloway*  
*Marin McGuinness*  
*Una Shaw*  
*Anne Walker*  
*Shirley Whiteside*

Disability Officer *Robert Pickles*

Visual Arts Officer *Tessa Jackson*  
Assisted by *Amanda Brown*  
*Liz Davidson*  
*(Bridgegate Trust secondment)*  
*Petra Firsching*

Sport Officer *Tony McKay*  
Assisted by *Alison Hayden*  
*Richard Yule*

Local Arts Development Officer *Barbara Orton*  
Assisted by *Joyce Blair*  
*Vivian Hynes*

Datase Staff *Lisn Cnrey*  
*Clnire Plumb*  
*Giulio Romano*  
Assisted by *Kenny Wheeler*

Press & Public Relations Manager *Jill Campbell-Mackay*  
Personal Assistant *Margaret Ann Thompson*

Media Co-ordinator *Sheila Hamilton*  
*(BBC secondment)*  
Assisted by *Violet Callaghan*

Senior Press Officer *Jim Waugh*  
Press & Publicity Officer *Sam Wnrnock*

Press Officers *Ian Black*  
*Alison Forsyth*  
*Christopher Reece-Bowen*  
Assisted by *Shona Cnmpbell*  
*Jacqueline Lauder*  
*Duncann Lunan*  
*Fiona McIntosh*  
*Kay Still*

*Rene Andre* Commission of the European Community  
*Robert Begg* Royal Institute of Fine Art  
*Janey Buchan* MEP  
*Norman Buchan* MP  
*Lord Bute* The British Council (Scotland)  
*David Campbell* Glasgow Chamber of Commerce  
*David Cnmpbell* Scottish Education Department  
*Irena Cavoura* Greek Consulate  
*Ian Chapmann* Radio Clyde  
*Campbell Christie* Scottish Trades Union Congress  
*A. Trevor Clark* Scottish Museums Council  
*Alex Clark* Mayfest  
*Richard Clark* Third Eye Centre  
*William M. Cuthbert* National Trust for Scotland  
*Alan Devereaux* Scottish Tourist Board  
*John A. Donachy* Scottish Film Council  
*G.L. Drysdale* Swiss Consulate  
*Morrison Dunbrr* Royal Scottish Academy of Music & Drama  
*Sir Robin Duthie* Scottish Development Agency  
*Iain Dyer* former Bailie of the City of Glasgow  
*Sir Gerald Elliot* Scottish Opera  
*Donald M. Frame* German Consulate  
*O.A. Franchi* Italian Consulate  
*Sir Campbell Fraser* Scottish Television  
*Cllr Stnn Gilmour* Strathclyde Regional Council  
*Dr George Gordon* Jordanhill College  
*Cllr Robert Gray* Greater Glasgow Tourist Board  
*Angus Grossart* National Galleries of Scotland  
*William Henderson* Scottish Publishers Association  
*Sir Graham Hills* Strathclyde University  
*David Holmes* Rangers Football Club  
*T. Drummond Hunter* Scottish Council on Disability  
*Ian Irvine* George Outram & Co  
*Professor A.N. Jeffries* Book Trust Scotland  
*Tom Kinnimont* Scottish Youth Theatre  
*Cllr Pat Lally* Glasgow International Jazz Festival  
*Tom Laurie* Glasgow Tryst  
*Cllr Robert Logan* Glasgow City Council  
*Donald MacDonald* Scottish Chamber Orchestra  
*Cllr Helen McElhone* Strathclyde Regional Council  
*Cllr Jean McFadden* Treasurer, Glasgow City Council  
*Sir Norman Macfarlane* Glasgow Action  
*Jack G. McGinn* Celtic Football Club  
*R.D. Machaffie* Inter-Churches Committee  
*Ronnie Macluskie* Glasgow Film Theatre  
*Bashir Mann* Strathclyde Community Relations Council  
*John Maxton* MP  
*Robert Maxwell* Daily Record  
*Raymond Miquel* Scottish Sports Council  
*The Hon. Peregrine Moncrieffe* The Scottish Ballet  
*David Montgomery* Belgian Consulate  
*Joy Parry* Office of Arts & Libraries  
*Sir Alan Peacock* Scottish Arts Council  
*Watson Peat* British Broadcasting Corporation  
*Gavin W. Roser* Royal Norwegian Consulate  
*George Rubienski* Wildcat Stage Productions  
*Cameron Slater* Tron Theatre  
*Dr William Leggat Smith* Glasgow School of Art  
*W.M. Spence* Netherlands Consulate  
*Alexander Stone* Alexander Stone Foundation  
*William L. Taylor* Citizens' Theatre  
*Alistair W. Tenn* Swedish Consulate  
*José Vidal-Beneyto* Council of Europe  
*Sir Alwyn Williams* Glasgow University  
*Raymond Williamson* Scottish National Orchestra  
*Bailie David Wiseman* Glasgow City Council  
*Professor Hamish Wood* Glasgow College of Technology

**FOUNDATIONS, INSTITUTIONS  
& OTHERS**

Arts International  
Association Française  
d'Action Artistique  
Barcelona City Council  
Borders Regional Council  
The British Council  
Council of Europe  
Department of Foreign  
Affairs Ireland  
EIS  
Embassy of the Federal  
Republic of Germany  
European Commission  
European Cultural Foundation  
European Year of Tourism  
Finnish Consulate  
Foreign & Commonwealth  
Office  
Hugh Fraser Foundation  
French Cultural Delegation,  
Glasgow  
Hungarian Ministry of Culture  
Glasgow Chamber of Commerce  
Goethe-Institut  
Goldberg Family  
Charitable Trust  
Gulbenkian Foundation  
Japan Foundation  
Lithgow Charitable Trust  
McColl Art Foundation  
N.S. Macfarlane  
Charitable Trust  
Ian McTaggart Trust  
Ministry of Education,  
Athens  
Ministry of the Flemish  
Community, Belgium  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs,  
Italy  
Ministry of Health, Welfare &  
Cultural Affairs, The Netherlands  
The Henry Moore Foundation  
Musicians' Union  
NALGO  
Netherlands Theatre Institute  
SOGAT  
STUC  
Scottish Development Agency  
Scottish Sports Council  
Scottish Tourist Board  
Senator for Cultural Affairs,  
Berlin  
Alexander Stone Foundation  
Swedish Institute  
City of Turin  
University of Glasgow  
University of Strathclyde  
Isidore & David Walton  
Foundation  
Visiting Arts  
Youth for Europe

## PRIME SPONSORS

Companies giving in excess of £100,000

BBC Scotland  
BP Exploration  
Bank of Scotland  
Black Bottle Scotch Whisky  
British Gas Scotland  
British Rail Community Unit  
British Telecom  
The Famous Grouse  
Guinness plc  
Lilley  
The Royal Bank of Scotland  
Scottish Amicable  
Tennent Caledonian Breweries  
Whyte & Mackay Distillers Ltd

## SPONSORS

Companies giving between £30,000 and £99,999

Asda  
BMW (GB) Ltd  
Britannia Life Ltd  
British Airways  
GEC Scotland  
Glasgow and Oriental Developments Ltd  
Glasgow Herald and Evening Times  
Amerada Hess Ltd  
IBM in Scotland  
Intercity  
Scottish Airports  
Scottish Power  
Shell UK  
TSB Bank Scotland plc  
Wm Teacher & Sons' Ltd

Companies giving between £3,000 and £29,999

Accolade  
The Alexander Consulting Group  
Matthew Algie  
Alloa Brewery Company Ltd  
American Express  
Arthur Andersen & Co  
Associated British Port Holdings plc  
Balfour Kilpatrick Ltd  
Bank of America  
Banks Wood & Partners  
*Chartered Quantity Surveyors*  
Barclays Bank  
A. G. Barr plc  
Beck's Bier  
Bird Simple Fyfe Ireland W.S.  
Bishop and Robertson Chalmers  
The Body Shop  
Brechin Robb  
British Aerospace  
British Alcan  
Building Design Partnership  
Bull HN Information Systems Ltd  
Stock Group Campbell Neill & Co Ltd *Stockbrokers*  
Canadian Club  
Canon  
Cardowan Creameries

Christian Salvesen plc  
Citicorp/Citibank  
Clydeport Authority  
Clydesdale Bank plc  
Coats Viyella  
Commercial Union Assurance  
Crouch & Hogg  
Digital  
Doig & Smith  
Dunard Fund  
Edward Erdman Scotland  
Ernst & Young  
General Accident  
Gillespies  
William Grant & Sons Ltd  
Heineken  
Hobec Dutch Bier  
Robert Horne Paper (Scotland) Ltd  
House of Fraser  
Howden Group plc  
KPMG Peat Marwick McLintock  
Laing The Jeweller  
Life Association of Scotland Group  
McClure Naismith Anderson & Gardiner  
McCorquodale (Scotland) Ltd  
McGrigor Donald  
Macroberts  
W. M. Mann & Co (Investments) Ltd  
Marks & Spencer  
William M. Mercer Fraser  
Mercury Communications  
The Miller Group Ltd  
Mitchells Robertson  
Mobil North Sea Ltd  
Murray Johnstone Ltd  
Donald Murray Paper NCR  
National Westminster Bank  
PSA Projects  
Pannell Kerr Forster  
Peoples Ltd  
Pollymarket Services  
Prudential  
Rolls-Royce plc  
Royal Insurance  
Royal Mail Glasgow  
Rutherford Manson Dowds  
SBT Keppie  
SITE  
Schroder Investment Management  
Scottish Brewers  
Scottish Building Employers' Federation  
Scottish Equitable Life Assurance Society  
Scottish Life  
Scottish Mutual  
Scottish Post Office Board  
Scottish Television  
Shanks & McEwan Group plc  
Sotheby's  
Southern Comfort  
Stakis plc  
Stella Artois  
Strathclyde Innovation  
Sun Alliance  
3i  
TMS  
Taylor Woodrow  
Tennents Live!  
Tennents Taverns  
Texaco  
Woolwich Building Society  
Wylie Shanks  
YARD

## SPONSORS IN KIND

Over £3,000

Aggreko  
American Airlines  
Cameron House Hotel  
Coloroll Edinburgh Crystal  
Crest Hotels, Glasgow  
JLG Industries (UK) Ltd  
*Access Equipment*  
The Kelvin Park Lorne Hotel  
Linn Volvo  
McCorquodale (Scotland) Ltd  
Macfarlane Group (Clansman) Ltd  
Maybank Scotland  
*A division of J & J Maybank Ltd*  
*A member of Reedpack Ltd*  
Moat House International Glasgow  
Rush & Tompkins  
Radio Scan Ltd  
Scottish Citylink  
Tarmac Construction & Briggs Amasco  
Wylies

Under £3,000

Alexander Wines  
Bell's Islander Scotch Whisky  
Bollinger Champagne  
British Transport Advertising  
Caithness Glass  
Heather Spring Water  
*Division of Sco-Fro Foods Ltd*  
Lillian's Flower Shop  
McMillan Video  
Makro  
Mills & Allen Ltd  
Northern Light  
Office International  
TOA Taxis  
Waverley Vintners Ltd  
Western Scottish Omnibuses  
Whighams of Ayr Ltd  
Zamoyski Vodka

## BENEFACTORS

Ailsa Trucks (Northern) Ltd  
Babtie Shaw & Morton  
Bovis Construction (Scotland) Ltd  
Brevall Technical Services Ltd  
British Coal Enterprises Ltd  
British Steel plc  
Building Design Partnership  
Bulten Limited  
Doig & Smith  
Drake & Scull (Scotland) Ltd  
*A JWP Company*  
Drivers Jonas  
Richard Ellis Chartered Surveyors  
GA Group Ltd  
Hewden Stuart plc  
Holford Associates  
The Holmes Partnership  
ICI  
Isola Werke UK Ltd  
McGrigor Donald  
Montagu Evans  
Provident Mutual  
Scottish Widows' Fund & Life Assurance  
Shanks & McEwan Group plc  
Sheraton Caltrust plc  
Standard Life  
Telefusions Communications Ltd  
Turner & Townsend  
F.L. Walker & Company CA  
The Weir Group plc  
Wiltshier Scotland Ltd

## DONORS

Companies giving £500

Abbey Life Assurance Company Ltd  
Allied Dunbar Assurance plc  
Angus Modelmakers Ltd  
R. Armour & Partners  
Aukett Limited  
BDO Binder Hamlyn  
Bank of Credit & Commerce International  
Bank of England  
Barr & Wray Ltd  
Blinds Direct Limited  
George Boyd & Co  
Caledonian Office & Window Cleaning Co Ltd  
W.G. Cochrane, Esq  
Covell Matthews Architects  
Cuthbertson's Dairies Ltd  
John D. Deas & Co Ltd  
Design Practice  
Peter Dominic Ltd  
P.R. Duff & Son Ltd  
Elite Bedding & Furniture Group  
Mr & Mrs Forsyth  
Gibson & Goold Ltd  
Glasgow Steel Nail Co Ltd  
Lloyds Bank plc  
Louis Grace Electrical Ltd  
Sir William Halcrow & Partners  
Harlequin Jewellery Ltd  
Gordon Harris & Partners  
Hill Samuel Bank Ltd  
The Hospital Saturday Fund  
Hulley and Kirkwood  
JMP Consultants Ltd  
Jacobs & Turner Ltd (Trespass)  
Knight Wendling Ltd  
Langmuir & Hay  
Loy Surveys Ltd  
J.M. McCurrach & Co Ltd  
Ian Mackenzie and Partners  
A.J. McLay & Partners  
Frederick Miller Charitable Trust  
Muirheads  
Murray & Muir  
*Chartered Surveyors*  
James Pollock & Co  
Post Office Counters Ltd  
Preferred Images Ltd  
Price Waterhouse  
Quantum Electronics Ltd  
Redpath Bruce  
*Property Management*  
E.C. Riach Chartered Architects  
Ritchie, Baird & Barclay Ltd  
Robins McTear Ltd  
Ryden Property Consultants & Chartered Surveyors  
Scot-Vent Limited  
Sime Malloch Ltd  
Gary Sinclair (Scotland) Ltd  
R. J. Steiner, Esq  
Stockwell China Bazaar  
Mr & Mrs G. Sutherland  
Thomas & Adamson  
Transport & General Workers Union  
Trust Motors (Glasgow) Ltd  
Waterman & Partners  
John Watson & Co Ltd  
Westfield Sawmills Ltd  
Westwood Building Services Ltd  
Willis Wrightson Scotland Ltd  
Wimpey Homes Holdings Ltd  
Leslie Wolfson & Co  
Wylie & Bisset



Background:  
**UK & European  
Tug of War  
Championships**

1. Academy of Indonesian Arts, Surakarta
2. Mackintosh's Queen's Cross Church.  
*Photo: M. Anne Dick*
3. The Complete Harpsichord
4. Strathclyde Young People's Video Competition
5. Glasgow All Lit Up
6. Irish Fels
7. Chorale Luigi Gazzotti





## From City of Culture to City of Europe

Following its outstandingly successful year as European City of Culture, Glasgow is once again set to become one of the truly great cities of Europe.

Effective collaboration was the key to winning the cultural title and to the success of the year long programme. Following the example set by Glasgow Action, the new Glasgow Development Agency is committed to the continuation of this collaboration both between the public and private sectors and within the public sector itself.

As the principal agent of economic development, within this alliance of Glasgow organisations, the Glasgow Development Agency offers a comprehensive range of services including business development advice, loan and equity finance, property development and environmental improvement assistance, training and HRD support and a single door business location service for the city.

For further information on the objectives, activities and structure of the agency, please telephone:



ATRIUM COURT, 50 WATERLOO STREET, GLASGOW G2 6HQ  
TELEPHONE 041-204 1111 FACSIMILE 041-248 1600 TELEX 777000