

Ex-post Evaluation of 2011 European Capitals of Culture

Final Report for the European Commission
DG Education and Culture



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The conclusions, recommendations and opinions in this report are those of the authors and they do not necessarily represent the views of the European Commission.

Contents

	Glossary	i
	Executive Summary	ii
1.0	Introduction	1
2.0	Evaluating European Capitals of Culture	2
2.1	The European Capitals of Culture Action.....	2
2.2	Evaluation framework	5
2.3	Evaluation Questions	9
2.4	Methodology	11
3.0	Tallinn	14
3.1	Background	14
3.2	Cultural programme	15
3.3	Relevance to EU objectives.....	21
3.4	Efficiency	22
3.5	Effectiveness	25
3.6	Sustainability	30
3.7	Conclusions.....	31
4.0	Turku	36
4.1	Background	36
4.2	Cultural programme	37
4.3	Relevance.....	46
4.4	Efficiency	48
4.5	Effectiveness	52
4.6	Sustainability	59
4.7	Conclusions.....	61
5.0	Conclusions and Recommendations	64
5.1	Conclusions.....	64
5.2	Recommendations	66
6.0	Post-script: fostering the participation of citizens	68
6.1	Introduction	68
6.2	Which citizens to involve?.....	68
6.3	What narratives to articulate?	69
6.4	How to involve citizens?.....	70

List of figures

Figure 2.1 Generic ECoC Intervention Logic	7
Figure 4.1 Overview of the development of Turku's cultural programme	41
Figure 4.2 Musicam Video.....	54
Figure 4.3 Contemporary Arts Archipelago	56
Figure 4.4 Neighbourhood Weeks.....	57

List of tables

Table 2.1 Articles 1 and 3 of the 1999 Decision.....	4
Table 2.2 Core Result Indicators.....	8
Table 2.3 Core Impact Indicators	8
Table 2.4 Evaluation Questions	9
Table 3.1 Original objectives of Tallinn 2011	16
Table 3.2 Eventual expenditure of Tallinn 2011	20
Table 3.3 Eventual income of Tallinn 2011	20
Table 3.4 Core Result Indicators for Tallinn 2011.....	33
Table 3.5 Core Impact Indicators for Tallinn 2011	34
Table 4.1 Outputs of Turku's cultural programme.....	43
Table 4.2 Expenditure of Turku 2006-2012.....	45
Table 4.3 Income of Turku 2006-2012	45
Table 4.4 Project feedback on work of Turku 2011 Foundation	49
Table 4.5 Project feedback on media visibility	52
Table 4.6 Project feedback on communication and marketing activities	52
Table 4.7 Residents views on Turku culture life and ECoC effects for it	53
Table 4.8 Countries most represented in projects	55
Table 4.9 Core Result Indicators for Turku 2011	62
Table 4.10 Core Impact Indicators for Turku 2011.....	63

Annexes

Annex One: Terms of Reference
Annex Two: Validity of Results
Annex Three: Dissemination Proposal
Annex Four: Research Tools
Annex Five: Tables of Effect
Annex Six: Tallinn Survey Results
Annex Seven: List of Consultees
Annex Eight: Baseline Data
Annex Nine: Core Indicators
Annex Ten: Bibliography

Glossary

CEO – Chief Executive Officer

DG EAC – Directorate General for Education and Culture

ECoC – European Capital of Culture

ERDF – European Regional Development Fund

EU – European Union

GDP – Gross domestic product

ICT – Information and communication technologies

SMEs – Small and medium-sized enterprises

ToR – Terms of Reference

UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Executive Summary

Executive Summary

Introduction

This evaluation report considers the European Capital of Culture Action in the year 2011 including the cultural programmes of the two cities designated as European Capital of Culture (ECoC) for that year: Tallinn (Estonia) and Turku (Finland). The evaluation considers the relevance, efficiency and effectiveness of the 2011 ECoC throughout their “life-cycle”, i.e. from the preparation of their application, through the designation and development phase and up to the completion of their cultural programmes at the end of the title year. Consideration is also given to their likely sustainability and legacy. The evaluation also considers the relevance, efficiency, effectiveness and sustainability of the ECoC Action as a whole.

Origins and description of the ECoC Action

The special role that cities play in culture has been recognised by European policy since at least the 1985 Resolution that introduced the “European City of Culture” concept – a year-long event during which a city would operate a programme of events to highlight its contribution to the common cultural heritage and welcome people and performers from other Member States.¹ Since Athens 1985, the European City of Culture has had “a positive impact in terms of media resonance, the development of culture and tourism and the recognition by inhabitants of the importance of their city having been chosen”. In recognition of this success, a 1999 Decision of the Parliament and of the Council transformed the concept into the European Capital of Culture (ECoC) and introduced an “order of entitlement”, whereby each year one Member State would be entitled to nominate one or more cities to the European Parliament, the Council, the Commission and the Committee of the Regions.² The 1999 Decision was amended in 2005 in order to integrate the ten Member States that acceded to the EU in 2004.

Under the process introduced by the 1999 Decision, two cities were designated for 2011 – Tallinn (Estonia) and Turku (Finland). These cities were to be subject to new processes for monitoring the ECoC, which were introduced by a 2006 Decision.³ The 2006 Decision also introduced a new EU funding mechanism in the form of the “Melina Mercouri Prize”: a conditional prize of €1.5m to be awarded to designated cities before the start of the year, provided that they have met the criteria and implemented the recommendations of the selection and monitoring panel. This prize was awarded for the first time to the 2010 titles.

¹ European Commission (1985) Resolution of the Ministers Responsible for Cultural Affairs Concerning the Annual Event European City of Culture (7081/84).

² Decision No 1419/1999/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 May 1999 establishing a Community action for the European Capital of Culture event for the years 2005 to 2019.

³ Decision No 1622/2006/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 24 October 2006 establishing a Community action for the European Capital of Culture event for the years 2007 to 2019.

Evaluation framework and methodology

The ECoC Action was evaluated against the global objective of the 1999 Decision and three specific objectives derived from the 1999 and 2006 Decisions:

Global objective
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Highlight the richness and diversity of European cultures and the features they share, as well as promote greater mutual acquaintance between European citizens
Specific objectives
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Developing cultural activities• Promoting the European dimension of and through culture• Supporting the social and economic development of the city through culture

The two cities were first evaluated individually before conclusions were drawn on the whole ECoC Action. The evaluation was based on analysis of secondary data and primary data collection and analysis. Secondary data analysed including information in the original ECoC applications; studies and reports commissioned by the ECoC; events programmes, promotional materials and websites; statistical data on culture and tourism sectors; quantitative data supplied by the ECoC on finance, activities, outputs and results. The primary data collection was mainly based on the qualitative interviews of managing teams and key stakeholders for each city during two visits and telephone interviews. Representatives from management teams, decision makers at local level, cultural operators and key partners involved in delivering the ECoC were interviewed in Tallinn and Turku in order to gain the views from key stakeholders on the delivery of each title year. In addition, ECoC projects in Tallinn were invited to take part in an online survey. A comparative review and meta-evaluation exercise considered the conclusions emerging from Tallinn and Turku ECoC, compared and contrasted approaches, and verified the quality of the research.

Main findings

Tallinn

Tallinn has a long and diverse cultural heritage, having flourished during the Middle Ages as a member of the Hanseatic League and served as the centre for Estonia's "national awakening" in the nineteenth century. More recently, the Estonian Song Festival ("Laulupidu") and its venue, the Tallinn Song Festival Grounds, featured prominently in the "Singing Revolution" of 1987-1991 that led to independence from the Soviet Union. Today, Tallinn is Estonia's capital and its largest city with a population of just over 400,000 people, of which one-third is of Russian ethnicity. As well as being the administrative and financial centre of the country, it has a well-developed ICT infrastructure and information technology sector and is widely recognised for ICT applications for the public services. Despite being one of the biggest ports on the Baltic Sea and a destination for many cruise ships, Tallinn has a seafront that bears the marks of industrial decay and dereliction. During the Soviet period, much of this area was reserved for industrial and military purposes and therefore closed to the public. Whilst the redevelopment and reopening of the seafront area has been a matter for public debate for many years and some improvements have been made, progress has been hindered by the diverse pattern of land ownership, political differences and the economic difficulties experienced since 2008.

As Estonia's capital, Tallinn is at the heart of the country's cultural life. One of Tallinn's key cultural assets is its medieval old town, which is recognised as a UNESCO World Heritage Site and which has been at the heart of efforts to attract tourists to the city. The city also hosts a number of large contemporary cultural events and is the home to the main national cultural institutions, as well as many small or independent cultural operators. However, previous research has highlighted the importance of a developing a new cultural model for involving more of the city's Russian-speaking community as audiences and participants, given the limited cultural offering in Russian.

Tallinn's application was based around the theme of "folklore and fairytales". It stated that the overall mission of its ECoC would be to "create a cultural event that is supported on every level by its urban community, proving in the process that a small society built on a strong cultural foundation can be as much a success as that of larger nations". This cultural event would help the city to "return to the European cultural map", form a new European identity and further integrate the Estonian population into the EU. At the same time, the ECoC was intended to project a new and better image for Tallinn; instead of being viewed as merely as a post-communist city, the intention was for Tallinn to be viewed as a safe, clean and hi-tech Nordic city capable of hosting EU institutions and international events.

Estonia's Ministry for Culture nominated Tallinn for the title after a competition organised at national level. Whilst the panel recommended that Tallinn be designated as ECoC, it recommended changes to the guiding theme, as a focus on "folklore and fairytales" risked not offering a sufficiently strong European dimension and being mainly of national and local relevance.⁴ Reflecting this, the overall theme was later changed to "Stories of the seashore". More specifically, the eventual cultural programme emphasised the potential of culture to open up the city's seafront area. Although, there was no explicit restatement of the objectives of the ECoC stated in the application, this new and very different approach was not inconsistent with those objectives.

A new body, the Tallinn 2011 Foundation, was established to implement the ECoC, supported by the City and overseen by a Management and Supervisory Board but operating with a degree of independence. A Creative Council of seven cultural professionals was responsible for artistic content, including the selection of projects. The governance arrangements for Tallinn 2011 were not without their difficulties, particularly a lack of political consensus between City and State in the early stages. These came to a head in the spring of 2010 when Mikko Fritze, the Head of Management and Head of Programmes, resigned, citing a need for new management. Whilst his departure weakened the creative impetus of the ECoC, damaged staff morale and generated negative publicity at a critical time, the Foundation was able to recover and implement the cultural programme, not least because the team was sufficiently motivated and talented to implement the cultural programme largely as planned. Fritze was replaced as head of the Foundation by a party political figure: Jaanus Mutli, the former Deputy Mayor of Tallinn. From this point on, it does appear that the political difficulties were much more manageable, if not entirely resolved.

Whilst the application proposed a budget of nearly €37m, the eventual budget for the 2007-12 period was in fact €16m, making Tallinn one of the least-resourced ECoC to date. As a result, the programme was much less ambitious than had originally been planned. Several of the proposed infrastructure developments did not take place and the cultural programme was reduced in scale. There was also an emphasis on funding local artists and productions, rather than bringing in more expensive productions from abroad. EU funding from the Melina Mercouri Prize was used to supplement the overall budget for the ECoC and supported a variety of aspects of the budget, for example the cultural programme, communication and marketing activities and operational expenditure.

⁴ Report of the Selection Meeting for the European Capitals of Culture 2011; Issued by The Selection Panel for the European Capital of Culture (ECOC) 2011; June 2007

In order to build a cultural programme, the Tallinn 2011 Foundation developed a number of its own projects as well as operating an open call for projects that attracted more than 1,000 applications. The eventual programme included 251 projects featuring around 7,000 events that attracted two million people and was structured around the four seasons, albeit with a peak of activity during the spring and summer. The European dimension of the ECoC largely consisted of the efforts to internationalise the cultural sector of Tallinn through transnational co-operation within projects that helped create links with artists in other countries, expose local artists to outside influences and offer international experience. Fewer international productions were brought to Tallinn than planned; instead, the Foundation tended to invite individual producers from abroad to visit the city and create productions locally or provide workshops. There were also co-operations with Turku and with foreign representations in Tallinn.

The ethos of the ECoC, as well as its selection processes, enabled the cultural programme to contribute to the objective of widening participation in culture. For example, the title year included a "Young Audience Programme": for schoolchildren to attend and participate in cultural events, the "Trumm It" social programme for engaging disadvantaged youth in cultural activities and a programme of events in counties outside Tallinn. These cultural activities were complemented by a hospitality programme for different service providers in the city and a volunteer programme that linked individuals to specific volunteer positions with cultural operators.

The ECoC made an important contribution to the economic and urban development of Tallinn, though it did not fulfil the original vision in its entirety. Whilst budgetary constraints reduced the scale of the infrastructure developments, the ECoC did initiate some specific developments at the seafront and gave impetus to its wider development. Most notably, the ECoC introduced the concept of the "Cultural Kilometre" at the seafront and made it a reality albeit one that requires further ongoing development. A former industrial site was also cleaned up and served as the Cultural Cauldron (Kultuurikatel), attracting 40,000 visitors during the year. The Cauldron has not only attracted cultural audiences to the seafront area but will also continue to serve as a venue for events and as hub for the development of the cultural and creative industries, once its refurbishment is complete in 2013. Overall, the ECoC has served to highlight the potential of the seafront by bringing people to the areas for the first time and showing imaginative use of previously derelict space.

At the close of the title-year, the Foundation prepared a plan for the sustainability of various cultural activities, with a significant focus on the Cultural Cauldron, which will be operated by a specific legacy body: Tallinn Creative Hub. Tallinn Creative Hub and its associated activities will reflect much of the artistic spirit and initiative of the ECoC and provide a continued focus on contemporary and innovative culture, flexible use of space, open-air and public events, international connections, etc. More generally, it can be said that the ECoC has demonstrated what is possible regarding new partnership models for delivering cultural activities in the city. Looking ahead, the question is whether the experience of 2011 will initiate a wider change in approaches to cultural governance and whether a consensus can be reached and maintained between the various players regarding the future of culture in Tallinn.

Turku

Turku is the oldest and fifth largest city in Finland as well as the regional capital of Southwest Finland with a population of over 177,000 people. The city is bilingual, with a large Swedish-speaking population and is also home to the first university founded in Finland. Having one of the country's most important ports, Turku earns much of its income from the shipbuilding industry, which builds many of the world's biggest cruise ships. Other key industries in Turku include bio-industry, ICT, metals and tourism, with the city attracting a large number of international visitors every year. The creative industries are also of particular importance, especially cultural production, digital content production and cultural tourism.

Turku has a diverse cultural scene with many cultural organisations being based in the city including the oldest orchestra in Finland. The music scene plays an important role in the cultural life of the city: Turku is closely associated with the composer Jean Sibelius, hosts the Ruisrock festival which is the oldest rock festival in Finland and the second oldest in Europe and also has a vibrant electronic music scene related to underground culture. Poetry, visual arts, theatre, film, animation, circus and puppetry are also of key importance for the cultural life of the city.

The decision to bid for the title was influenced by the potential to highlight the cultural scene of the city nationally and internationally, contribute to the social and economic development of the city, further develop links with the Baltic Sea region, and strengthen a sense of pride in the city by proving that Turku can deliver big events successfully. The key objectives included in the application were:

- **Internationality:** attract attention to the Baltic Sea region and to such European goals as increasing well-being and co-operation, promoting creative industries and sustainable development;
- **Creative economy:** become a national pioneer in the creative industries and a significant centre of European cultural production;
- **Well-Being:** support the development of cultural well-being; and
- **Assessment programme:** development of a comprehensive evaluation programme.

Following the award of the title, the key activities during the development phase included setting up the Turku 2011 Foundation, development of the cultural programme and communication activities. The governance structures in Turku remained stable during the course of the process and the key members of staff did not change. There were high expectations from Turku's culture sector, the media and the wider public regarding the development of the cultural programme. However in the early stages, the Foundation did not feel able to provide extensive information because negotiations were still taking place with potential projects. This changed once information about the projects started to become available and it was clear that the cultural programme of the title year would be of high quality.

The cultural programme included 165 projects and around 8,000 individual events. It included a mix of projects including those developed by cultural operators nationally and internationally as well as projects developed by local cultural operators. Significant attention in the cultural programme was devoted to challenging people's understanding of culture and bringing culture closer to day-to-day life. As a result, a number of artworks were developed in unexpected spaces, such as a theatre performance in the city pool, poetry-reading in public spaces and sculptures on the river. The title year had an important impact on strengthening Turku's status as a cultural city and increasing the participation of residents in cultural activities. It also had a strong effect on bringing together different cultural operators and developing links at local level. Cultural operators emphasised the very positive experience of working together during the title year, which has continued into 2012. Some have already established the Aura river network which aims to bring different summer events together under one umbrella, based on the ECoC experience.

The theme of well-being was of key importance during the title year, through a number of projects that encouraged the active participation of older people in the cultural activities or that increased access to and accessibility of culture, as well as through research and analysis of the impact of culture for health and well-being. This theme was reflected in the communication and marketing activities with such slogans as "culture does good".

The European dimension was relevant to Turku 2011 especially through the focus on co-operation with the Baltic Sea region, encouraging project promoters to involve international partners and highlighting internationality as one of the objectives for the title year. Some 50% of projects increased co-operation with international partners in the field of their activities during the title, particularly those from Sweden, Germany and the UK. The European dimension was also reflected in the cultural programme through attracting cultural productions from other European countries (Black Market, Colourscape, Eurocultured), highlighting environmental issues especially related to the Baltic Sea (which is of relevant importance to a number of European countries) and developing two opera productions based on ancient and medieval history in Europe (Alvida in Abo, Eerik XIV).

As mentioned above, the involvement of citizens was a very important feature of the title year especially through changing the understanding of culture, well-being theme, ensuring accessibility to cultural activities and active participation. Moreover, significant attention was given to ensuring that cultural activities were not only concentrated on the city centre but also took place in each neighbourhood of the city (Neighbourhood Weeks, Artist as a Neighbour). A national opinion survey implemented at the beginning of 2012 showed that the ECoC had not only increased the level of participation in cultural activities, but it had also strengthened residents' pride in their city and improved the atmosphere of the city.

Turku's ECoC had a significant economic impact on the city. A study prepared by Turku School of Economics estimated that the ECoC contributed to an increase in employment of 3,300 person years in Turku and to an increase in total revenue of €260m. Tourism accounted for a significant share of the economic impact, with the increase in employment in that sector accounting for 2,500 person-years out of the total increase of 3,300. The number of international congresses in Turku increased significantly during the title year to its highest level ever. The key infrastructure project directly related to ECoC was the development of Logomo which was the key exhibition and performance venue in 2011 and which is currently being developed as a centre for the creative industries with office and performance spaces.

From the very beginning ensuring that ECoC would have effect on the culture life of the city beyond the title year was of key importance for the Foundation. A working group with the aim to develop sustainability strategy was established in spring 2011. Turku 2011 Foundation will continue funding cultural activities until 2013 and providing support for networks and associations, thus contributing to the implementation of the sustainability strategy. In addition, some marketing activities will also continue beyond 2011 in order to share experience from the title-year.

Conclusions

Relevance

- The current evaluation supports the conclusion from the previous evaluations of European Capital of Culture Action regarding the relevance of ECoC to Article 167 of the EU Treaty. ECoC remains of key importance and thus of significant relevance for the Treaty through contributing to the flowering of the Member States cultures, highlighting the common cultural heritage and increasing cultural co-operation between Member States and internationally.
- The ECoC concept continues to be of relevance to the objectives of the EU and of local stakeholders. This relevance relates in particular to: promoting the European dimension of culture; development of the range and diversity of cities' cultural offerings; strengthening the capacity and governance of cities' cultural sectors; enhancing social development and citizenship; promoting the international profile and economic development of cities.
- Similarly as above, the ECoC Action remains complementary to other EU initiatives in the field of culture especially the Culture Programme 2007-2013 and the MEDIA Programme. Importantly, it

also contributes to achieving the objectives set for the European Agenda for Culture through promoting cultural diversity, developing international cultural links and increasing the role of culture in the long-term development of European cities.

- The ECoC Action complements other European programmes especially in fields such as youth, citizenship, education and training and regional development. In particular, the experience of 2011 demonstrates the potential of ECoC to be reinforced by and add value to investments made by the ERDF as well as the importance of the links between culture, education and research. For example, Turku developed an extensive research programme supporting both academic research and science and arts co-operation contributing to European initiatives related to research.

Efficiency

- The open competitions organised at national level in both Member States generated considerable interest in the ECoC on the part of cities. However, some nominated bids did not match closely the criteria set at EU level.
- The current monitoring arrangements show a significant improvement to those of previous years. However, they do not ensure that all cities fulfil all their commitments made at application, first monitoring stage and second monitoring stage (thus also in respect to the award of the Melina Mercouri Prize).
- At national and local level, the governance and management of ECoC is often challenging and political influences remain very significant. To some extent this is expected due to the nature and scale of ECoC. In most cities holding the title, it is important to establish an independent delivery agency and ensure that political influences do not unduly affect the artistic independence and smooth implementation of activities.
- The funding necessary to achieve expected results varies significantly between cities. Whilst cities make implicit commitments in their applications regarding the funding, the funding in Tallinn was significantly reduced compared to the original application and also to a lesser extent in Turku.
- At European level, the ECoC Action continues to be very cost-effective when compared to other EU policy instruments and mechanisms. However, the share of the Melina Mercouri Prize within the overall budget of the ECoC programme varied widely between the two cities and thus also its significance. For example, in Turku the Prize was relatively small in relation to the overall budget and was thus primarily of symbolic importance, i.e. providing recognition that the city had progressed significantly in its preparations to host the ECoC title. In contrast, the Prize represented more than 10% of the overall funding of Tallinn and was thus more significant in terms of increasing the size and scale of the cultural programme. However, in neither city were the benefits of the Prize made particularly visible to cultural actors and audiences.

Effectiveness

- The 2011 ECoC both succeeded in implementing cultural programmes that were more extensive, innovative and international (e.g. in terms of themes, artists/performers and audiences) than the usual cultural offering in each city. They explored new themes, highlighted the richness and diversity of each city's cultural offering and used new or unusual venues.
- At the same time, it must be highlighted that the cultural programme of Turku was much larger in scope and scale than that of Tallinn; indeed, Tallinn 2011 was one of the least-extensive ECoC of recent years. As with previous ECoC, the 2011 titles highlight the uniqueness of each ECoC, with each reflecting the specific circumstances, capacities and ambitions of the host city.

- Whilst both cities presented very strong local narratives, those narratives can be seen as containing common themes that are essentially European in nature. For example, the cultural programme of both cities highlighted their common histories related to the role of Russia, the Baltic Sea and as well as the contemporary characteristic of being multicultural societies. The experience of 2011 demonstrates, therefore, that all "local" narratives if well explained can be considered as European in essence. It also demonstrates the potential offered by the ECoC title for such local narratives to be communicated to European audiences in a meaningful way.
- The European dimension of the cultural programme of both ECoC mostly related to the efforts to support transnational cultural co-operation and to internationalise the cities' cultural sectors. Whilst European themes were present in both ECoC, these tended to relate to specific projects rather than permeating the entire cultural programme.
- Both ECoC strongly supported citizens' active participation and targeted people who traditionally tend to participate less in cultural activities. In Tallinn, significant attention was given to involvement of the Russian community in the ECoC programme and separate projects were devoted to it. In Turku, the Swedish-speaking community was encouraged to take part in the cultural activities through ensuring that all activities and materials were accessible, i.e. translated into the Swedish language. However, the experience of both ECoC highlights the fact that very different (typically more intensive) approaches are required to widening the participation of citizens as creators or performers, as opposed to merely widening their participation as audiences.
- There are significant differences between cities regarding their approach to evaluation and research. Turku developed an approach incorporating the recommendations of the ECoC Policy Group, undertook regular residents' surveys and incorporated project survey in final reporting structure. By contrast, Tallinn gave much less attention to the monitoring the achievement of indicators presented in the application.

Sustainability

- As identified in previous evaluations, ECoC generates new activities, co-operation and cultural facilities that are sustainable beyond the title year itself. This remains relevant for both cities hosting the title in 2011.
- The creation (or continuation) of a dedicated agency is one way by which a positive legacy can be ensured. Depending on the specific circumstances of each city, this agency may require a quite different focus to the activity taking place in the title-year and perhaps also a different structure and staff. But it can be beneficial for such an agency to carry forward some of the activities initiated in the title-year and to exploit new opportunities that can help ensure that the overall vision for the ECoC is fulfilled in the long-run.
- The 2011 ECoC have demonstrated the potential to offer sustained improvements in the governance of culture within each city and to enhance the contribution of culture to the wider development of the city. However, the fulfilment of such potential remains to be seen and will depend on the choices made by the key stakeholders over the next year or so.

Recommendations

- 1 The European Commission should continue the ECoC Action as a high-profile and symbolic initiative of the EU, which makes a significant contribution to policy objectives in the field of culture and in the wider fields.
- 2 When preparing the legal basis for ECoC post-2019, the Commission should consider expanding the objectives of the action to include enhancing the governance of culture at the local level, supporting social development and citizenship and supporting the economic development of the city particularly through development of its cultural and creative sectors.
- 3 There is a need for a more explicit and comprehensive set of selection criteria especially related to governance and funding. Such criteria should be consistently applied not only for selecting the cities but also for monitoring progress.
- 4 The Melina Mercouri Prize also should be strongly tied to the cities' progress in delivering their commitments especially in relation to selection criteria. Recipients of the Prize should also be required to take appropriate steps to publicise the use of Prize money in their cultural programmes.
- 5 There is a need for clarification of what budget is provided at the application stage, and particularly whether the budget in cities' application includes only the funding that is to be managed by the delivery agency or whether it also covers the funding secured by the projects and other cultural and public organisations. The Commission should consider providing clarifications for the cities as to what funding should be considered as direct funding for ECoC when compared to the mainstream funding for cultural activities in the city.
- 6 There is a need for more explicit requirements for using the EU logo within communication materials in order to ensure the visibility of the European dimension. Consideration should therefore be given to including the requirement to use the EU logo among the criteria for awarding the Melina Mercouri Prize.
- 7 As recommended by the evaluation of the ECoC selection and monitoring panel, consideration should be given to introducing in the new legal base for ECoC post-2019 a requirement for Member States to indicate clearly from the outset of the process in their country the amount of funding, if any, which they will make available for the winning city.
- 8 Cities should be encouraged to implement a core set of research tasks in order to provide evidence of the achievement of their objectives, including a survey of residents and visitors. As part of that, the European Commission could consider a requirement for each ECoC to commission evaluations satisfying certain key criteria.
- 9 The Commission should consider awarding the Melina Mercouri Prize only once there is clear evidence that the commitments made from the selection phase through to the second monitoring phase have been fulfilled, especially those related to finance. On that basis, it may therefore be necessary to award the Prize much later, e.g. during the title-year itself, in which case it would serve as a source of funding for legacy activities rather than for activities during the title-year.
- 10 The Commission should consider ways to encourage further dissemination of good practice among past, present and future ECoC, e.g. through seminars organised in Brussels.
- 11 Given the often long-term developmental objectives of the ECoC and the long timescales over which positive impacts can be expected to occur, the Commission should consider further research into the long-term impacts of the ECoC in recent years (i.e. those not covered by Palmer-Rae 2004).⁵

⁵ European Cities and Capitals of Culture; Study Prepared for the European Commission; Palmer-Rae Associates; August 2004.

Introduction

1.0 Introduction

Ecorys UK is pleased to present this final report for the *Ex-post Evaluation of 2011 European Capitals of Culture* undertaken on behalf of the European Commission DG Education and Culture (DG EAC). The evaluation is intended to support the Commission in meeting the requirement set by Decision 1622/2006/EC of the European Council and the European Parliament each year to “ensure the external and independent evaluation of the results of the European Capital of Culture event of the previous year in accordance with the objectives and criteria of the action”.⁶

It is also intended that the results of the evaluation will be used to draw lessons for the future development of the initiative and help to improve understanding of its impact with a view to feeding into the policy-making process at European level in the field of culture. The legal basis for ECoC (Decision 1622/2006/EC) lists the Member States entitled to host the European Capitals of Culture (ECoC) until 2019 and the legal basis for the programme after 2019 is currently being prepared.

As recommended by the Terms of Reference (ToR), the approach taken to the current evaluation has applied the intervention logic and indicators of the evaluations of the 2007-2010 ECoC as well as following as much as possible the methodology and reporting structure used in those studies.⁷ This evaluation has sought to fulfil the functions of accountability and learning and be subject to the rigour of the application of the DG Budget evaluation model now firmly embedded within European Commission custom and practice.⁸ In that way, it is hoped that the results of the current evaluation will both build on and be comparable with the results of the previous evaluations.

⁶ Decision No 1622/2006/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 24 October 2006 establishing a Community action for the European Capital of Culture event for the years 2007 to 2019.

⁷ Ex-post Evaluation of 2007 & 2008 European Capitals of Culture, ECOTEC Research & Consulting, 2009; Ex-post Evaluation of 2009 European Capitals of Culture, ECOTEC Research & Consulting, 2010; Ex-post Evaluation of 2010 European Capitals of Culture; Ecorys UK, 2011.

⁸ Evaluating EU Activities: A practical guide for the Commission services; European Commission DG Budget, July 2004.

Evaluating European Capitals of Culture



2.0 Evaluating European Capitals of Culture

2.1 The European Capitals of Culture Action

2.1.1 Origins and context of the Action

*“Throughout its history, Europe has been the site of exceptionally prolific and varied artistic variety; whereas urban life has played a major role in the growth and influence of the European cultures”.*⁹

Since the earliest days of European integration, European policy has recognised the existence within Europe of both a “common cultural heritage” and a diversity of national and regional cultures. Indeed, under the terms of Article 167 of the Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union,¹⁰ the EU has sought to bring that heritage to the fore and to respect such diversity, by encouraging co-operation between Member States and by taking cultural aspects into account in its other actions. We present an extract of Article 167 in the table below.

Table 2.1 Extract from Article 167 of the Treaty

Article 167 of the Treaty (extract)
<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. The Community shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States, while respecting their national and regional diversity and at the same time bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore.2. Action by the Community shall be aimed at encouraging co-operation between Member States and, if necessary, supporting and supplementing their action in the following areas:<ul style="list-style-type: none">• improvement of the knowledge and dissemination of the culture and history of the European peoples• conservation and safeguarding of cultural heritage of European significance• non-commercial cultural exchanges• artistic and literary creation, including in the audiovisual sector3. The Community and the Member States shall foster co-operation with third countries and the competent international organisations in the sphere of culture.

Within that context, the special role that cities play in culture was recognised by a 1985 Resolution that introduced the “European City of Culture” concept – a year-long event during which a city would operate a programme of events to highlight its contribution to the common cultural heritage and welcome people and performers from other Member States.¹¹

⁹ Decision No 1419/1999/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 May 1999 establishing a Community action for the European Capital of Culture event for the years 2005 to 2019.

¹⁰ Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union

¹¹ European Commission (1985) Resolution of the Ministers Responsible for Cultural Affairs Concerning the Annual Event European City of Culture (7081/84).

Since Athens in 1985, the European City of Culture has had “a positive impact in terms of media resonance, the development of culture and tourism and the recognition by inhabitants of the importance of their city having been chosen”.¹² In recognition of this success, a 1999 Decision¹³ of the Parliament and of the Council transformed the concept into the European Capital of Culture (ECoC) and sought to create a more predictable, consistent and transparent rotational system for the designation of the title. The 1999 Decision introduced an “order of entitlement”, whereby each year one Member State would be entitled to nominate one or more cities to the European Parliament, the Council, the Commission and the Committee of the Regions. The 1999 Decision also maintained the possibility for non-Member States to nominate candidates for the ECoC title. Nominations received each year (from Member States and non-Member States) were to be considered by a selection panel composed of seven leading independent experts in the cultural sector, which would then issue a report on the nomination or nominations judged against the objectives and characteristics of the ECoC Action. On the basis of this report, the Parliament would then issue an opinion to the Commission, which would then make a recommendation to the Council. The Council, acting on this recommendation would then officially designate the city (or cities) in question as European Capital of Culture for the year for which it was nominated. The 1999 Decision was amended in 2005 in order to integrate the ten Member States that acceded to the EU in 2004.¹⁴

Under the process introduced by the 1999 Decision, two cities were designated for 2011 – Tallinn (Estonia) and Turku (Finland). Whilst a further Decision was made in 2006, this specifically stated that for the 2010, 2011 and 2012 titles, the 1999 Decision would apply in respect of the criteria relating to the cultural programmes, unless the cities chose to base their programmes on the criteria in the 2006 Decision. However, the 2011 and 2012 ECoC would be co-financed and monitored according to new processes set out in the 2006 Decision with transitional provisions for selection and designation. Future ECoC will be designated, co-financed and monitored according to new processes set out in the 2006 Decision. For example, calls for submission of applications at national level and a European selection panel have been organised for the 2013 titles onwards.

The 2006 Decision also introduced a new EU funding mechanism for the ECoC in the form of the "Melina Mercouri Prize": a conditional prize of €1.5m to be awarded to designated cities before the start of the year, on the basis of the reports delivered by the monitoring panel. This prize was awarded for the first time to the 2010 titles and again to the 2011 titles.

At the same time that the ECoC has been in operation, two other important policy developments have taken place: first, the introduction of the EU's Culture Programme 2007-13, which co-finances cultural actions with a European dimension across the whole range of artistic and cultural fields, including transnational co-operation projects, literary translations, European prizes and organisations active at European and international level in the field of culture and which also provides the funding for the Melina Mercouri Prize during the current programming period; second, the adoption by the Commission in 2007 of a *European agenda for culture in a globalising world*¹⁵ which defines three broad objectives for the EU's interventions in the field of culture:

- promotion of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue;
- promotion of culture as a catalyst for creativity in the framework of the Lisbon Strategy for growth and jobs; and

¹² Decision No 1419/1999/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 May 1999 establishing a Community action for the European Capital of Culture event for the years 2005 to 2019.

¹³ Decision No 1419/1999/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 May 1999 establishing a Community action for the European Capital of Culture event for the years 2005 to 2019.

¹⁴ Decision 649/2005/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 13 April 2005 amending Decision No 1419/1999/EC establishing a Community action for the European Capital of Culture event for the years 2005 to 2019.

¹⁵ Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions on a European agenda for culture in a globalizing world; COM(2007) 242 final.

- promotion of culture as a vital element in the Union’s international relations.

Although the European Agenda was adopted only after the 2006 Decision establishing the ECoC Action in its current form, it forms a vital part of the political context within which the ECoC Action has been implemented. In particular, the Agenda reinforces the overall objective of the ECoC Action, with its focus on cultural diversity and mutual acquaintance between European citizens (intercultural dialogue). It also gives explicit recognition to a dimension of culture that the ECoC have increasingly emphasised over the years, i.e. the wider social and economic benefits that culture can generate.

Looking ahead, the European Commission is proposing to implement the Creative Europe programme in the 2014-2020 period as the successor to the current Culture Programme. The Creative Europe programme will bring together the current Culture, MEDIA and MEDIA Mundus programmes under a common framework and create a new facility to improve access to finance for SMEs in the culture and audio-visual sectors. It is proposed that the ECoC will continue to receive funding via the Melina Mercouri Prize money, which such funding being directly managed by the European Commission within the context of Creative Europe.¹⁶

2.1.2 Objectives of the ECoC Action

In approaching the evaluation, the starting point for this evaluation has been the legal basis for the 2011 ECoC. As noted in the ToR, this is Decisions 1419/1999/EC and 1622/2006/EC of the European Parliament and the Council. Amongst other things, the 1999 Decision sets out the overall objective of the Action (Article 1) and a set of objectives that each ECoC must address (Article 3).

Table 2.2 Articles 1 and 3 of the 1999 Decision

Article 1
‘...to highlight the richness and diversity of European cultures and the features they share, as well as to promote greater mutual acquaintance between European citizens’
Article 3
The nomination shall include a cultural project of European dimension, based principally on cultural co-operation, in accordance with the objectives and action provided for by Article 151 of the Treaty. The submission shall specify how the nominated city intends: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to highlight artistic movements and styles shared by Europeans which it has inspired or to which it has made a significant contribution • to promote events involving people active in culture from other cities in Member States and leading to lasting cultural co-operation, and to foster their movement within the European Union • to support and develop creative work, which is an essential element in any cultural policy • to ensure the mobilisation and participation of large sections of the population and, as a consequence, the social impact of the action and its continuity beyond the year of the events • to encourage the reception of citizens of the Union and the widest possible dissemination of the various events by employing all forms of multimedia • to promote dialogue between European cultures and those from other parts of the world and, in that spirit to optimise the opening up to, and understanding of others, which are fundamental cultural values to exploit the historic heritage, urban architecture and quality of life in the city.

We must also note the general and specific objectives laid down by the 2006 Decision. The general objective of the 2006 Decision restates the overall objective of the 1999 Decision, whilst the specific objectives consist of criteria relating to “the European Dimension” and “City and Citizens”.

¹⁶ http://ec.europa.eu/culture/creative-europe/index_en.htm

Table 2.3 Objectives of the 2006 Decision

General objective	
The overall aim of the Action is to highlight the richness and diversity of European cultures and the features they share, as well as to promote greater mutual acquaintance between European citizens.	
Specific objectives	
I.	As regards 'the European Dimension', the programme shall:
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• foster co-operation between cultural operators, artists and cities from the relevant Member States and other Member States in any cultural sector;• highlight the richness of cultural diversity in Europe; and• bring the common aspects of European cultures to the fore.
II.	As regards 'City and Citizens' the programme shall:
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• foster the participation of the citizens living in the city and its surroundings and raise their interest as well as the interest of citizens from abroad; and• be sustainable and be an integral part of the long-term cultural and social development of the city.

In addition, the evaluation of the 2007-08 ECoC found that ECoC had over the years adopted a third broad objective, i.e. that of *"supporting social and economic development through culture"*. In this context "culture" covers both cultural programmes and associated infrastructure developments. This objective brings to the fore elements already contained in other parts of the 1999 and 2006 Decisions. In this way, the ECoC can be seen as intended to complement, reinforce and add impetus to infrastructure investments, including those funded by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF).

2.2 Evaluation framework

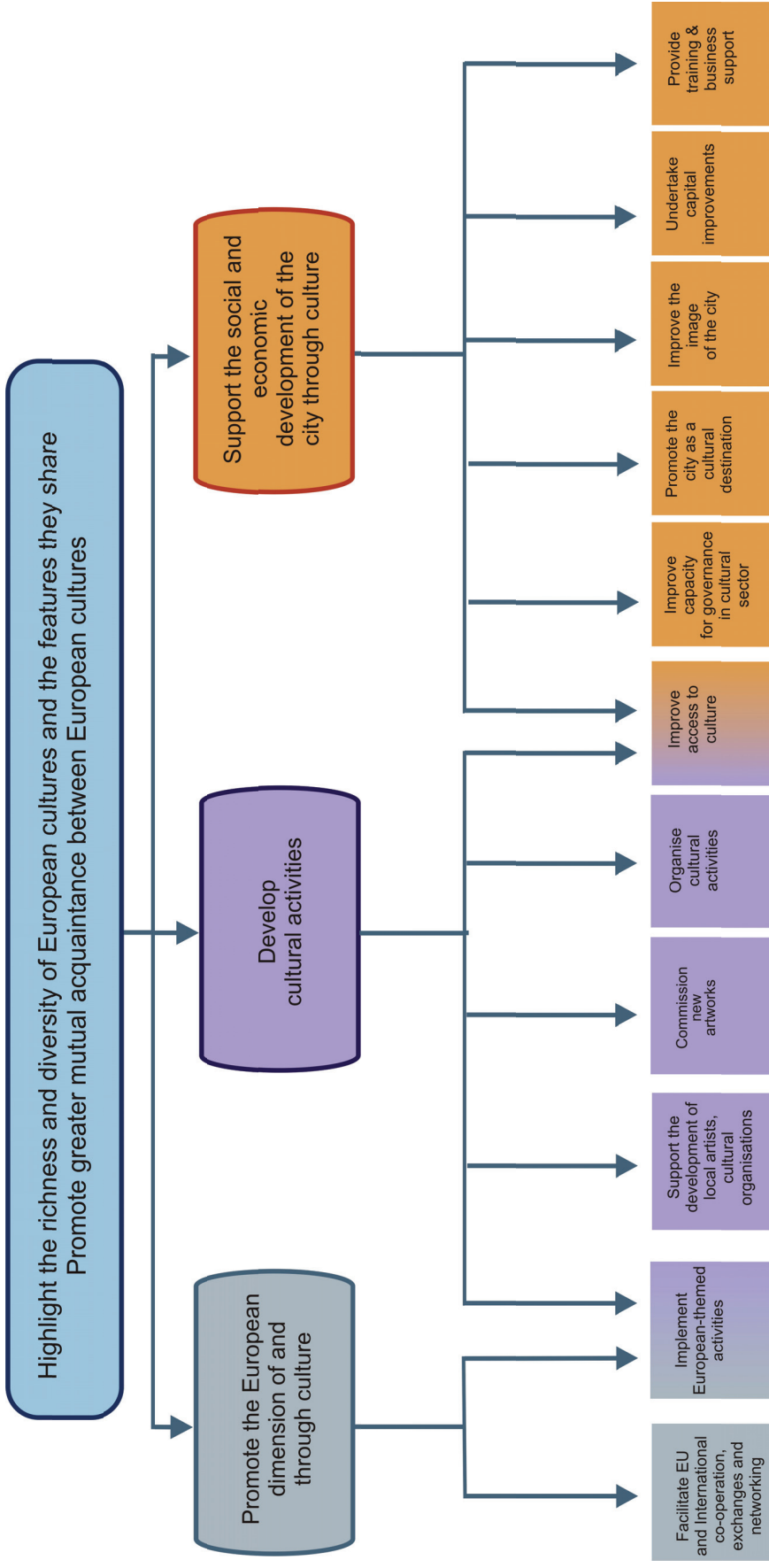
As recommended by the Terms of Reference (ToR), the intervention logic and indicators of the 2007-2010 evaluation were applied to this evaluation. The experience of the previous evaluations suggested that the standard European Commission evaluation model¹⁷ needed to be applied flexibly in the context of the ECoC, in which an EU-level hierarchy of objectives was not fully developed and in which each ECoC was given considerable freedom to define their own objectives and implement their programme of activities. Our approach was thus to derive common sets of specific and operational objectives using the elements of Article 3 and a detailed examination of the objectives of the ECoC in question. Although each ECoC has a different set of objectives, it becomes clear from an inspection of the objectives that they (not surprisingly) cover similar territory: differences between them are a question of emphasis within a more or less common set of objectives rather than fundamental differences, although this clearly results in a very different 'spin' placed on the ECoC and what it might achieve within very different contexts.¹⁸

¹⁷ Evaluating EU Activities: A practical guide for the Commission services; European Commission DG Budget, July 2004.

¹⁸ It should be stressed that we are seeing this very much from the point of view of carrying out an evaluation using a pre-set model (albeit applied flexibly) and a set of criteria that – as always – have to be laid over the subject matter of the evaluation. Clearly there is enormous variety across the ECoC whose complexity and multiple objectives and outcomes, some have argued, 'makes judgements of overall success and the merits of one city against another superficial and misleading' (Palmer/Rae Associates, 2004, p39). Clearly our task here is not to compare cities in this way, but it is to try to judge overall success in order that the accountability function can be fulfilled.

The intervention logic is shown in summary form in Figure 2.1 below. It includes three main specific objectives and nine operational ones, reflecting the breadth of actions taken by the ECoC. The diagram indicates the main logical connections between these objectives, and it should be noticed that each specific objective does not have a separate set of operational objectives through which they were designed to be achieved - there is overlap. In particular, we have indicated that the operational objective of implementing European-themed activities relates strongly to the specific objectives of both developing cultural activities and promoting the European dimension; and improving access to culture to both developing cultural activities and supporting social and economic development.

Figure 2.1 Generic ECoC Intervention Logic



Having defined the objectives and set out the connections between them, the next task was to determine a logical set of intended effects that would have flowed from them. A long list of indicators related to each objective and the information relevant to each city is presented in the tables in Annex Five. Together with the long list of indicators capturing the effect of ECoC, core indicators were used to gather basic information for both cities and facilitate a comparative analysis. The core indicators were developed and tested in the 2010 evaluation and correspond to the most important results and impacts for each ECoC. The core indicators, which are mostly quantitative in nature, allow a degree of comparison and aggregation of effects across the 2011 ECoC as well as with previous years (although any such comparisons must take into account the very different circumstances and approach of each city holding the title). The list of core indicators is presented in Table 2.4 and Table 2.5.

Table 2.4 Core Result Indicators

Specific objective	Result indicators
Promote the European dimension of and through culture	No. of European cross-border co-operations within ECoC cultural programme
Develop cultural activities	Total number of events € budget for the ECoC cultural programmes Attendance at events % residents attending or participating in events, including young people, disadvantaged or “culturally inactive” No. active volunteers
Support the social and economic development of the city through culture	€ value of investment in cultural infrastructure, sites and facilities Sustained multi-sector partnership for cultural governance Strategy for long-term cultural development of the city Increase in tourist visits Volume and % of positive media coverage of cities Awareness of the ECoC amongst residents

Table 2.5 Core Impact Indicators

General objective	Impact indicators
Highlight the richness and the diversity of European cultures and features they share; Promote greater mutual acquaintance between European cultures	Citizens' perceptions of being European and/or awareness of European culture
	National / international recognition of cities as being culturally-vibrant (e.g. peer reception, positive media coverage) and having improved image

2.3 Evaluation Questions

The Evaluation Questions considered by the study are presented in Table 2.6 under the standard evaluation headings of relevance, efficiency and effectiveness and sustainability.

Table 2.6 Evaluation Questions

No.	Evaluation Question
Relevance	
EQ1	What was the main motivation behind the city bidding to become a European Capital of Culture?
EQ2	What was the process of determining objectives? Was there a process of consultation in each city to define aims and objectives?
EQ3	What were the objectives of the city in being an ECoC? (refer to list in intervention logic) What was the relative importance of each objective?
EQ4	Have any specific objectives of the ECoC event been related to social impacts?
EQ5	In this connection, did the objectives of the ECoC event include reaching out to all sectors of society, including the excluded, disadvantaged, disabled people and minorities?
EQ6	To what extent have the specific themes/orientations of the cultural programme proved to be relevant to the objectives defined?
EQ7	To what extent were the objectives consistent with the Decision and with the ECoC's own application? (special focus on the European dimension)
EQ8	To what extent were the activities consistent with the ECoC's own objectives, with the ECoC's application and with the Decision? (special focus on the European dimension)
EQ9	How was the European dimension reflected by the themes put forward by the ECoC event and in terms of co-operation at European level? How did the Capitals of Culture seek to make the European dimension visible? To what extent did the two cities co-operate?
EQ10	As far as the conclusions made for the two cities allow it, to what extent have the general, specific and operational objectives of the Community Action for the European Capital of Culture have been proved relevant to Article 167 of the EC Treaty?
EQ11	As far as the conclusions made for the two cities allows it, to what extent has the Action proved to be complementary to other EU initiatives in the field of culture?
Efficiency	
EQ12	How have the organisational models of the formal governing Board and operational structures played a role in the European Capital of Culture? What role have the Board and operational structures played in the ECoC event's implementation? At what stage were these structures established?
EQ13	Who chaired the Board and what was his/her experience? What were the key success and failure elements related to the work of the Board and operational structure used and personnel involved?
EQ14	Has an artistic director been included into the operational structure and how was he/she appointed? What were the key success and failure elements related to the work of the artistic director and personnel involved?
EQ15	What was the process of designing the programme?
EQ16	How were activities selected and implemented?
EQ17	How did the delivery mechanism contribute to the achievement of outputs?
EQ18	To what extent has the communication and promotion strategy been successful in/contributed to the promotion of city image/profile, promotion of the ECoC event, awareness-raising of the European dimension, promotion of all events and attractions in the city?

No.	Evaluation Question
EQ19	To what extent has the communication and promotion strategy successfully reached the communication's target groups at local, regional, national, European and international levels?
EQ20	What was the process of securing the financial inputs?
EQ21	What was the total amount of resources used for each ECoC event? What was the final financial out-turn of the year?
EQ22	What were the sources of financing and the respective importance of their contribution to the total?
EQ22a	How was the Melina Mercouri Prize used? To what extent did it create symbolic value for the ECoC? To what extent did it trigger complementary sponsoring?
EQ23	To what extent were the inputs consistent with the Action and with the application? (special focus on the European dimension)
EQ24	What was the total expenditure strictly for the implementation of the cultural programme of the year (operational expenditure)? What is the proportion of the operational expenditure in the total expenditure for the ECoC event?
EQ25	What proportion of expenditure was used for infrastructure (cultural and tourism infrastructure, including renovation)
EQ26	What were the sources of funding for the ECoC event? How much came from the European Commission structural funds?
EQ27	Was the total size of the budget sufficient for reaching a critical mass in terms of impacts? Could the same results have been achieved with less funding? Could the same results have been achieved if the structure of resources and their respective importance was different?
EQ28	To what extent have the human resources deployed for preparation and implementation of the ECoC event been commensurate with its intended outputs and outcomes?
EQ29	Could the use of other policy instruments or mechanisms have provided greater cost-effectiveness? As a result, could the total budget for the ECoC event be considered appropriate and proportional to what the Action set out to achieve?
EQ30	To what extent have the mechanisms applied by the Commission for selecting the European Capital of Culture and the subsequent implementation and monitoring mechanisms influenced the results of the ECoC event?
Effectiveness	
EQ31	Provide typology of outputs, results and possible impacts of the Action at different levels (European, national, regional etc.)
EQ32	How did the delivery mechanism improve management of culture in the city during the ECoC event? (explore role of Board, Chair, Artistic Director, decision-making, political challenges, etc.)
EQ33	What quantitative indicators (number of visitors, overnight stays, cultural participation of people, etc.) of the social, tourist and broader economic impacts of the event have been gathered by the ECoC?
EQ34	To what extent did the ECoC achieve the outputs hoped for by the city and as set out in the application (refer to list in the intervention logic)?
EQ35	To what extent has the ECoC event been successful in attaining the objectives set (general, specific and operational) and in achieving the intended results as set out in the application or others (refer to list in the intervention logic)?
EQ36	To what extent have the ECoC been successful in achieving the intended impacts as set out in the application or others (refer to list in the intervention logic)?
EQ37	To what extent have specific objectives related to social impacts been met?
EQ38	To what extent were the objectives related to reaching out to all sectors of society, including the excluded, disadvantaged, disabled and minorities, met?

No.	Evaluation Question
EQ39	What were the most significant economic outcomes of the Capital of Culture experience?
EQ40	What have been the impacts of the ECoC event on regional development?
EQ41	Can impacts on tourism be identified? What was the total number of visitors (from abroad and from the country) to the ECoC event: before the title year, during the title year, after the title year?
EQ42	Are there any instances where the ECoC event has exceeded initial expectations? What positive effects has this had?
EQ43	Where expectations have not been met, what factors have hindered the development of the Action?
EQ44	To what extent has the implementation of the Action contributed to the achievement of the objectives of Article 167 of the EC Treaty?
EQ45	As far as the conclusions made for the two cities allow, what is the Community added value of the European Capital of Culture?
EQ46	What lessons can be learnt in terms of how to deliver ECoC effectively which might have wider applicability to future ECoC events?
Sustainability	
EQ47	Which of the current activities or elements of the Action are likely to continue and in which form after the Community support is withdrawn?
EQ48	Has any provision been made to continue and follow up the cultural programme of the ECoC event after the closure?
EQ49	How will the city continue to manage its long-term cultural development following the ECoC event?
EQ50	What will be the role of the operational structure after the end of the ECoC event and how will the organisational structure change?
EQ51	What has been the contribution of the ECoC event to improved management of cultural development in the city? (in the long-term)
EQ52	What are the likely impacts of the ECoC event on the long-term cultural development of the city?
EQ53	What are the likely impacts of the ECoC event on the long-term social development of the city?
EQ54	What are the likely impacts of the ECoC event on the long-term urban and broader economic development of the city?
EQ55	What lessons have been learnt from the 2011 ECoC in terms of achieving sustainable effects that might be of general applicability to future ECoC events?

2.4 Methodology

The evaluation methodology was developed in light of our assertion that the evaluation should primarily consider the ECoC *discretely and in their own particular context* in the first instance, before going on to draw generalised conclusions (illustrated by reference to the cities).

2.4.1 Data sources

Data was gathered at two levels: a small amount of data at EU-level; and more extensive data from the ECoC themselves. The key sources were as follows:

- *Background literature at European level*; this included key EU policy and legislative documents relating to ECoC, which were essential in determining the evaluation questions and the criteria against which to evaluate the ECoC, notably the 1999 and 2006 Decisions; the reports of the selection panels; previous research into ECoC at European level, most notably, the Palmer/Rae Associates¹⁹ study produced in 2004 on behalf of the European Commission, as well as the evaluations of the 2007-2010 ECoC; academic literature relating to ECoC and the role of culture in cities more generally.
- *Background literature at ECoC-level*; this included the original applications, reports of the selection and monitoring panels at EU level, as well as studies and reports commissioned or produced by the ECoC, events programmes, promotional materials and websites; data was also collected for each city, in order to identify the possible impact of each ECoC, for example, in relation to the number of tourist visits or attendance at cultural venues; data collected by a separate evaluation commissioned by Turku 2011 was also made available to this evaluation;²⁰
- *ECoC quantitative data*: in both cases, data relating to number and type of cultural events, income and expenditure, visitor numbers and profile, etc. was recovered from the ECoCs' own reports and co-ordination teams; the Turku 2011 Foundation provided the results of a online survey of projects, which provided evidence to 'populate' our own evaluation model;
- *Interviews of managing teams*; the delivery agencies in both cities were still in operation at the time of the evaluation and we were able to interview the key individuals whilst still in post; in most cases, the individuals involved, once identified and contacted, proved co-operative indeed were keen to share openly their experiences of planning and implementing the cultural programmes.
- *Consultation of key stakeholders and cultural operators*; interviews with key stakeholders were essential in that they offered an alternative and in-depth perspective on the ECoC to that offered by the delivery agencies; they allowed us to explore particular issues in more depth, for example, relating to the effectiveness of the governance structure, or the strength of artistic direction; key interviewees included municipalities, chambers of commerce, tourist offices, national ministries and cultural operators.
- *Survey of projects*; the views of cultural organisations leading projects as part of the Tallinn ECoC were gathered through an online survey, whilst in Turku a number of face-to-face and telephone interviews with projects were used to complement the online survey that had already been undertaken by the Turku 2011 Foundation.

It is important to highlight that available statistical information was collected in relation to the baseline position which is presented in Annex Eight. However, there are significant challenges related to using it within the context of this evaluation. First of all, cities collect different statistical data and therefore, the data available is different for each city. Second, it is not possible to identify to what extent the changes in the data are related to ECoC. Therefore the quantitative data presented in the baseline annex should be treated with caution.

¹⁹ European Cities and Capitals of Culture; Study Prepared for the European Commission; Palmer-Rae Associates; August 2004.

²⁰ Turku commissioned its own extensive evaluation of the ECoC. However, the findings from this evaluation were not available during the implementation of this evaluation. Nevertheless, both evaluations received the same output data and had access to the same information sources (e.g. study on economic impact of ECoC by Turku School of Economics, project survey data, results from national residents' surveys). More information on Turku's own evaluation is available at: www.arvio2011.fi/ and www.utu.fi/sivustot/2011/en/evaluation/.

The full list of data sources is presented as a bibliography as an annex ten to this report. It is important to note that, as part of the reporting stage, Ecorys requested from each ECoC a check on the data being used to address each evaluation topic. A template was sent to each ECoC showing the data sources used (covering reports, data sets, interviewees, etc.) asking for confirmation that the dataset was complete and/or for any gaps to be filled.

2.4.2 Key research tasks

Drawing on these sources of data, the research involved the following key stages:

- Inception and background research, including the refinement of the evaluation framework and methodology, as well as the review of policy documents and academic literature;
- Desk research on both ECoC; the purpose here was to gather basic factual information about the activity undertaken, in order for the research team to become familiar with the cultural programme in each city but also to serve as a source of evidence to inform the later analysis and underpin any conclusions.
- Fieldwork in both cities; this stage of the evaluation took the form of telephone interviews, consultation of local, regional and national stakeholders and two visits to each city. Interview questions focused both on *what* activities took place (this information had been gathered by the desk research) and on the *results and impact* of that activity, in the view of the stakeholders. In short, the interviews aimed to answer key questions related to the relevance, efficiency and effectiveness of each city's programme.
- Analysis and final reporting, including a comparative review and meta-evaluation, which considered the conclusions emerging from both ECoC, compared and contrasted approaches, and verified the quality of our own research; both ECoC were invited to comment on matters of factual accuracy before the report was finalised.

Having followed this methodology, we now present the findings of the research in the form of a discrete report for each ECoC, conclusions and recommendations at EU level and a post-script on fostering the participation of citizens.

Tallinn



3.0 Tallinn

3.1 Background

3.1.1 The city

Tallinn has a long and diverse cultural heritage, having become a city in the 13th century and flourishing during the Middle Ages as a member of the Hanseatic League. It was the centre for Estonia's "national awakening" through the nineteenth century, which was catalysed by a tradition of song festivals and linked to increasing literacy amongst Estonians and which culminated in Estonia's independence in 1918. More recently, the city played a very significant role in the "Singing Revolution" of 1987-1991, i.e. the events that led to the independence of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania from the Soviet Union. In particular, the Estonian Song Festival ("Laulupidu") and its venue, the Tallinn Song Festival Grounds featured prominently in the peaceful protests and mass demonstrations of Estonian national identity that were at the heart of the independence movement.

Despite being one of the biggest ports on the Baltic Sea and a destination for many cruise ships, Tallinn has a seafront that bears the marks of industrial decay and dereliction. During the Soviet period, much of this area was reserved for industrial and military purposes and therefore closed to the public. Whilst the redevelopment and reopening of the seafront area has been a matter for public debate for many years and some improvements have been made, progress has been hindered by the diverse pattern of land ownership, political differences and the economic difficulties experienced since 2008.

Today, Tallinn is Estonia's capital and its largest city with a population of just over 400,000 people, of which one-third is of Russian ethnicity. As well as being the administrative and financial centre of the country, it has a well-developed ICT infrastructure and information technology sector and is widely recognised for ICT applications for the public services. In the 1990s and early 2000s, Tallinn, like the rest of Estonia, experienced rapid development and falling unemployment. However, Tallinn was hard hit by the economic crisis of 2008 as the economy contracted and unemployment trebled. Whilst the local and national economies recovered in 2010, public budgets at all levels remained constrained as the government introduced tough austerity measures to ensure that government debt and public deficits would satisfy the "Maastricht criteria" and allow Estonia to adopt the Euro in 2011.²¹

3.1.2 The cultural sector

As Estonia's capital, Tallinn is at the heart of the country's cultural life. The city hosts a number of large cultural events and is the home to the main national cultural institutions, as well as many small or independent cultural operators. At the start of 2011, the city featured 44 museums including the Art Museum of Estonia, 40 galleries and exhibition halls, 14 theatres, 4 cinemas and 13 concert halls, as well as numerous cultural centres serving young people and the elderly. Amongst the key cultural events are Tallinn's Day, Old Town Days, Jazzkaar International Festival, Black Nights Film Festival (Pimedate Ööde Filmifestival), Tallinn Light Festival (Valgus Festival), the Medieval Market, the "Midsummer Nights' Dream" theatre festival. The composer Arvo Pärt is also a resident of Tallinn.

Attendance at cultural events in Tallinn fluctuated in the years up to 2011. Visits to Tallinn's museums tended to increase between 2006 and 2010, particularly the Tallinn City Museum where attendance doubled, whilst the number of visits to the City Theatre and the Tallinn Philharmonic fell slightly.

²¹ The Maastricht criteria determine whether an EU country is ready to adopt the euro. They include a requirement for a government's budget deficit to be below 3% of gross domestic product (GDP) and for national debt to not exceed 60% of GDP. See: http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/index.php/Glossary:Maastricht_criteria.

Attendance at folk cultural events (choral music, folk dance, amateur theatre, etc.) increased slightly over the same period to 14,883 in 2010.

Previous research in Tallinn has highlighted the importance of a developing a new cultural model for involving more of the city's Russian-speaking community as audiences and participants. According to a survey undertaken in 2007, native Estonian-speakers were more likely to attend cultural events (cinema, museum, sports, theatre, concerts) and to participate (playing an instrument, singing, acting, dancing, writing, photography/films) than were Russian-speaking residents of the city.²² This differential is partly explained by the more limited cultural offering in Russian. For example, of the eleven state or municipal theatres, just one is committed to serving Russian-speaking audiences.

Whilst there have been many significant public investments in the cultural infrastructure of Tallinn in the last decade, the level of investment has fluctuated over time. Key investments by the Ministry of Culture in municipal cultural venues have included the redevelopments of the Song Festival Grounds, Tallinn Zoo and, to a lesser extent, the Kadrioru sports stadium and the City Theatre. Investments in state institutions have been dominated by the new Estonian Maritime Museum and the renovation of the Estonian History Museum. Investments by the Ministry in public legal entities in Tallinn (the National Opera, the National Library and the Estonian Public Broadcasting) have tended to be stable over the last decade. Over the same period, the City Government's expenditure on culture steadily rose to a peak in 2008 before being severely affected by the austerity measures introduced at the end of that year: investments in culture fell from €13.5m in 2008 to €4.3m in 2010, whilst operational expenditure fell from €20.2m to €17.6m.

One of Tallinn's key cultural assets is its medieval old town, which is recognised as a UNESCO World Heritage Site and which has been at the heart of efforts to attract tourists to the city. Indeed, the Tallinn 2030 Strategy includes strategic measures to sustain the city's historic and cultural heritage as a means of promoting cultural tourism to the city. Similarly, the Baltic Cultural Tourism Policy has emphasised the active preservation of cultural resources, heritage, traditions and values as a means of creating tourist value. The City Government's Development Plan of Tallinn 2009-27 has similarly prioritised the development of cultural tourism. The Plan has also stated an intention to attract tourists to other parts of the city through "developing the city as a complete cultural product", including through "opening the old town and city centre to the sea". Foreign tourists visits to/stays in Tallinn gradually increased in the years to 2008 but fell significantly in 2009 before recovering in 2010. In contrast, Tallinn tended to decline as a destination for visitors from other parts of Estonia in the years before 2011.

3.2 Cultural programme

3.2.1 Application

Estonia was given the right to nominate a city as ECoC 2011 by Decision 649/2005/EC, which added the ten States acceding to the EU in 2004 to the chronological list of Member States set out in Decision 1419/1999/EC. In order to select its nomination, the Ministry of Culture decided to operate a national competition with two rounds. Having considered how other countries had selected and hosted ECoC, the Ministry's intention was to encourage genuine commitment from potential hosts, rather than merely imposing the title on a city. Whilst the Ministry was free to determine its own criteria and arrangements for such a competition, it chose to base the selection criteria on those set at EU level in the 1999 Decision.²³ For example, a key criterion was the European dimension of the proposed cultural programme. The first round of applications in 2005 attracted bids from Haapsalu, Pärnu, Rakvere, Tallinn and Tartu. Tallinn and Tartu were subsequently invited to proceed to the second round, in which Tallinn was ultimately

²² Statistical-sociological review 2007: www.tallinn.ee/est/g7172s46357

²³ The 2011 titles were awarded under the procedures specified by Decision 1419/1999/EC, which allowed Member States the freedom to determine for themselves the basis on which they would nominate a city (or cities) for the ECoC title. The competition organised at national level therefore did not involve the EU institutions.

successful. The Ministry submitted Tallinn's application to the European Commission on 15 December 2006. The European selection panel then considered the application on 4 June 2007 before recommending that Tallinn be designated as ECoC.

Tallinn's application was based around the theme of "folklore and fairytales". It stated that the overall mission of its ECoC would be to "create a cultural event that is supported on every level by its urban community, proving in the process that a small society built on a strong cultural foundation can be as much a success as that of larger nations". This cultural event would help the city to "return to the European cultural map", form a new European identity and further integrate the Estonian population into the EU. At the same time, the ECoC was intended to project a new and better image for Tallinn; instead of being viewed as merely as a post-communist city, the intention was for Tallinn to be viewed as a safe, clean and hi-tech *Nordic* city capable of hosting EU institutions and international events. This image was to be based around a hi-tech living and working environment within a city that is both medieval and contemporary. It also incorporated a social dimension, by emphasising the importance of providing educational opportunities and enhancing social coherence.

In pursuit of this overall vision, Tallinn's application stated a number of objectives, as presented in the table below. From these objectives, we see that the "City and Citizens dimension" featured through involving citizens in culture and through developing the city's cultural infrastructure and creative economy. The "European dimension" featured primarily through transnational cultural co-operation and the promotion of tourism.

Table 3.1 Original objectives of Tallinn 2011

Objectives proposed in the original application
Establishing an urban environment that focuses on furthering the development of the citizens' creative activity and initiative , as well as allocating infrastructure and investments to accommodate the increasing cultural needs of its citizenry
Creating guidelines for a creative economy that integrates with Tallinn's business community and becomes a part of the city's overall trademark
Promoting cultural communication between Estonia's arts community and that of other nations in Europe, developing new projects and co-operation in order to make Tallinn an open, multicultural city, while building the finance and development plans for existing and future public events.
Ensuring Tallinn's recognition as an essential and important market and an attractive destination for cultural tourists .

Tallinn's application set out an approach that represented something genuinely new and additional to the city's cultural life. It emphasised equal participation for established institutions and for independent cultural operators, new use of public spaces and industrial buildings as cultural venues, transnational co-operation, openness to project ideas from citizens or individual cultural operators, innovative use of ICT and specific attention provision for people with special needs. Different thematic programmes were proposed, with a number of "Star Events" listed.

Joint activities with Turku were intended to go beyond the co-operation that typically takes place between cities holding the ECoC title in the same year, taking advantage of the relative proximity of the two cities. Tallinn's application proposed a co-operation agreement signed between the mayors of each city, a collaborative plan for marketing and communication, cultural cruises between the two cities and featuring on-board events, common travel packages and joint collaboration with private sponsors and partners.

Cultural activities were also to be complemented by a programme of infrastructure investments worth €325m. These would include improvements to existing facilities, such as the City Concert Hall (Linnahall) and the Sakala Centre (Sakala Keskus)²⁴, as well as the creation of new facilities, for example, through the creation of the Culture Cauldron (Kultuurikatel) in former industrial premises. Small-scale developments were to include the Kilometre of culture (Kultuurikilomeeter) – using a former industrial area as a public space for cultural events and installation, and the Pearl of Light which would provide new outdoor lighting for some of Tallinn's key cultural assets.

The application of Tallinn stated a commitment to developing an evaluation system "so that the city will have a constant overview of this ongoing process (evaluating Tallinn's infrastructure, creative economy, cultural creativity and exchange, tourism and overall image ". It also identified a number of indicators to be used in its monitoring and evaluation of the achievements of the title year. However, in practice it appears that the monitoring and evaluation was much less extensive than originally planned and information was not gathered against these indicators.

3.2.2 The development phase

Whilst the European selection panel recommended that Tallinn be designated as ECoC, it suggested a significant number of improvements to the application in terms of funding commitments, further development of artistic content, through a focus on contemporary formats, further elaboration of the European dimension, greater inclusion of different stakeholder groups in developing the cultural programme and strengthening impacts on longer-term urban development. In particular, the panel recommended changes to the guiding theme of the artistic programme, as a focus on "folklore and fairytales" risked not offering a sufficiently strong European dimension and being mainly of national and local relevance.²⁵ Reflecting this, the overall theme was later changed to "Stories of the seashore", with the sub-themes being "Stories of singing together", "Stories of living in the old town" and "Stories of dreams and surprises". More specifically, the eventual cultural programme emphasised the potential of culture to open up the seafront area, much of which had been used for industrial purposes and thus closed to the public during the Soviet era: "the dictatorial reign of the no man's land at the heart of the city...is over....the city's waterfront is once again home to an enviable cultural scene."²⁶ This approach marked a very significant change to that proposed in the application. Although, there was no explicit restatement of the objectives of the ECoC stated in the application, this new approach was not inconsistent with those objectives.

In order to build a cultural programme, an open call for projects was organised in 2008, which attracted more than 1,000 applications that were then assessed by an independent panel of cultural experts. Whilst some stakeholders were reported to have been initially sceptical, there was a consensus amongst those interviewed that the call had been a positive development. In particular, the call generated a richness of project ideas that might not otherwise have emerged; as one interviewer put it "there were some surprises from random submissions". The call also ensured that there was wide support from Tallinn's cultural sector, given the transparency of the process (stakeholders were unanimous in reporting that the selection of projects had been free of political interference) and the fact that a wide variety of operators were able to become involved, including some that would not usually receive public funding for their cultural projects. Projects selected via the call were complemented by projects developed by the Tallinn 2011 Foundation itself.

²⁴ The Sakala Centre was in fact demolished prior to the title-year, although a new facility (including a cinema and concert hall) was built on the site.

²⁵ Report of the Selection Meeting for the European Capitals of Culture 2011; Issued by The Selection Panel for the European Capital of Culture (ECoC) 2011; June 2007

²⁶ European Capital of Culture Tallinn – Stories of the Seashore; Programme.

The first report of the monitoring and advisory panel²⁷ noted that Tallinn had made progress in its preparations for the title year. It also noted key areas for improvement related to the stability of budgets, ensuring the cultural programme was of high artistic quality, inclusion of wide groups of society in the development and implementation of the programme, infrastructure developments and the European dimension of the programme.

The second report of the monitoring and advisory panel²⁸ praised Tallinn for the progress made and especially for the continuity of the team, development of the volunteer programme and urban projects. However, it also raised concern regarding a significant reduction in the size of the programme compared to the original application and a lack of evidence of financial commitments (as discussed in section 3.2.4 below). The report of the panel also expressed concern at the imminent departure of one of the members of the managing board of the Foundation; this departure was to have a significant impact on the governance of the ECoC (as discussed in section 3.4.1 below).

In order to help prepare Tallinn's residents for the title-year, the Foundation organised an open competition entitled "52 Surprises and Ideas", which was open to all citizens. The 52 winners were each given scholarships worth 10 000 EEK and given practical support from the Foundation to implement public cultural events lasting one week and taking place in any district of Tallinn. Venues included public spaces, homes, institutions, cultural, sports and entertainment centres.

The development phase also featured the signing of a formal co-operation agreement with Turku, which focussed mainly on the development of common programmes and projects, marketing and tourism. Tallinn also developed links with other ECoC during this phase, notably Linz (2009) which provided a traineeship for a member of the Tallinn 2011 staff.

3.2.3 Activities during the title year

The eventual programme featured 251 projects featuring around 7,000 events and structured around the four seasons, albeit with a peak of activity during the spring and summer. The opening ceremony took place on the night of 31 December/1 January at various locations across the city, notably the National Opera Estonia building and Theatre Square, whilst the closing ceremony took place on 22 December 2011. Whilst budgetary constraints reduced the scale of the infrastructure developments, one former industrial site was cleaned up and served as the Culture Cauldron (Kultuurikatel), attracting 40,000 visitors during the year. Fewer international productions were brought to Tallinn than planned; instead, the Foundation tended to invite individual producers from abroad to visit the city and create productions locally or provide workshops. The title year also included a "Young Audience Programme": for schoolchildren to attend and participate in cultural events, the "Trumm It" social programme for engaging disadvantaged youth in cultural activities, a programme of events in counties outside Tallinn, co-operations with Turku and cultural co-operation with foreign representations in Tallinn. These cultural activities were complemented by a hospitality programme for different service providers in the city and a volunteer programme that linked individuals to specific volunteer positions with cultural operators.

3.2.4 Financing

At the time of the application, Estonia had enjoyed several years of strong economic growth and the expectation was that such growth would continue. On this basis, a budget of nearly €37m was proposed (to be mostly provided by the national government and Tallinn municipality), of which more than €17m was to be expended during the title year. The Ministry of Culture and the City Government were expected to provide between them the bulk of the funding, with the balance mostly to come from commercial revenue, sponsorship and EU funding. However, the years 2009 and 2010 featured a very significant reduction in public expenditure at all levels in Estonia, as the country both dealt with the effects of the

²⁷ Based on the meeting held on 5 November 2008.

²⁸ Based on the meeting held on 28 April 2010.

global financial crisis and finalised its preparations for adopting the Euro in 2011 – most notably ensuring that government debt and public deficits satisfied the “Maastricht criteria”. By the time of the second monitoring meeting, the budget for the ECoC was very much reduced, with the Tallinn delegation citing the financial crisis as the reason for this reduction.

Evidence from the research suggests, however, that the picture was more complex. At the time of the application, the Minister for Culture at that time was a member of the Centre Party, which at that time was in a ruling coalition at national level and also controlled Tallinn City Council. Following the general election of 2007, the Centre Party was no longer part of the government and it appears that the government’s political comment to provide the stated levels of funding did not persist beyond that time. Views expressed by interviewees conflicted on this matter; on the one hand, the Ministry (later) viewed the application (and its financial commitments therein) as belonging to the City; on the other hand, the City took the fact that Ministry had nominated Tallinn’s application to the EU institutions as an endorsement of such commitments. In practical terms, it is true that the national funding of the ECoC was not formally approved until the Parliament voted (in 2010) on the overall government budget for 2011 – and this budget remained below the level of expenditure in 2008. At the same time, since the national budget returned to surplus in 2010, the question remains whether the government could have, in fact, provided the funding anticipated in the application.

In its second report, the monitoring and advisory panel expressed concern that the eventual budget was to be far less than planned at selection stage. The panel also took the decision not to recommend the award of the Melina Mercouri Prize until a more detailed budget and written guarantees from the State and city had been received by the Commission. Following a visit to Tallinn by the Chairman of the panel at that time, Sir Bob Scott, in June 2011, such guarantees were ultimately provided by the Ministry and the City on 19 August 2010. The Ministry of Culture and Tallinn City Government confirmed that they had each spent 60m Estonian Kroons (EEK) (€3.8m)²⁹ during the years 2008-10 in support of the activities of the Tallinn 2011 Foundation and the preparation for events in the title year.³⁰ In addition, the Ministry of Culture highlighted its investment of 195m EEK (€12.5m) in the cultural infrastructure of Tallinn over the same period. Both bodies also confirmed that they would provide 50m EEK (€3.2m) to support the execution of the cultural programme in 2011. On the basis of these guarantees, the Commission later awarded the Prize.

The eventual budget for the 2007-12 period was in fact €16m, making Tallinn one of the least-resourced ECoC to date. As a result, the programme was much less ambitious than had originally been planned. Several of the proposed infrastructure developments did not take place and the cultural programme was reduced in scale. The eventual contribution of the Ministry of Culture was in fact slightly less than had been suggested to the European monitoring and advisory panel at the second monitoring stage and confirmed in subsequent written guarantees from the city and the State. This final reduction meant that on the eve of the title year a few projects were cancelled and some received smaller budgets than anticipated. Interviews with stakeholders and staff from the Foundation have suggested that a very pragmatic approach was taken to cope with the effects of the reduced budget. There was an emphasis on funding local artists and productions, rather than bringing in more expensive productions from abroad. The international marketing and communications campaigns were also much more reliant on partnership with bodies such as Enterprise Estonia, the Estonian Tourism Board and Tallinn City Tourism Board.

²⁹ Based on the exchange rate prevailing on 19.8.2010 of €1 = 15.6466 EEK; source: www.oanda.com/currency/converter/

³⁰ The figure of 60m EEK expended by the Ministry of Culture in the years 2008-11 may include some funding for the state institutions, as well as its direct funding of the Tallinn 2011 Foundation.

The tables below present the eventual income and expenditure of Tallinn 2011 over the period 2007-11. More than half of the funding (52%) for the ECoC eventually came from City Government, with the Ministry providing just less than one-third (31%). Commercial revenue and sponsorship was very much less than anticipated, reflecting both the recession of 2008-09 and the over-ambitious nature of the original expectation given the limited tradition of corporate sponsorship of arts and culture in Estonia. EU funding from the Melina Mercouri Prize was used to supplement the overall budget and supported a variety of aspects of the budget, for example the culture programme, communication and marketing activities and operational expenditure. . As a result, the benefits of the Prize were not particularly made visible to cultural actors and audiences in Tallinn.

Table 3.2 Eventual expenditure of Tallinn 2011

Item	Budget at application stage (€)	Expenditure 2011 €	Expenditure 2007-11 €	%
Cultural Programme	24.580m	5.191m	6.975m	51%
Marketing	6.145m	1.686m	3.562m	26%
Personnel	3.154m	0.541m	2.245m	16%
Operating expenditure ³¹	2.656m	0.123m	0.836m	6%
Other ³²	0.428m	0.102m	0.142m	1%
Total	36.963m	7.643m	13.731m	100%

Table 3.3 Eventual income of Tallinn 2011

Item	Budget at application stage (€)	Income 2011 €	Income 2007-11 €	%
Ministry of Culture	12.210m	2.922m	4.488m	31%
Tallinn City Government	16.605m	3.451m	7.572m	52%
Other (including corporate sponsorship) ³³	8.148m	0.270m	0.530m	4%
EU (Melina Mercouri Prize)	-	0.918m	1.500m	11%
Other sales	-	0.215m	0.356m	2%
Total	36.963m	7.777m	14.446m	100%

³¹ Defined at application stage as "Overheads".

³² Defined at application stage as "Documentation and evaluation" and "Unforeseen expenses".

³³ Defined at application stage as "Sponsors, commercial income, other".

3.3 Relevance to EU objectives

This section outlines the extent to which objectives and activities identified for Tallinn 2011 are relevant to the three objectives for the ECoC set at EU-level.

3.3.1 Developing cultural activities

As the capital city, Tallinn is the cultural centre of Estonia and was already host to a number of state institutions and other establishments serving the classical or traditional arts and that were largely dependent on the Ministry of Culture or the City Government for their funding. Whilst the independent and contemporary arts sectors had developed in the years prior to the ECoC application, there was recognition of the need to develop the creative potential of the city and its citizens. For example, it was recognised that Tallinn had not had, until then, any overarching approach to art or cultural events in public spaces, except for the Song Festival.

Whilst the wording of the application stated an intention to develop the citizens' creative activity and initiative, this was within an overall theme of folklore and fairytales, which arguably looked to the past rather than the future. In contrast, the revised approach placed greater emphasis on developing and showcasing the modern and contemporary cultural offering of Tallinn through supporting new artists, organisations, communities and art forms: as expressed by one interviewee "to enlarge the city's understanding and expression of culture". This was intended to bring about a change in the city's cultural life in the long-run, as well as serving a wider vision for developing the city. Whilst the eventual cultural programme was much reduced in scale and did include several existing events, it nonetheless retained this relevance to the EU's objective of developing cultural activities by supporting innovative approaches, new compositions and many genuinely new or bigger events.

3.3.2 Promoting the European dimension of and through culture

As described above, the European dimension of Tallinn's ECoC application related primarily to putting the city back on the European cultural map, in the context of Estonia's (at that time) recent accession to the EU. Indeed, the intention was to project a very specific image of the city to the rest of the EU. In contrast, the revised approach, with its emphasis on opening up the city to sea, offered a theme that was more focussed and coherent but primarily of local rather than international relevance. For example, the opening statements of the programme guide, whilst emphasising Tallinn's openness to Europe, highlighted the importance of "telling stories that have been overlooked", "getting to know the city better" and "shedding light on the no-man's-land at the seafront". Where themes relevant to the European dimension were explored, these tended to be through individual projects (for example, the Model European Parliament) or the various international festivals (such as the Ariel Festival of Jewish Culture), rather than through the programme as a whole. Perhaps reflecting this (as well as the tight budgetary situation), the cultural programme mostly represented an expression of the cultural offering of the city rather than a showcase for performers of international renown.

The European dimension of Tallinn's ECoC was thus in practice more about the *modus operandi* of the cultural programme than about the communication of a specific message about the city to the rest of Europe or a major attempt to attract international visitors (which was not possible due to budgetary constraints). The relevance of the ECoC to the European dimension thus lay in the efforts to internationalise the cultural sector of Tallinn through creating links with artists in other countries, exposing local artists to outside influences and offering international experience. This internationalisation was ensured through the criteria that were applied to the selection of projects, which required all projects to encompass a European dimension in some form.

3.3.3 Supporting social and economic development

Whilst the original application emphasised broad economic and social developmental objectives, the revised approach offered an approach that was both more focussed and better-aligned with the wider development priorities of the City. Indeed, by aiming to bring cultural vibrancy to the seafront area, the ECoC offered the “soft” development in the form of a different narrative that would complement and add impetus to the planned infrastructure developments.

The ECoC also offered relevance to the EU's objective of supporting social and economic development through its emphasis on developing the cultural sector of the city, as well as on promoting participation in culture. Indeed, the cultural programme was permeated by an ethos and specific efforts both to develop the capacity of local cultural operators and to attract a wider set of citizens as audiences, including the Russian-speaking minority, disadvantaged youth, etc. It must be said, however, that the original objective relating to "the development of the citizens' creative activity and initiative" became in practice a secondary rather than a core objective mostly addressed by ad hoc projects, often at the margins of the overall cultural programme rather than comprehensive and wide-ranging sub-programmes.

3.4 Efficiency

3.4.1 Governance and management

Tallinn's application indicated that a new foundation "Tallinn – European Capital of Culture 2011" would be established to implement the ECoC. This would be a new non-profit organisation supported by the City and overseen by a Management and Supervisory Board featuring representatives of the city, cultural, sporting institutions, and cultural professionals. The Foundation was in due course established and has been the key institution responsible for the cultural programme. As envisaged, it was owned by the City but operated with a degree of independence. Its eleven board members were all appointed by the City and included representatives from the different departments of the City, the Ministry of Culture, Enterprise Estonia, cultural institutions, and the Association of Estonian Cities. In 2008, the Board appointed Mikko Fritze to lead the ECoC as Head of Management and Head of Programmes. At the time, Fritze was seen as being uniquely well-qualified to perform this role, being not only a cultural professional of German nationality and of international renown but also a fluent speaker of Estonian and long-term resident of Tallinn, having headed the Goethe Institute in the city between 1998 and 2004.

A Creative Council of seven cultural professionals was responsible for artistic content, i.e. giving professional approval to the cultural programme. In particular, the Creative Council oversaw the selection of projects, including those submitted via the open call. The stakeholders interviewed were unanimous in affirming that the Creative Council had enjoyed genuine artistic independence and that political considerations played no more than a marginal role in the selection of projects. This opinion was confirmed by the projects responding to the on-line survey, 72% of whom considered that the Foundation enjoyed a reasonable (32%) or high (40%) level of artistic independence.

The establishment of the governance arrangements for Tallinn 2011 was not without its difficulties, particularly in the period following the 2007 general election when the Centre Party (which was in power in the City) ceased to be in the ruling coalition at national level. Interviewees were unanimous in reporting that the achievement of political consensus between City and State had been impossible in the early stages. This difficulty did not originate with the ECoC; as one interviewee put it: “the ECoC did not start the war (between City and State), it was just another battlefield”. But it was to have a profound impact. Staff of the Foundation and other stakeholders complained of political “point-scoring”, quarrelling and, above all, the difficulty in securing financial commitments from City and State in the context of a recession and very severe austerity measures. In December 2009 the City nominated an existing Board member, Jaanus Mutli to take responsibility for the financing and communication of the ECoC. Ostensibly, this

appointment was to provide practical support to Fritze in the management and administration of the ECoC, given Mutli's background as a lawyer and, until December 2009, as Deputy Mayor of Tallinn.

The difficulties experienced in the governance of the Tallinn ECoC came to a head in the spring of 2010, when Mikko Fritze resigned, citing a need for new management. Reports in the press around the time of his resignation suggested that the approach of parliamentary elections in Estonia had politicised the governance and financing of the ECoC. Indeed, Fritze was quoted as saying that the State and the City (at the time being controlled by different political parties) had not been able to agree. Fritze was replaced by Jaanus Mutli as the overall head of the Foundation.

What effect did the resignation of Mikko Fritze have on the eventual success and impact of the ECoC?

In the short term, the initial impact was undoubtedly damaging. As both the figurehead of the Foundation and the creator of the proposed cultural programme, Fritze had established the overall artistic vision, built a delivery team, provided public profile and brought international connections. His departure thus weakened the creative impetus of the ECoC, damaged staff morale and generated negative publicity at a critical time in the development phase. However, the appointment of Jaanus Mutli as the new figurehead provided some stability as Mutli was able to bring his long experience of operating in the charged atmosphere of Estonian politics to bear on the situation. At the same time, the appointment of Mutli - a party political figure - tended to increase the influence of the City over the ECoC, relative to the influence of the other partners. From this point on though, it does appear that the political difficulties were much more manageable, if not entirely resolved. For example, it is notable that the Mayor of Tallinn did not attend the opening ceremony, though he did attend the closing ceremony.

In the long-term, the Foundation was able to recover from the departure of Mikko Fritze and implement the cultural programme, largely as planned by Fritze before his departure. Stakeholders interviewed were in broad agreement that the team created by Fritze was sufficiently motivated and talented to implement a high-quality cultural programme, not least the Programme Department led by Jaanus Rohumaa. There was recognition from all stakeholders that Fritze had completed a very significant part of his role by developing the cultural programme and forming the delivery team, most of whom remained in post following his resignation. Indeed, by Fritze's own admission, the main need from mid-2010 onwards was for "producers and curators" (as well as managers and administrators) rather than for "creators".

Whilst the governance and management operated relatively smoothly during the title-year, further difficulties were to resurface shortly after the end of the title-year, when in January 2012 the Estonian security police conducted a search of the Foundation's headquarters as part of a wider criminal investigation.³⁴ Media reports suggested that the Prosecutor's Office suspected two Members of Parliament of exerting undue influence on the Foundation in respect of the procurement of services.³⁵ Whilst the Prosecutor's Office later discontinued all proceedings without bringing formal charges against any employees or board members of the Foundation, the investigation clearly attracted negative publicity and caused some disruption to the Foundation's closure operations and legacy activities.

³⁴ <http://news.err.ee/society/cac05f0f-00a1-4271-91f6-12b9ed47c38f>

³⁵ <http://news.err.ee/politics/f8277820-f4aa-44da-96fe-be2f6b8e2d14>

3.4.2 Marketing and communication

As we have noted, Tallinn's application set out the intention to project a new and better image for the city, both to its residents and internationally. This intention remained largely unchanged though it was pursued through a different overall narrative for the city – “Stories of the seashore”, rather than folklore and fairytales. This emphasis on the sea formed the basis for the branding of the ECoC and permeated the marketing and communication materials. Stakeholders were unanimous in reporting that this had offered a stronger and more original theme with consistent branding, though a minority did suggest that it had been hard to communicate. Staff from the Foundation also emphasised their use imaginative and playful ideas to interpret this theme in different ways in different settings. For example, the Foundation recognised the need to communicate effectively with both the Estonian-speaking and the Russian-speaking communities of Tallinn. Here, the intention of the agency was to go beyond merely translating materials from one language to another and instead to communicate the same story in a way that was appropriate to both communities. For example, the Foundation provided funding of €600 per week throughout 2010 to enable a story to be told about the city each week from a different perspective, including Russian, Ukrainian, etc. Internationally, the theme perhaps had less relevance (as we have discussed) and tended not to be used by all the Foundation's partners in their international marketing (as we discuss below).

In marketing and communicating the ECoC, the Foundation faced the challenges arising from a budget that was very much less than originally envisaged, as well as from the local cultural sector's relative lack of experience, contacts and capacity (and perhaps even an unwillingness) to promote itself. In response to these challenges, the Foundation adopted a very pragmatic approach. First, it made great efforts to build the capacity of the local cultural sector to market itself more effectively in the title year and in the long-term; such efforts included the provision of advice, training, tools and practical support for projects to undertake their own marketing. Second, it placed great emphasis on fostering links with local, national and international media, as means of gaining exposure for limited financial cost. Certainly, at the local and national level, the Foundation was successful in attracting the interest of Postimees, one of Estonia's leading daily newspapers. Postimees took its own strategic decision at a very early stage to give extensive coverage of the ECoC, in particular highlighting the successes of the cultural programme but also reporting on the difficulties arising in the governance and management of the Foundation. It also offered advertising space to the Foundation at discounted rates. Internationally, the Foundation managed to attract the attention of the Russian media in particular; for example, Russian Central TV broadcast an eight-minute news item dedicated to the opening event in its Saturday evening schedule.

The application identified three international audiences to be targeted: neighbouring tourism markets (Latvia, Lithuania, Russia, Finland, Sweden and other northern countries) other European countries (particularly those with direct flight connections) and distant tourism markets (Japan, USA). These audiences were to be reached by large-scale campaigns beginning from the second half of 2010. In addition, Tallinn's application proposed joint activities with Turku, such as common travel packages, a common website and joint collaboration with private sponsors and partners. However, given its budgetary situation, the Foundation was unable by itself to finance an extensive international marketing campaign. Again, a pragmatic approach was taken which focussed on collaborating with other, better-resourced bodies with responsibility for marketing Tallinn internationally, notably the Tallinn City Tourist Office, the Estonian Tourist Board and Enterprise Estonia (the public body responsible for marketing Estonia to international investors). For example, staff from the Foundation accompanied staff from these other bodies at numerous international tourist fairs and events and also supplied publicity materials. Most attention was given to campaigns in the Nordic countries and Russia, as well as Germany.

Co-operation with the tourist bodies was not without its difficulties, largely due to conflicting views of how best to promote Tallinn. Staff from the Foundation reported some frustration that the tourist bodies did not make the ECoC central to their marketing campaigns and tended not to use the overall theme and branded materials of the ECoC. For its part, the Tallinn Tourist Office reported that the overall focus of its international campaigns was, and would remain, the Old Town, which it saw as the “unique selling point”

of Tallinn; it placed (and continues to place) less emphasis on Tallinn as a (modern and contemporary) cultural destination. Enterprise Estonia placed more emphasis on the ECoC, putting it at the heart of its international campaigns as part of its overall focus on promoting cultural tourism in 2011.

Overall, there was a 17% increase in foreign tourists to Tallinn in 2011 compared to 2010,³⁶ which compares favourably to the global increase of 4.6% and the European average of 6%.³⁷ There was also a 22% increase in the number of nights spent by foreign tourists in Tallinn³⁸ compared to only 8% in the rest of Estonia (excluding Tallinn).³⁹ Enterprise Estonia reports that the driving force behind this increase was the creation of new transport connections with target markets (e.g. the seven new routes created by Ryanair in September 2010), although it also highlights the contribution of the ECoC. This contribution appears to have come more from the marketing of the ECoC in general, rather than from the specific content of the cultural programme. For example, it was reported that the cultural programme was insufficiently developed in time for detailed events to be promoted at some of the key fairs of 2010, whilst and also that some tour operators regretted the lack of big events that could be more easily marketed to foreign tourists.

3.5 Effectiveness

3.5.1 Developing cultural activities

As we have noted, Tallinn's application proposed a cultural programme that would be genuinely new and additional to the existing cultural offering of the city, with an emphasis on widening participation, involving established institutions and independent operators, and using public spaces and industrial premises as venues. Whilst the eventual cultural programme was much smaller than originally proposed (due to the reduced budget), it can be said that the ECoC was effective against this objective.

In terms of scale, the ECoC executed a programme comprising 251 projects and featuring more than 7,000 different individual events. Some of these were events that had taken place in previous years, but which then operated under the "banner" of the ECoC – often at greater scale. For example, the Kumu Art Museum (KUnstiMUuseum), one of the branches of the Art Museum of Estonia, hosted the 15th Tallinn Print Triennial in 2011, but with a more international focus and at twice the size of previous years' editions. However, most events represented genuinely new and additional activity to Tallinn's offering of previous years; of the projects responding to the survey, some 89% confirmed that some or all of their cultural activities were new in 2011. In total, the ECoC events attracted approximately two million people, around twice the figure anticipated by the Foundation. The projects were generally satisfied with this outcome: 73% felt that the ECoC had been successful or very successful in attracting visitors and audiences from Tallinn or elsewhere in Estonia. As a result, most of the existing institutions experienced an increase in attendance during 2011. For example, visitors to the Kumu increased by 25% compared with 2010.

³⁶ Tourism in Tallinn 2011; Tallinn City Tourist Office & Convention Bureau 22.02.2012.

³⁷ Tourism Highlights 2012 Edition, World Tourism Organisation UNWTO.

³⁸ Tourism in Tallinn 2011

³⁹ Figure derived from Tourism in Tallinn 2011 and Tourism in Estonia in 2011, Enterprise Estonia.

Looking at the nature of the events and activities, it is also true to say that cultural programme represented an innovation in the cultural life of the city. Indeed, this was confirmed by the interviews of the independent national cultural experts. In terms of the artistic themes explored, the venues used and the method of delivery, Tallinn 2011 pushed the boundaries of what had been done before in the city. The established institutions in the city experimented with new approaches, for example:

- “Today@the opera”: the Estonian National Opera was supported to host an opera that involved 300 young people as creators, producers and performers; after a period of training undertaken within schools and facilitated by volunteers from Tallinn’s art schools, the young people were accommodated at the opera house for a week of rehearsals which culminated in performances that were sold-out;
- “Gateways”: this exhibition of electronic art was hosted at the Kumu with the support of Tallinn 2011; the nature and size of the exhibition represented a more radical approach for the Kumu, the intention being to reach new and wider audiences and gain greater international profile.

One particularly important innovation of the cultural programme was the new use of public spaces in the city as venues for cultural events or sites for cultural works. As noted above, Tallinn did not have a strong tradition of using public spaces in this way. A number of practical difficulties were faced, particularly in gaining approval from the City Government departments responsible for town planning as well as from landowners. These difficulties notwithstanding, the ECoC was successful in initiating innovative projects such as:

- “Straw Theatre”, a temporary performance venue, installation and public space created in a largely-unused site just outside the walls of the Old Town and which had previously housed a Soviet Military Theatre; operated by Theatre NO99, one of Estonia’s leading contemporary theatre companies, presented a performances of 22 different theatrical works over the spring and summer months, including many from international performers; at other times, the site served as a public space that was particularly frequented by young people and parents with small children, as well as venue for other events such as a handicraft fair and a bicycle festival;
- “Parsifal”, the opera by Wagner, which was produced by the Estonian National Opera and attracted leading performers from Austria, Germany and the UK; the innovation in this event was its location at the Noblessner Foundry in the Kalamaja seafront area of the city; the Foundry building had lain derelict and contaminated for many years before being (partially) cleaned in preparation for the performances; as well as being innovative, indeed radical (given the continued risks posed by the venue), the performance also gained extensive international profile and recognition;
- “Rooftop Cinema”, an open-air cinema on the roof of the Viru Keskus shopping centre operating during the spring and summer months; repeating an event that had taken place in 2010, the cinema showed films seven days a week for audiences of up to 300 people, with a particular focus on rare or “forbidden” films that had not been extensively shown in Estonia; and
- “Lift11”, implemented by a small firm of young architects, operated an open call for proposals regarding temporary architectural installations to be placed in different locations around the city; the eventual selection of eleven installations offered a radical new approach to architecture within the city and stimulated a debate on the creative process and the use of public space; highlights included: “Path In the Forest”, a 95-metre raised, and mostly self-supporting, pathway through the trees in Kadriorg Park, created in a Japanese style; “Kalarand (Fishermen’s Beach), which provided changing cubicles, benches and terraces on a previously-unused beach area and thus attracted bathers to the area for the first time in decades.

3.5.2 Promoting the European dimension

As we have noted above, the European dimension of Tallinn's ECoC was in practice more about the modus operandi of the cultural programme than about the communication of a specific message about the city to the rest of Europe or a major attempt to attract international visitors. Indeed, the main message of opening up the city to the sea was of local rather than European significance. Reflecting this, the cultural programme was very much an expression of Tallinn's cultural offering and of Estonian culture more generally – modern and contemporary as well as traditional. As part of that, there was a cluster of projects related to Russian culture in various forms; for example, the Dovlatov Days project, the Slavic Wreath Song and Dance Festival and the City of Dreams project which featured performances, installations and exhibitions in Kadriorg Park (first built by Tsar Peter I in 1714). Beyond that, the cultural programme as a whole did not particularly emphasise specific themes of European significance, although many individual projects did: for example, the Ariel Festival of Jewish Culture, and a study into and exhibition of paintings by Bosch and Bruegel.

Instead, the European dimension of the ECoC largely consisted of the efforts to internationalise the cultural sector of Tallinn through transnational co-operation within projects that helped create links with artists in other countries, expose local artists to outside influences and offer international experience. Indeed, 70% of respondents to the survey reported that their projects had involved cultural organisations in other countries. These organisations came from at least 35 different countries, particularly Finland, the UK, Germany, Russia, Latvia, Lithuania, the USA, Sweden, Poland and France. More than half of projects (58%) had involved performers from other countries, whilst around one-third (32%) had exhibited works from other countries. International co-operation appears to have been a two-way process for some projects, with 18% featuring international exchanges, 12% enabling performers from Tallinn to perform in other countries and 10% enabling works from Tallinn or Estonia to be exhibited or performed abroad.

This co-operation tended not to involve bringing as many international productions and performers of international renown to Tallinn as had some other ECoC in recent years, in part due to the limited budget of the Foundation. (There were, though, performances from the Orchestre de Paris, the Monte Carlo Ballet, the Vienna Boys Choir and the Russian State Philharmonic Orchestra.) Instead, co-operation tended to involve allowing cultural operators in Tallinn opportunities to collaborate with cultural bodies in other countries in new, albeit less high-profile, ways. This related to a variety of different actors in different ways:

- The state institutions, which mostly already operated at international level, were able to draw on a wider range of international artists and performers. For example, Tallinn Print Triennale (hosted by the Kumu) was able to exhibit works from an extensive range of international artists, rather than mostly relying on the work of artists in the Baltic states. The National Opera's production of Parsifal was able to attract an international director and production team that came from Austria, Germany, the UK and elsewhere.
- Established contemporary bodies were able to expose local audiences to a wider range of international performers/productions than usual. Most notably the Theatre NO99 company was able to bring many foreign productions to the new, temporary Straw Theatre.
- Several cultural small or independent operators were able to establish international links for the first time or at a greater scale than had previously been possible. For example, KAOS, the small architectural practice that implemented the Lift11 project was able to establish links with architects from other countries (including Japan) and thus gain an international profile.
- Young people were a particular focus of the 18% of projects that supported transnational exchanges. For example, the What Makes Us Move project created a co-operation partnership for circus troupes from Germany, England, Finland, Belgium and Holland, with support from the EU's Culture Programme; the project organised training workshops in each of the partner countries and culminated

in the Circus Tree Festival in Tallinn in August 2011, featuring 130 young performers aged 13-18 years (of which 50 from Estonia).

- Specific cultural events were also undertaken in co-operation with Turku and other ECoC; although such co-operation was less than originally anticipated, it nonetheless added an additional European dimension to Tallinn's cultural programme; for example, amateur kayakers were invited to make the 300-km trip across the Baltic Sea to Turku, with events organised at the start and finish.

As noted above, the eventual approach taken by Tallinn 2011 did not place a heavy emphasis on promoting the city internationally as a cultural destination and the budget for international marketing was relatively limited. There is some evidence of an increase in tourist visits during 2011 (see section 3.4.2 above), though it is impossible to tell the extent to which this is attributable to the ECoC since the global crisis had caused a fall in the previous two years. Staff and stakeholders directly involved in communicating the ECoC were confident that the ECoC had made a contribution and reported that Tallinn had received much greater coverage in international publications than had been the case in previous years; this view is reinforced by evidence from a survey of tourists towards the end of 2011 which suggests that the ECoC influenced around 26% of individuals in their decision to visit to Tallinn. Evidence from the survey of projects suggests that the ECoC did make a modest contribution: only about half of all respondents were able to express a view, the majority felt that the ECoC had been successful in attracting visitors from other countries.

3.5.3 Supporting social development through culture

As noted above, the objectives of Tallinn 2011 were related to widening participation in culture rather than social development as such. Evidence from the research suggests that the overall ethos of the ECoC as well as its selection processes enabled the cultural programme to make a positive contribution to that objective through involving a wider set of citizens as audiences, creators, performers, and volunteers. Indeed, the overwhelming majority of projects responding to the survey attempted to reach new audiences (96%). This focus was mostly on people in general (79%), although a minority focussed specifically on young people (38%), minorities (19%) or poor or disadvantaged people (14%) as new audiences. Approaches taken by individual projects were complemented by the activities of the Foundation which gave consideration to issues such as the access of wheelchair users to venues, communication to people with visual impairments and targeted communication to minorities, notably the Russian-speaking population.

Within the cultural programme, a number of projects were particularly focussed on this objective of reaching new audiences and/or widening participation. For example, the "Trumm IT" project worked with children from disadvantaged communities in the city.

The Foundation also operated a sizeable volunteer programme. Drawing on the experience of Liverpool 2008, the Foundation recruited a dedicated co-ordinator, developed a strategy and then began to publicise the programme from 2009 onwards. Potential volunteers were able to apply via an open application on the Foundation's website, the intention being to make the programme available to anyone. A key element was the matching service by which the cultural bodies worked with the Foundation to create a specific "job description", to which individuals were then matched. Prior to their participation, all volunteers received training relating to the ECoC, teamwork, customer service, etc. as well as training specific to their particular position. Some volunteers assisted the co-ordination of the volunteer programme itself or the work of the Foundation. In total, some 1,610 individuals registered as volunteers, of which around 600-700 were actively and regularly involved. Most volunteers were young and female, though there was a wide age range.

3.5.4 Supporting economic and urban development through culture

Tallinn's application contained ambitious objectives related to supporting the development of its creative economy, enhancing the city's cultural infrastructure and making the city a more attractive destination for tourists. As noted above, whilst these objectives were retained, they were reinterpreted as being about opening up the city to the sea. Within this context, it can be said that the ECoC made an important contribution to the economic and urban development of Tallinn, though it did not fulfil the original vision in its entirety.

Regarding the development of Tallinn's creative economy, the evidence from the research demonstrates that cultural operators in the city have learned significantly from the ECoC process and are better placed to operate more internationally and at greater scale as a result of the ECoC. Of the operators responding to the survey, 47% stated that their ECoC project had strengthened the capacity of their organisation to undertake future cultural events "to a great extent" and a further 29% "to a modest extent". This was reinforced by the interviews, in which stakeholders reported that cultural operators had gained from experience, better international connections and better networking and co-operation in the city including across different sectors (i.e. state institutions and independent operators) and artistic disciplines. For example, 87% of operators reported that their ECoC project enabled them to establish new co-operation with organisations or artists in Estonia. The enhancement of this capacity is all the more significant given that Estonia (a former Soviet republic) does not have a long tradition of a diverse, independent and multi-disciplinary cultural sector or many long-established private and commercial operators in the cultural and creative industries.

The proposed infrastructure developments that were intended to complement the cultural programme were, in the end, much less extensive than had been suggested in the application. Where stakeholders expressed an opinion, they confirmed that this dimension of the application had been over-ambitious, even before the economic crisis of 2008. Several infrastructure developments did not take place and the vision of redeveloping the seafront was not fully achieved due to the long timescales involved, practical difficulties such as the diversity of land-owners, insufficient political will and cost. Reflecting this situation, only 36% of operators responding to the survey believed that the cultural infrastructure of Tallinn improved as a result of the ECoC, of whom the vast majority believed that such improvements were modest.

It can be said, however, that the ECoC did initiate some specific infrastructure developments at the seafront and gave impetus to its wider development. Most notably, the ECoC introduced the concept of the "Cultural Kilometre" at the seafront and made it a reality albeit one that requires further ongoing development. As well as the development of the pedestrian walkway, the ECoC directly brought about the development of the Cultural Cauldron, located at one end of the Cultural Kilometre and co-funded by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF). The Cauldron has not only attracted cultural audiences to the seafront area but will also continue to serve as a venue for events and as hub for the development of the cultural and creative industries, once its refurbishment is complete in 2013. The concept of the Cultural Kilometre has also added value to and been enhanced by the new Maritime Museum also co-funded by the ERDF and located at the other end to the Cultural Cauldron and which also hosted ECoC events; both have attracted visitors to the seafront area and helped to reinforce the impression of the seafront as a place "where culture happens". Overall, the ECoC has served to highlight the potential of the seafront by bringing people to the areas for the first time and showing imaginative use of previously derelict space. In the long-run, the question remains as to whether the ECoC will be later seen as an important step along the way or just a one-off, with the potential never realised.

3.6 Sustainability

3.6.1 Cultural activities

Tallinn's title-year featured numerous new or expanded events, many of which will continue in 2012 and beyond; 82% of operators responding to the survey reported that some or all of their activities would continue, whilst a further 8% reported that (although their ECoC project would not continue) they were inspired to introduce new activities in 2012. This finding is supported by evidence from the interviews, which suggests that there remains the potential for new initiatives and activities, building on the learning, experience, international contacts gained by Tallinn's cultural operators in 2011. Whilst the overall level of activity will be lower in 2012 than in 2011 (as is usual with ECoC), operators suggested a positive, albeit modest, impact on Tallinn's cultural life: 51% reported that Tallinn's cultural life would be "slightly more vibrant" or "a lot more vibrant" as a result of the ECoC and only 6% reported that it would be "less more vibrant".

More specifically, the Tallinn 2011 Foundation has prepared a plan for the sustainability of various cultural activities during the title-year, which contains a significant focus on the Cultural Cauldron. Indeed, the Cauldron and the associated activities will reflect much of the artistic spirit and initiative of the ECoC and provide a continued focus on contemporary and innovative culture, flexible use of space, open-air and public events, international connections, etc. The Cultural Cauldron (which will be known in English as "Tallinn Creative Hub") is planned to combine the existing support structures for the creative and cultural sectors under one "umbrella" (e.g. the Centre of Architecture, the Centre of Design, Estonian Music Export NGO, the Agency of Theatre, the Chamber of Estonian Culture, the Digital Centre, Sally Studio, professional sector associations etc). It is also supposed to be a source for creating a specific Cluster for Estonian Cultural Export and a Creative Incubator. Tallinn Creative Hub will ensure that the overall narrative of using culture to help open up the city to the sea will endure. It will also help promote continued innovation in the use city spaces for culture in Tallinn, though at this stage, whether such innovations will feature across the city (as was the case in 2011) remains to be seen.

3.6.2 Cultural governance

Whilst the Tallinn 2011 Foundation will cease operation, much of its resources and staff and some of its responsibilities will transfer to a new Foundation that will operate the Tallinn Creative Hub. There will inevitably be some loss of expertise, particularly related to marketing & communication. In that sense the full potential of the Foundation's legacy will not be exploited. For example, there will be no single body that continues to promote Tallinn's cultural sector; responsibilities will remain shared across a variety of bodies, including the Ministry, the City Government, the Tourist Boards and Enterprise Estonia. Perhaps supporting this point, while a large majority (79%) of cultural operators felt that the Foundation had been effective overall, they were more ambivalent about whether the governance of culture in Tallinn would be better in future: only 32% felt it would be better, 19% felt it would be "about the same" and 45% did not know.

However, the future governance of culture should be seen in the wider context. Prior to the ECoC, Estonia had limited tradition of multi-sector partnerships for culture and there was no overall platform for promoting culture in Tallinn. The ECoC thus created a new form of governance in the form of the Foundation and demonstrated what is possible, albeit not without some very significant difficulties along the way. Looking ahead, the question is thus whether the experience of 2011 will initiate a wider change in approaches to cultural governance. For example, will the main public authorities feel able to place their confidence in such models – and provide the necessary funding, support and freedom to operate (without the bureaucratic demands of more conventional delivery models)? Here, there is some reason to be optimistic as the Tallinn 2030 Strategy includes as one of its "strategic measures for culture" the development of "an efficient support-and consulting system for cultural activities" as a means to sustain projects started within the Tallinn 2011 framework as well as subsequent initiatives. The same strategy

also proposes to initiate innovative "high-level creative communities" which will be sustainable and active after 2011.

As well as the question of the models of delivering culture in the future, there remains the issue of whether a consensus can be reached and maintained between the various players regarding the future of culture in Tallinn. Whilst the ECoC suffered from the conflicting interests of City and State, it was not the root cause of such conflicts; this was mostly an issue of existing party political differences. Whilst such differences continue, it would appear that consensus will be hard to reach regarding the governance of culture in Tallinn. Within that context, it is unlikely that any over-arching shared vision will emerge regarding what the future development of culture should be in Tallinn and it is unlikely that a broader platform for the cultural sector and CCIs will be developed. Whilst this situation remains, it is likely that the legacy of the ECoC will not be fully exploited and future development will risk being sub-optimal.

3.7 Conclusions

3.7.1 Success of the ECOC

Whilst the cultural programme of Tallinn 2011 ECoC was one of the smallest ECoC to date (and much smaller than originally anticipated) it nonetheless represented something new and additional for Estonia's cultural scene. The Foundation implemented a cultural programme that was arguably wider and more innovative than any other cultural programme to date in Estonia. The established state institutions were stimulated to test out new ideas and new ways of reaching audiences, whilst small or independent operators were supported to operate at a greater scale than previously and co-operate internationally – some for the first time. Some projects explored themes of European significance and the culture of the city's Russian minority was given greater prominence than usual. Overall, the cultural programme can be said to have been very much an expression of Tallinn and the state of its modern and contemporary cultural offering. In that way, the ECoC has demonstrated some of the potential of what can/could be done in Estonia regarding culture, particularly in terms of using spaces in the city in new ways and involving a wider set of citizens and operators in culture. By connecting the local cultural "system" of Tallinn to peer organisations in other countries, the ECoC has also helped this local cultural expression to be communicated to a wider European audience. At the same time, the size and nature of the cultural programme have not enabled Tallinn to become a cultural destination to the extent that was hoped for in the original application – although good progress has been made, as evidenced by the increase in the number of international visitors during 2011.

The original application was, with hindsight, over-ambitious and would have probably needed substantial revision, indeed reduction, even in a more favourable context. Nonetheless, those developing and implementing the ECoC were largely powerless to foresee and prevent the dispute between City and State and the reduction in the budget. It is to their credit that the staff of the Foundation were able (against a challenging backdrop of economic recession and political disagreements), under Mikko Fritze, to develop a credible cultural programme and, under Jaanus Mutli and Jaanus Rohumaa, to implement it largely as planned at the time of Fritze's resignation (spring 2010). One key to this success has been the strength of the team created by Fritze, including its ability to be pragmatic and imaginative in the support offered to projects and in operating on a modest budget.

Despite difficulties in the governance, the ECoC has demonstrated a possible new approach to the management of cultural activities in the city. Much of the dispute or rancour appears to have been limited to the political level and there has been strengthening of the day-to-day working relations between numerous cultural operators across the city. There is also greater potential for future collaboration across the full spectrum of cultural operators.

Overall, the ECoC has had a positive, though perhaps modest impact on the city and its citizens. The (over-)ambitious objectives, regarding the development of the city's creative economy and its cultural infrastructure, as well as projection of a new image have not been fulfilled on the scale anticipated in the application. But some very important steps in the right direction have been taken in terms of the collective learning from experience, greater capacity and international outlook of operators, highlighting the potential of what could be possible at the seafront and a legacy of ongoing cultural activities. The long-term success of the ECoC will ultimately depend on whether these positive developments are built upon in the years to come.

The tables below illustrate the extent to which Tallinn performed against the core indicators discussed earlier in section 2.2.

Table 3.4 Core Result Indicators for Tallinn 2011

Specific objective	Result indicators	Tallinn
Promote the European dimension of and through culture	No. of European cross-border co-operations within ECoC cultural programme	Approximately 175 projects (70% of all 251 projects) involved cultural organisations in other countries
Develop cultural activities	Total number of events	+7,000 different events
	€ budget for the ECoC cultural programme	€ 6.975m (2007-11)
	€ budget for the ECoC as a whole	€13.731m
	Attendance at events	Approximately 2 million visits
	% residents attending or participating in events, including young people, disadvantaged or "culturally inactive"	(% of Tallinn's residents attending events not known)
Support the social and economic development of the city through culture	No. active volunteers	600-700 active volunteers (1,610 registered)
	€ value of investment in cultural infrastructure, sites and facilities	€195m of associated investments by the Ministry of Culture in the years 2008-10
	Sustained multi-sector partnership for cultural governance	No specific partnership as such, but a legacy body (Cultural Cauldron) will combine several existing support structures for the creative and cultural sectors under one "umbrella"
	Strategy for long-term cultural development of the city	"Strategic measures for culture" are contained within the wider Tallinn 2030 Strategy
	Increase in tourist visits	17% increase in foreign tourist visits to Tallinn in 2011 compared to 2010
	Volume and % of positive media coverage of cities	94% of Tallinn 2011 projects considered that Tallinn 2011 was "visible" or "very visible" with local and national media 27% of Tallinn 2011 projects considered that Tallinn 2011 was "visible" or "very visible" with international media
Awareness of the ECoC amongst residents	(Information is not available)	

Table 3.5 Core Impact Indicators for Tallinn 2011

General objective	Impact indicators	Tallinn
Highlight the richness and the diversity of European cultures and features they share; Promote greater mutual acquaintance between European cultures	Citizens' perceptions of being European and/or awareness of European culture	(Information is not available)
	National / international recognition of cities as being culturally-vibrant (e.g. peer reception, positive media coverage) and having improved image	<p><i>National/local</i></p> <p>51% of projects believe that Tallinn will be "A lot more vibrant" or "Slightly more vibrant" after 2011 as a result of the ECoC</p> <p>48% of projects believe that image of Tallinn amongst local residents is "Much better" or "Slightly better" as a result of the ECoC</p> <p><i>International.</i></p> <p>53% of projects believe that international image of Tallinn is "Much better" or "Slightly better" as a result of the ECoC</p>

3.7.2 Lessons learnt

- Hosting an ECoC is perhaps the best live "learning process" that the cultural sector of a city can experience. To exploit the benefits of this process, there is a need not only for finance but above all for practical and technical support in creating and producing cultural events, establishing international connections and undertaking communication & marketing.
- An open call for applications can help identify creative individuals and organisations that might not otherwise be known to the main public bodies that fund culture; where such individuals are given the resources and the possibilities to think creatively and act imaginatively, they can bring a creativity and originality to a city's cultural offering, although it has to be accepted that risks must be taken.
- There is a need to clarify the nature of financial commitments made at application stage. In particular, it is necessary to distinguish between funding which has already been committed and funding that that the applicant city aspires to receive (e.g. from national bodies). Similarly, it is important to distinguish between direct funding via a dedicated delivery agency and indirect funding via existing institutions.
- ECoC need early, long-term and reliable commitment from the main financial partners. Even where formal commitments can not be confirmed (e.g. through parliamentary approval of public budgets), there must be a way to make the political commitment necessary to providing stability.
- Where the political will to come together and co-operate is lacking, there is a limit to what any ECoC can do to foster such collaboration. A delivery agency and its staff, however committed and talented, can only operate within the parameters set at the political level. Linked to this, there is a need for the

staff of the delivery team to have strong backing from the main political players, in order for the team to remain stable in its composition and method of operation.

- Even in a politically-difficult situation, the right mechanisms can still guarantee a large degree of artistic independence in creating the cultural programme, for example, an open and transparent call for projects overseen by a panel of high-level independent cultural experts.
- Investments in cultural facilities and infrastructure, including those made by the European Regional Development Fund can help initiate a broader process of urban development and regeneration. Such investments can be enhanced by the cultural activities undertaken by the ECoC.

Turku



4.0 Turku

4.1 Background

4.1.1 The city

Turku, located at the mouth of the River Aura in southwest Finland, is the oldest city in the country having been established in the 13th century and having played an important role in the Swedish-Finnish state. For many years, Turku was the capital city in the Finnish part of the Kingdom of Sweden and its largest city, being the centre of trade, administration and religion. When Finland became part of the Russian Empire, the capital was transferred from Turku to Helsinki in 1812. A notable feature of Turku's history has been the more than 30 fires that have shaped its make-up and outlook, most notably the Great Fire of 1827 which almost completely destroyed the city.

Today, Turku is the regional capital for the Finland Proper (or Southwest Finland) region (Varsinais-Suomi,) and Finland's fifth largest city, with a population of more than 177,000 inhabitants. Being one of the country's most important ports, the city earns much of its income from the shipbuilding industry, which builds many of the world's biggest cruise ships. Other key industries in Turku include bio-industry, ICT, metals and tourism, with the city attracting a large number of international visitors every year. The creative industries are also of particular importance, especially cultural production, digital content production and cultural tourism.

Turku is also a university city, being the location of the first university founded in Finland (in 1640) and currently hosting 35,000 students at its higher education institutions (2 academic universities and 4 universities of applied science), including the Swedish-speaking Åbo Academy. The Arts Academy at Turku University of Applied Science and the Turku Conservatory are important providers of cultural education.

4.1.2 Cultural sector

Turku has a vibrant and diverse cultural scene, in part reflecting its large immigrant population (the second largest in Finland), with 113 different nationalities represented. Of particular importance are the many small publishing companies, poetry on stage, visual arts, theatre, music, film, animation, circus and puppetry. The city has a well-developed classical music scene, being home to Finland's oldest orchestra, as well as two internationally-renowned opera singers, soprano Karita Mattila and bass Matti Salminen. The city is also closely associated with the composer Jean Sibelius and hosts the Sibelius Museum. Turku is also home to Ruisrock, the second longest-running rock festival in Europe and the oldest in Finland.

The city has strong private cultural organisations such as the Pro Manilla Foundation which runs Manilla Culture Center based in a former industrial complex on the banks of the Aura River. It hosts three theatres (1 dance, 2 drama) and 40 different cultural enterprises, such as traditional art and handicraft workshops, photography and digital media studios, galleries and exhibitions. Another important private cultural institution is the Museum of History and Contemporary Art (Aboa Vetus & Ars Nova).

The underground scene also plays an important role in the cultural life of the city, particularly poetry and electronic music. Poetry has strong traditions dating back to the 1960s and the 1980s. It enjoyed a strong revival in the 1990s and remains important today. The electronic music scene has been active in Turku since the 1980s and remains a vital field of culture at present.

Turku is known for hosting cultural events, such as Richard Wagner's *The Flying Dutchman* which has been performed on two museum ships on the River Aura. The city pays significant attention to Christmas festivities and hosts such events as Christmas City of Finland, Declaration of Peace for Christmas and Ecumenical Christmas. The most important events in the city include the rock festival *Down by the Laituri* organised annually in the city of Turku since 1988 and the above-mentioned Ruisrock festival. The Medieval Market and the Turku Music festival are also well-established, major cultural events in the city.

4.2 Cultural programme

4.2.1 Original objectives and application

The 1999 Decision of the European Council and of the European Parliament indicated that Finland would be entitled to host the title in 2011. Given that opportunity, and since Helsinki had already hosted the title in 2000, the Mayor of Turku initiated discussions for Turku to apply to host the ECoC title in 2011.

In September 2000, Turku City Council appointed a specific Cultural Committee to draw up a vision of the city's cultural activities for the year 2010. The Cultural Committee's main tasks were to prepare a report on the strengths and challenges of the city's cultural life, examine the role of culture in the development of the city, prepare a cultural strategy for the period until 2010 and determine the resources needed in the long-term and possible funding sources. The Cultural Committee of Turku delivered its report to the City Council in June 2001. The report offered a systematic and extensive presentation of the city's cultural life, which adopted a wide definition of culture as well as providing an inventory of different cultural aspects (urban spaces and places, community resources, cultural institutions) and proposing to improve the quality of Turku's cultural life. The report was a valuable resource in the preparation of Turku's application for the ECoC title. Following this report, the Mayor of Turku expressed interest in hosting the 2011 ECoC title. Turku was the first city in Finland to express interest in hosting the ECoC title in 2011 and to start preparations for the application.

Following the expression of intent, a study on the experiences of other cities hosting the title and the prerequisites for becoming ECoC was conducted in 2003. On the basis of this study, the Mayor then established a working group, which included a wide range of stakeholders, to prepare a proposal for the City Council regarding hosting the ECoC title. In 2004, the proposal for Turku to host ECoC title was presented to the Council, which offered its unanimous support and confirmed its decision to apply for the ECoC 2011 title. Interviews in Turku have identified that wide political support for Turku's candidature was very important for the overall preparation and implementation of the title year.

Interviews with decision-makers and Foundation representatives involved in the early stages have indicated that a combination of factors influenced the decision to bid for the title. First of all, it was felt that Turku's cultural life and traditions, its well-established old cultural institutions as well as its underground culture, would offer a lot to an ECoC year and also merit greater visibility in Finland and across Europe. Second, the ECoC was seen as having significant potential to contribute to the social and economic development of the city. Third, the aim of further developing cultural links in the Baltic Sea region, including with St.Petersburg, was important. Fourth, the ECoC was seen as a way to strengthen the self-esteem of the city and its citizens by proving to themselves and nationally that Turku can deliver big events. Finally, the evidence of the benefits to previous title-holders was also an important factor that affected the decision to apply to host the ECoC title.

Following the Mayor's decision in 2001, a period of intensive preparation for hosting the ECoC title started. An Advisory Board of stakeholders and a team of four professionals were appointed to prepare the application of Turku. Deputy Mayor Kaija Hartiala directed the bidding process phase with Suvi Innilä being a Project Manager. From the very beginning, it was important for the team to ensure wide participation and contributions to the application from a diverse set of players. For that reason, consultations were organised through seminars, conferences and vision days during the course of 2005.

In addition, an open call for ideas was launched during the same year which received 500 project ideas. The latter was of key importance for developing the content for Turku's application.

The selection process at national level started at the beginning of 2005 when the Finnish Ministry of Education invited cities to submit applications for hosting the European Capital of Culture, with a deadline of March 2006. The national competition attracted six other applicant cities: Jyväskylä, Lahti, Mänttä, Oulu, Rovaniemi and Tampere.⁴⁰ The evaluation group established by the Ministry of Education assessed all seven applications and suggested that either Rovaniemi or Turku should be selected for hosting the title. The Ministry of Education subsequently selected Turku in June 2006 for hosting ECoC title in 2011. Strong aspects of Turku's application highlighted by the national selection panel included references to the city's history and maritime character, as well as evidence of good planning. Turku's application was subsequently considered by the European selection panel which recommended that the city be designated as ECoC 2011.

Turku's application set out the values, aims and objectives for the title year and the development of the city's cultural sector. The overarching theme of the application was "Turku on Fire" referring both to the history of the city (i.e. the Great Fire of 1827) and its strong will and commitment to become a strong European Capital of Culture. The vision for Turku hosting the title presented in the original application was as follows:

*"Turku 2011 is more than one year. It is a process through which Turku emerges as a pioneer and a creative centre of the Baltic Sea region co-operation, a city that produces and mediates arts and science."*⁴¹

This vision thus highlighted the key elements that underpinned the application, such as the contribution to the long-term development of the city, a focus on creative industries and an intention to foster cultural co-operation in the Baltic Sea region. The application also set out a number of key objectives in support of the vision:

- **Internationality:** attract attention from European countries to the Baltic Sea region and to such common European goals as increasing well-being and co-operation, promoting creative industries and sustainable development.
- **Creative economy:** become a national pioneer in the creative industries and a significant centre of European cultural production.
- **Well-Being:** support the development of cultural well-being.
- **Assessment programme:** Turku 2011 commits to the development of the comprehensive evaluation programme. It will take place from 2007 till 2016 and will be delivered through wide co-operation with the local universities and Tallinn 2011 organisation.

Co-operation with Turku's twin cities with and other cities in the region played an important role in Turku's application. Significant attention was also given to co-operation with Tallinn, with the two cities signing a formal co-operation agreement in 2005. The development of common programmes and projects, marketing and tourism and long-term development of culture and tourism were identified as the key areas for co-operation. Turku's application also stressed co-operation with St. Petersburg, Stockholm and other cities in the Baltic Sea region.

⁴⁰ As in Estonia, the competition organised at national level in Finland did not involve the EU institutions.

⁴¹ Helander et al. (2006), *Turku on Fire: the Application of the City of Turku for the European Capital of Culture 2011*. Turku: City of Turku.

The application of Turku stated that the cultural programme would be grouped into four themes namely "memories and truths", "transformations", "exploring the archipelago" and "take-offs".⁴² Examples of 35 projects were presented in the application, although it was envisaged that the eventual programme would feature some 50-60 big projects with several hundred events and sub-projects. The values that underpin the implementation of Turku ECoC 2011 were to be "co-operation", "European dimension", "open-mindedness", "experience", "accessibility" and "responsibility".⁴³

In addition, a number of infrastructure and long-term projects were envisaged in the application, including:

- Exploring opportunities to develop a new Congress and Music Centre;
- Refurbishment and enlargement of the City Library;
- The Cultural Quarters project;
- Transforming branch libraries into living cultural centres in the neighbourhoods;
- Development of the banks of the River Aura; and
- Old and the New Turku, focusing on transforming former industrial areas of the city into centres for the creative industries.

The following long-term development projects were also envisaged: the Development Centre for Creative Industries and Cultural Export; the Support Service for Event Production; the Co-operation Laboratory of Business and Culture; Cultural Wellbeing.⁴⁴ The extent to which these projects were implemented is presented in the effectiveness section below (section 4.5).

4.2.2 Reports of the selection, monitoring and advisory panel

Turku's application was considered by the European Selection Panel in June 2007. The panel was impressed by Turku's presentation and the involvement of citizens in preparing the application. In the selection report, the panel praised the detailed description of the cultural programme and the proposed co-operation with Tallinn and St Petersburg. The panel asked for additional information on the sustainable impact of the action and particularly regarding the creative industries. The panel also highlighted that the next challenge for Turku would be making artistic choices and bringing all ideas into a high-quality cultural programme.

Both reports of the monitoring panel indicate that Turku made good progress during the development phase. The key area for improvement identified in the first report was the need to incorporate cutting-edge ideas and sharp artistic vision in the development of the programme.⁴⁵ The second monitoring panel report highlighted the need to focus on such areas as legacy, securing financial contributions and bringing the European dimension to the fore.⁴⁶

The Melina Mercouri Prize was awarded to Turku after the panel presented its second report in 2010. Interviews with the management team of Turku 2011, undertaken for a previous assignment, have identified that the Prize money became part of the general funding of ECoC.⁴⁷

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Report of the First Monitoring and Advisory Meeting for the European Capitals of Culture 2011, Issued by The Monitoring and Advisory Panel for the European Capital of Culture (ECoC) 2011; November 2008.

⁴⁶ Report of the Second Monitoring and Advisory Meeting for the European Capitals of Culture 2011, Issued by The Monitoring and Advisory Panel for the European Capital of Culture (ECoC) 2011; May 2010.

⁴⁷ Evaluation of European Capital of Culture monitoring and selection procedures; Ecorys 2011.

4.2.3 Activities during the development phase

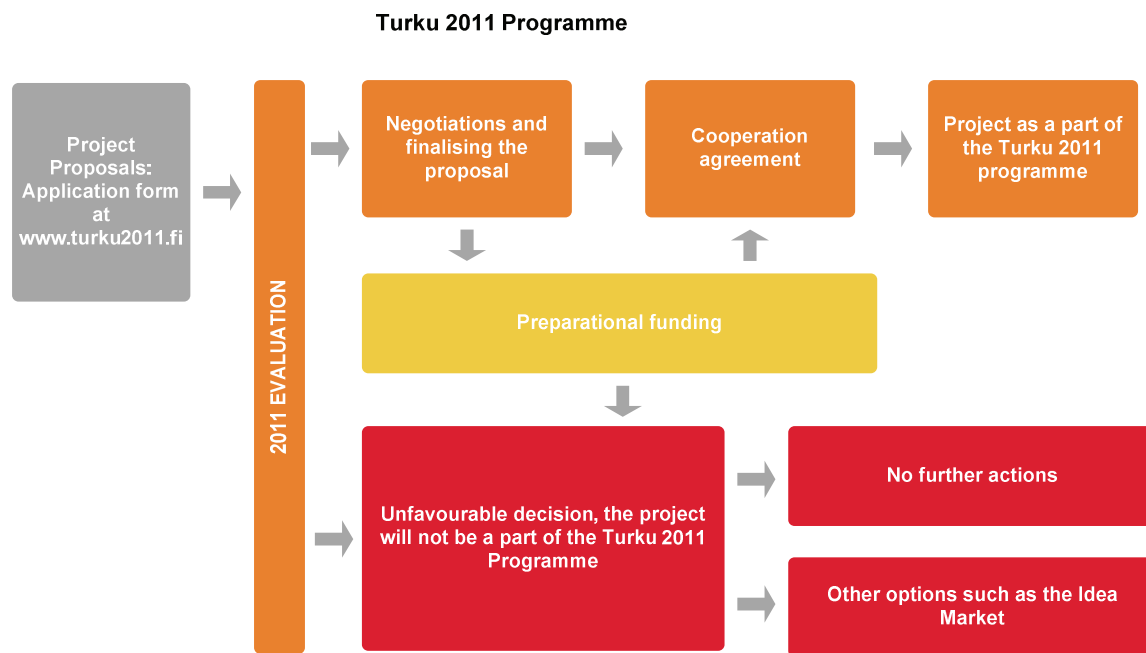
After Turku received the title in 2007, the most important steps were the establishment of the Turku 2011 Foundation, development of the cultural programme, securing funding and communication of the programme locally, nationally and internationally.

The **Turku 2011 Foundation** was established as a dedicated delivery agency for the implementation of the ECoC, beginning its operations towards the end of 2007. It is overseen by a board (whose Chairman was previously a government minister), with the day-to-day running delegated to a Chief Executive Officer and a Programme Director. The Foundation oversees the co-ordination and, in some cases, the co-financing of projects within the cultural programme, whilst also providing production support, a research programme, a "digital capital of culture", communications and corporate co-operation.

Interviews with representatives of the Foundation indicate that, following the decision at national level in 2006 for Turku to host the ECoC title, the expectation was that intensive preparations would start taking place. However, it was not possible (partly due to the limited funding available at that stage) or even desirable to start significant preparatory activity before Turku was nominated for the title by the European selection panel in 2007. Following the award of the title, a number of activities took place, including setting up the Foundation, recruiting staff, developing internal roles and responsibilities, developing the cultural programme and securing funding. At that time there was already a lot of interest from the local cultural sector, the media and the wider public regarding the progress to date and what the programme would look like. It was difficult at the time for the Foundation to communicate to the wider public why there was not more information available on the progress to date and the specific details of the cultural programme.

A call for proposals was launched in spring 2008, with the majority of projects in the **cultural programme** being selected in this way. The organisations and individuals who responded to the call for ideas in 2005 had to re-apply, in order to be able to implement the projects as part of the eventual cultural programme. Interviews have identified that organising an open call for projects was very important for the Foundation, as it encompassed the value of openness and wide participation at all stages of the programme's development. More than 1,000 applications were received through the open call for proposals and then assessed, from which three groups of projects were identified: projects that would not be developed further, projects selected for further negotiations and projects that presented an interesting idea but needing more development. The schematic overview of the process for developing the cultural programme is presented in the figure below.

Figure 4.1 Overview of the development of Turku's cultural programme



Source: Turku 2011 Foundation (2008), *Join the Making of the Turku 2011 Programme – call for proposals*.

Each project was evaluated in respect of selection criteria and the evaluation perspectives. The former included the need to have a responsible body, a realistic cost estimate and financing plan, co-operation, long-term effects and relevance to at least one of the objectives of ECoC namely internationality, well-being, and creative industries. The selection criteria were compulsory for each applicant while evaluation perspectives were used to assess the added value of the project, included the following⁴⁸:

- Does the project include a European dimension?
- Does the project encourage participation and does it create opportunities of making and experiencing?
- Is the project innovative and open-minded?
- Does the project create encounters (e.g. between various themes, fields, cultures and social groups who participate in the making or experiencing the project)?
- Is the project accessible for all audiences?
- Have ecological and environmental aspects been taken into account in the planning of the projects?
- Is the project proposal realistic?
- Do the producers of the project have the required know-how and professional skills to maintain high quality when carrying out the project?
- Is the content of the project of high quality and meaning?
- What are the effects of the project in relation to its expenses (including regional, social and long-term effects)?
- Do the contents and timings of the project support the entire Turku 2011 programme and its schedule?

Following the results of the project assessment, the Foundation identified 162 projects which were invited for negotiations regarding the dates of the activities, funding and other details. During the course of the negotiations some of the projects were joined together and were further developed as bigger but single projects. Only following the initial negotiations were the projects suggested for approval by the

⁴⁸ Turku 2011 Foundation (2008), *Join the Making of the Turku 2011 Programme – call for proposals*.

Foundation or the Board of Foundation depending on the size of co-funding provided by ECoC. In addition, the Foundation initiated discussions with other projects that were not initially shortlisted for funding but which presented interesting ideas that could be developed further into distinctive projects or grouped together with other projects. Negotiations with projects were of significant importance for project development and the number of projects changed significantly as a result. Representatives from the Foundation have indicated that this negotiation process was a very important part of the development of the cultural programme. It provided opportunity to bring some projects together, to review their funding, activities and timing. Following the extensive negotiation process, 107 projects from the open call for proposals were eventually included in the final culture programme. In addition, 58 projects were either directly produced or commissioned by the Foundation.

This was a very challenging period within the development phase of the ECoC. As mentioned above, there were high expectations from Turku's culture sector, the media and the wider public regarding the development of the cultural programme. However, at the stage, the Foundation did not feel to be able to provide extensive information because negotiations were still taking place with potential projects. Similarly, representatives from the City administration have stated that the projects also did not want to provide much information about the projects before they were accepted by the Foundation. This situation created the feeling that there was a lot of secrecy, a lack of transparency and mistrust. Some cultural operators felt that they had contributed to receiving the title but were then excluded from the preparations to host it.

Communicating to the wider public and the media why there was limited information available was one of the key challenges during the development phase. As mentioned by the interviewees in the Foundation, the whole ECoC was encompassed by initial excitement and then scepticism from the media during the preparation phase, since the Foundation could not share extensive information with the media at that early stage. For example, interviews indicated that there had been a lack of information on the selection process of the projects, how the programme was being formed, and what type of projects would be selected. This alienated the local as well as national media and cultural organisations in Turku which proved challenging to change.

To address this, the Foundation started to engage more intensively with media representatives through lunch and breakfast meetings. The aim of the meetings was for the Foundation and the media to better understand and communicate with each other. Turku 2011 was also presented in national and international tourism fairs. International journalists were invited to visit Turku and gain first hand experience of the city. Strong co-operation with Finnish embassies was established to promote the ECoC abroad and a number of press releases and presentation of Turku 2011 were organised in co-operation with the embassies. The key turning point for media coverage of Turku 2011 was the opening ceremony when Helsingin Sanomat, the largest newspaper in Finland, announced that the Turku ECoC "will succeed".

Cultural activities were concentrated on the title year itself. Before 2011, the activities were mostly focused on preparatory work for the projects. These included help in securing funding, supporting co-operation with local and international partners and developing the productions.

Re-construction of Logomo was a key infrastructure project in Turku directly related to ECoC. It was the key venue for hosting ECoC events and currently is being developed into the permanent working and performance space for creative industries. It is located in former railway engineering workshop at the centre of industrial area next to the train station. Logomo was opened on 15 January 2011 during ECoC opening weekend. It remained open as a key exhibition and performance venue during the title year.

4.2.4 Changes to the objectives and themes

Interviews with the Turku 2011 Foundation have highlighted that the overall vision, values, aims and themes remained unchanged during the development and implementation of the ECoC. However, the

relative importance of each objective changed between the application and the title year. For example, the link between culture and well-being became the most important objective of the title year and the key artistic theme of the programme, with one-third of all ECoC projects addressing it (including both cultural and research projects). Moreover, this theme was of key importance for the communication of the cultural programme which used such slogans as "Culture Does Good" and initiated "culture prescription" initiatives. Similarly, such values as accessibility, openness and inclusion were also of significant importance during the title-year.

Developing the creative industries, which enjoyed a key focus within the application, remained among the aims of the title year with a specific focus on the strengths of the city namely in the fields of animation, circus and puppetry. However, its importance was less prominent when compared to the original application.

The cultural programme was complemented by an additional group of projects entitled "2011 personally".⁴⁹ However, the themes that were identified during the planning phase were not later used for communication of the culture programme to the wider public. It was felt that it would be easier to communicate a culture programme grouped by sector (e.g. music, exhibitions and visual arts, cinema, animation, media art) rather than by the themes presented above.

More than half of projects presented in Turku's application were included in the culture programme and implemented during the title year. Therefore, the cultural programme remained largely unchanged. Some 20 out of 35 projects that were included in Turku's application were implemented during the title year, having had to re-apply via the call for proposals in 2008.

4.2.5 Cultural programme

As mentioned above, the characteristics of the cultural programme were developed through consultations during the development of Turku's application. A majority of projects (65%) was selected during the open call for proposals organised in 2008.

The key outputs related to the delivery of the culture programme are presented in the table below.

Table 4.1 Outputs of Turku's cultural programme

Indicator	Outcome
Number of projects	165
Number of events	+8,000
Number of events free of charge	+5,000
Number of artists, contributor, producers and volunteers delivering culture programme	20,995
Number of volunteers contributing to the programme	13,352
Total number of visits	+ 2m

Source: Turku 2011 Foundation information based on the project survey (information based on 144 projects out of 165 in total)

As mentioned above, the cultural projects were grouped into ten cultural domains rather than into the themes identified in the application. The structure of the cultural programme and some project examples are presented below⁵⁰:

- **City events** – included such projects as Turku³⁶⁵ aiming to provide urban art experiences and exhibit artworks in public spaces over the year, Colourscape project that built a labyrinth based on colourful

⁴⁹ Report of the Second Monitoring and Advisory Meeting for the European Capitals of Culture 2011, Issued by The Monitoring and Advisory Panel for the European Capital of Culture (ECOC) 2011; May 2010

⁵⁰ Turku 2011 Foundation (2010), *I knew it: culture!* – Turku 2011 Programme. Turku: Hameen Kirjapaino Oy.

sphere-like chambers and hosted a small-scale musical festival, Neighbourhood Weeks, Flux Aura and the onion shaped "Sounding Dome Sauna".

- **Design, architecture and crafts** – included Tallinn-Turku 2011 Fashion Empowerment and installation called Nothing happens for a reason at the Logomo café.
- **Music** - included the Mariinsky Theatre Orchestra with Valery Gergiev, 1827 Infernal Musical, Viva la Diva!, Erik XIV, Eurocultured and Musicam Video.
- **Exhibitions and visual arts** – included the Carl Larsson exhibition in Turku Art Museum, 2000 and 11 Self-portraits, Turku-St.Petersburg-Cologne" photography project analysing daily life of young people through self-portraits, Artist as a Neighbour, "Fire! Fire!" exhibition in the Logomo, Pots, Sandals and a Tent, and Contemporary Art Archipelago (CAA).
- **Theatre, dance, circus and performance** – included Turku International Puppetry Festival, Cirque Dracula, New Baltic Drama, The Dancing Tower, Future Circus Festival and Middle Aged Hair.
- **Cinema, animation and media art** – included The Detour, Animate, Battle for the City, Burning Bridge Literary Agency.
- **Literature and literary art** – projects such as Blackmarket, Encounters at the Library, Studia Literaria represents this field.
- **Children and youth** – included Sam Body Plays, Play Revolution, Verso – Literary Art for Children and Future Trek – Turku 3011.
- **Sports and outdoor activities** – included Time Walk, Fantasy Armada, Central Park of Culture and Exercise.
- **Research and development** – included Creatin', Turku – Narrated and Experienced, Archipelago Logic, Curated Exhibition to the Baltic Sea, KUVA – Cultural Plans for Senior Citizens, John-Eleanor.

Most of the projects represented more than one cultural field and were therefore relevant to more than one cultural field. Interviews have highlighted that events in public spaces and projects bringing culture into the everyday life of people living in the city and visitors were of significant importance within the cultural programme. Overall, the well-being theme was of key importance for the overall cultural programme, being addressed by one-third of projects.

4.2.6 Financing

The application identified that the overall operating budget for Turku 2011 would be €55m over the years 2008-12, in addition to the costs of infrastructure development. Of this sum, most would be provided by the City of Turku and the national government. The overview of actual expenses and funding provided compared to the funding committed in the application is presented in the tables below.

Table 4.2 Expenditure of Turku 2006-2012

Item	Budget at application stage, 2008-2012		Expenditure of Turku 2011 Foundation, 2006-2012		Expenditure of Turku 2011 Foundation and Projects, 2006-2012	
	€	%	€	%	€	%
Salaries, Fees, Administration, Operational Expenditure	5.000m	9.0	9.166m	23.3	9.166m	16.5
Communication and marketing	7.350m	13.4	6.644m	16.9	8.575m	15.5
Cultural programme	38.600m	70.2	21.869m	55.6	36.136m	65.1
Reserve	-	-	1.301m	3.3	1.301m	2.3
Other	4.050m	7.4	0.317m	0.8	0.317m	0.6
Total	55.000m		39.297m		55.495m	

Source: Turku application, Turku 2011 Foundation

The table above shows that there was an increase of salaries, fees, administration and operational expenditure when compared to the original application. However, the interviews identified that in the application much of the operational expenditures were included as part of the other expenditure which was relatively high at the application phase. Other expenditure was considerably smaller than anticipated in the original application.

Table 4.3 Income of Turku 2006-2012

Item	Budget at application stage, 2008-2016		Funding Sources for Turku 2011 Foundation, 2006-2012		Funding Sources for Turku 2011 Foundation and Projects, 2006-2012	
	€	%	€	%	€	%
City of Turku	18.000m	32.7	17.909m	45.6	18.505m	33.0
Region and Partner Cities	2.000m	3.6	-	-	-	-
Finnish State	18.000m	32.7	16.908m	43.0	17.450m	31.1
Other public bodies	-	-	0.473m	1.2	3.089m	5.5
Business Co-operation	6.000m	10.9	2.275m	5.8	3.035m	5.4
European Union	-	-	1.500m	3.8	1.539m	2.7
Ticket Sales	4.000m	7.2	-	-	4.214m	7.5
Merchandise	-	-	0.140m	0.4	0.429m	0.8
Other Funding	7.000m	12.7	0.092m	0.2	4.186m	7.5
Total	55.000m		39.297m		56.088m	
In-kind income	-		0		3.634m	

Source: Turku application, Turku 2011 Foundation

The actual funding available for Turku 2011 (including the direct funding of the Foundation and indirect funding through projects) was in line with the funding committed in the original application. Even though the direct funding through the Foundation was lower than originally foreseen, this shortfall was made good by funding secured by individual projects included in the cultural programme.

The City of Turku agreed to contribute the same amount of funding as the national government, thus both were equal funders of the programme. The funding available from the National Ministries and the City of Turku are largely the same as in the original application especially when project funding is taken into account. Private sector contributions were much smaller than estimated during the application phase. This could be linked to the economic crisis in 2008 and overly-ambitious estimates in the original application.

The expected funding from the region and the city was identified as a separate line within the application. However, it is included as part of the other public funding in the actual budget. The interviews identified that cities such as Naantali and Raisio provided funding for Turku 2011 projects as well as the Council of Southwest Finland.

Based on interviews undertaken with the Foundation in the course of the recent evaluation of monitoring and selection procedures,⁵¹ it appears that the Melina Mercouri Prize money was added to the overall operating budget for Turku 2011, rather than being earmarked for any specific purpose. As a result, the benefits of the Prize were not particularly made visible to cultural actors and audiences in Turku.

Aside from those projects that the Foundation directly implemented itself, projects within the cultural programme received funding according to a set of guidelines that accompanied the call for proposals:⁵²

- The Foundation acts as the partial financier of projects;
- The Foundation offers on an average some 40% of the total funding of a project. The funding provided by the Foundation does not, in principle, exceed 80% of the total funding of a project.
- The Foundation does not, in principle, exceed total funding of €250,000 for a single project.
- The self-funded part of the project can be covered with income from sales or other payments, public funding, funding from private foundations or trusts, project co-operation and (the applicant's) own financial investments.
- The self-funded part can include voluntary work or payments in kind for a sum which the Foundation considers reasonable. The funding provided by Turku 2011 is paid in parts and is subject to reporting.

Some project representatives, especially those from small organisations, have indicated that securing additional funding for their projects was very challenging, particularly due to the significant time and effort needed to apply for other funds. This was especially challenging at the time when the project activities and the preparatory work was already taking place. In-kind support appears to have been a particularly important source of income for many projects, with one suggesting that in-kind support represented as much as half the total project budget.

4.3 Relevance

This section outlines the extent to which objectives and activities identified for Turku 2011 are relevant to three objectives for the ECoC set at EU-level (illustrated in Figure 2.1).

4.3.1 Promoting European Dimension of and through culture

Promoting the European dimension was relevant for Turku 2011 and featured in the project selection criteria. It was reflected in the objective relating to internationality within the original application. Here, the European Dimension was defined in relation to Turku's proposed co-operation in the Baltic Sea region around the themes of well-being, development of the creative industries and sustainable development. In that way, it can be said that Turku attempted to emphasise a local "narrative" and yet articulate it in a

⁵¹ Rampton, J., McDonald, N. and Mozuraityte, N. (2011), *Interim evaluation of selection and monitoring procedures of European Capitals of Culture (ECoC) 2010-2016*. Report for the European Commission. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/culture/our-programmes-and-actions/doc/ecoc/ECoC_assignment_final_report_en.pdf

⁵² Turku 2011 Foundation (2008), *Join the Making of the Turku 2011 Programme – call for proposals*.

European context and to European audiences. The application suggested that the ECoC would increase the number of international contacts and activities of the creative industries, increase the number of international tourists and attract significant attention to activities broadcast through the internet.

Increasing links with twin cities and especially with St. Petersburg was indicated as one of the key objectives related to the European dimension. Co-operation with Tallinn 2011 was also of key importance in the application. Not all co-operation projects with Tallinn were implemented due to financial challenges in Tallinn, although activity to strengthen the links between the two cities was an important element. In addition, the stakeholders interviewed have also identified that increasing the visibility of Turku outside Finland was an important aim of the title year.

The extent to which European co-operation was an important feature of the ECoC tended to vary across the different projects within the cultural programme. For some, particularly small or less-experienced operators, such co-operation was a very important aspect of the ECoC. However, some of the more established and/or institutional operators have indicated that they already had well-developed links with organisations outside Finland or receive relatively high numbers of visitors from abroad; for such operators, this particular element of the European dimension was not particularly important.

4.3.2 Development of cultural activities

The development of cultural activities and highlighting the rich cultural life of the city was an important motivation of Turku to apply for hosting ECoC title. More specifically, interviews with key stakeholders have identified that an important part of this was for the city and its citizens to prove to themselves and to the rest of Finland that Turku can successfully deliver large projects. Similarly, many stakeholders also asserted that the intention was to help change the way people think about culture, emphasising that culture is not only about "high culture" based in established cultural institutions. Supporting grassroots organisations and initiatives was thus also an important part of the ECoC programme. To that end, a number of projects took place in public spaces and unusual venues or challenged people to experience culture in their day-to-day life and actively take part in creating cultural activities.

For the cultural operators, the opportunity to receive significant funding for the implementation of their activities was an important motivation to take part in the cultural programme of ECoC. All the projects consulted indicated that ECoC provided the opportunity to implement their project ideas, develop co-operation between local organisations and increase the scope of their activities. Therefore, the development of cultural activities was relevant for both Turku 2011 Foundation and cultural operators based in Turku and elsewhere.

4.3.3 Supporting social and economic development

Supporting the social and economic development of the city was perhaps the most prominent motivation for Turku to host the ECoC title. Indeed, two of the objectives stated in the application referred to this dimension, i.e. those related to the development of creative industries and to well-being. Stakeholders interviewed tended to reinforce this emphasis, in particular stating that the priority was making a contribution to the long-term development of the city rather than organising an expensive one-off event.

Contributing to the development of the creative industries and supporting economic development were of key importance for the City of Turku. With the decline of traditional industries, the City recognised the importance of stimulating other types of economic activity and anticipated that the creative industries would play an increasingly important role in this context. In Turku, ECoC contributed to introduction of creative industries into the political agenda, thus increasing its role within the long-term economic development of the city.

Turku 2011 was relevant to the EU objective of social development through its pursuit of the theme of well-being within the cultural programme and its support for active participation of citizens in cultural activities, particularly those that would not usually take part. In fact, the importance of the well-being

theme increased during the development phase, with a greater number and proportion of projects devoted to it than anticipated in the application. Turku 2011 was the first ECoC emphasising the links between culture and well-being in its cultural programme. Linked to the well-being theme, significant attention was given to ensuring that everyone has access to culture. The Project Support team paid significant attention to it through such activities as project training on accessibility, providing accessibility materials, training volunteers in sign language etc. Changing people's perception of what is culture, and encouraging their active participation in and contribution to cultural activities were thus of significant importance for Turku 2011.

4.4 Efficiency

4.4.1 Governance and management

The Turku 2011 Foundation was established at the end of 2007 as a new organisation independent from the city administration. From the beginning it was identified that having a separate organisation which would be able to make decisions quicker and be less tied to the formal decision-making process would be appropriate for the implementation of the ECoC. It was also expected that it would be easier for a politically-independent organisation to engage with the cultural sector, private organisations in other sectors and the wider public. Similarly, an independent organisation was seen as less likely to have its operations disrupted by changes in the political leadership of the City. A factor in this thinking was the positive experience of Helsinki 2000, which had also established an independent delivery body to implement its ECoC. The Foundation was established specifically to implement ECoC. Although the Foundation will remain in operation until 2016, it will only enjoy limited resources after 2012. Following reporting and project closure in 2012, the Foundation is expected to disseminate the results of the title year, implement the projects that are being funded following the guidelines suggested in sustainability strategy and experience in 2011 as well as to ensure delivery of longitudinal research and evaluation studies looking into the long-term impacts to the city.

The key governance body of the Foundation was its Board of 15 members representing key stakeholders and funders namely the City Administration, national government and the culture sector. Both the City Administration and the national government nominated very senior individuals to represent them on the Board: the chair of the Board was a former Minister of Education and the vice-chair was the Mayor of Turku. Although the Board was relatively large, the stakeholders interviewed highlighted that this was very important, not least because it allowed significant discussions on a wide range of issues to take place. However, some stakeholders questioned the extent to which the Foundation was genuinely independent of the City and the State, given the influence of those authorities on the Foundation and its decision-making.

The day-to-day work of the Foundation was led by its Chief Executive Officer (CEO), Cay Sevón, who was responsible for the overall management of the organisation, as well as for approving projects for funding of less than €150,000. (Projects requiring a greater level of funding were approved by the Board). It was decided not to appoint a dedicated Artistic Director, the intention being that each project would have its own Artistic Director. The role of the Foundation was thus to bring these together and provide an umbrella for the implementation of the projects within a coherent and balanced cultural programme. Instead, a Programme Director was appointed within the Foundation, Suvi Innilä, with responsibility for the development and delivery of the cultural programme.

Staff members increased from a small core group of around 5-6 persons at the very beginning to 41 during the title year. The individuals operated in a number of teams: programme team, research, communications, administration and production support. While all teams were responsible for delivery of the ECoC the production support team was to provide direct support to project delivery. Its role was to provide office and meeting spaces, counselling, training, information and networking events, management of volunteer programme, advice, equipment and support to ensure accessibility and other services to projects. The aim of the production support team was to enable cultural organisations to build capacity

thus contributing to the sustainability of the cultural activities. This was especially important for small organisations lacking permanent office space and with less experience in implementing cultural programmes of such scale.

The main criticism directed towards the Foundation was related to development of the cultural programme and the selection of projects during the development phase. Some stakeholders felt that a bureaucratic approach was being taken to the development of the programme. In particular, there was the criticism that the leadership of the Foundation lacked significant cultural experience. It was reported by some local stakeholders that a more experienced team could have generated more confidence at the outset from the culture sector in its ability to develop a high-quality cultural programme.

However, criticism of the Foundation and the ECoC had mostly subsided by the start of the title-year. Among the reasons for this change, as highlighted by the stakeholders, were changes in the communication style of the Foundation, greater availability of information about the cultural programme, a greater perception of openness and the implementation of some successful big events at the start of the title-year.

More positively, it was reported by staff and stakeholders that the Foundation did not suffer many of the instabilities and organisational challenges that other ECoC have experienced. Relationships between city and government were strong and both levels offered strong commitment to the ECoC throughout the preparatory period and the title-year. As a result, the ECoC enjoyed strong governance and management structures, and the team and key people involved in the management and delivery of ECoC remained committed to it until the end. This was very important for the successful implementation of the title-year.

The survey of projects supports the results of the qualitative interviews providing positive feedback on the work of the Foundation. The overview of findings from the project survey is presented in the table below.

Table 4.4 Project feedback on work of Turku 2011 Foundation

Indicator	Very well	Fairly well	Not well but not poorly either	Fairly poorly
How well did Turku 2011 Foundation succeed as a European Capital of Culture?	54%	42%	4%	-
How well did Turku 2011 Foundation succeed in co-operation with your project?	40%	45%	12%	3%

Source: Project Survey (n=144)

The projects' feedback regarding the work of the Foundation is positive. When asked if the Foundation succeeded in the delivery of ECoC, some 96% of projects agreed that it succeeded "very well" or "fairly well". The feedback in relation to the delivery of their own projects was slightly less positive. Nevertheless, 85% of project promoters agreed that Foundation succeeded "very well" or "fairly well" in relation to implementation of their projects.

4.4.2 Communication and marketing

Increasing the visibility of Turku internationally and changing perceptions in Finland and abroad towards the city was among the key **objectives** for ECoC. To gain interest from Helsinki and gain people's commitment to the programme were the other key objectives for the communication and marketing activities. Increasing tourist numbers and thus contributing to the long-term development goals and mobilising economic benefits for the city were important as well. These objectives were largely in line with the objectives for the communication strategy presented in Turku application. These were the following⁵³:

⁵³ Helander et al. (2006), *Turku on Fire: the Application of the City of Turku for the European Capital of Culture 2011*. Turku: City of Turku.

- Strengthening the image of the Turku region as the creative centre of innovation and Baltic Sea region co-operation and increasing its familiarity in Europe;
- Increasing the attractiveness of the Turku region as a place to live and conduct business; and
- Committing the makers and partners of Turku 2011 as well as the local residents to the project.

The communication activities were divided into two phases, i.e. activities prior to and following the publication of the cultural programme. As mentioned above, media coverage tended to be negative during the development phase and there was a feeling of lack of transparency and information available to the public on preparations to host the title. The efforts made by staff of the Foundation to get to know journalists and be more open to communicating proved to be successful. During the title year, monthly press releases were published highlighting key activities during the next month. Media materials were also made available freely on the website of the Foundation.

The communication and marketing activities did not focus on promoting every event within the cultural programme, as that was seen as being the responsibility of each project. Instead, they sought to communicate the programme as a whole. In addition, some key events were highlighted as part of the overall programme marketing. The key communication channels that were used to promote the ECoC included:

- Regular press releases, lunches, breakfast meetings, media materials available on the website;
- Calendar (quarterly publication presenting events and activities during the quarter);
- An annual publication for tourists;
- 5 magazine supplements distributed with national and local newspapers (600,000-900,000 copies were distributed);
- Website; and
- Facebook profile.

Public spaces were also used for marketing activities, i.e. promotional materials were made available at core entrance points such as the harbour, train station and bus station. Co-operation with public transport operators was established and the bus line from the airport to the city was renamed the "culture line". The interviews identified that attention was given to reacting to what was happening in the city.

The **key theme** for communication activities was related to the health and well-being objective. It was realised that this theme was covered by one-third of projects within the cultural programme and this theme was used as one of the key messages for the title year. Slogans such as "culture does good" were used in the communication materials. The "cultural prescriptions" initiative was another tool for communicating links between culture and health. Free tickets to cultural events were distributed by doctors during regular patients' appointments.

In addition to communication and marketing activities, a significant effort was made to promote Turku 2011 **internationally**. Numerous activities together with Turku Touring and Finnish embassies promoting Turku 2011 were organised. Indeed, Turku Touring indicated that they had promoted the ECoC within their marketing activities as early as 2006. Countries such as Germany, Russia and Sweden were the key target countries. Workshops, promotional events and participation in tourism fairs were the key activities for promoting the ECoC abroad. For example, Turku Touring and the Foundation presented ECoC at the, the world's biggest tourism fair, the International Tourism Bourse fair in Berlin.

A targeted promotion campaign was organised in Sweden together with Tallinn 2011 and Helsinki World Design Capital in 2012 including a big TV campaign. Targeted activities were organised in St. Petersburg, including advertisement on the streets, radio competitions and internet marketing. As mentioned above, the ECoC was a key theme for the annual Turku Touring publication targeting national and international visitors. The city received significant attention from international journalists and hosted around 700

journalists in total, of which 500 were from abroad. One new tour operator in Germany included Turku as one of its destinations. This was a significant achievement and likely to contribute to an increased number of tourists.

Overall, attracting the attention of international media and visibility of Turku abroad was widely recognised by the stakeholders interviewed as one of the key achievements of the title year. For example, the USA Today included Turku as one of the top travel destinations in 2011. This was of key importance in receiving attention from other international journalists and sent out an important message to local, national media and wider public.

Gaining attention from national media was one of the key challenges. On the one hand, there was more positive coverage after the opening ceremony. On the other hand, there was relatively limited coverage of ECoC within national media. This was the most challenging objective to achieve when compared to other objectives such as gaining the commitment of local people and increasing international visibility.

The key outcomes of communication and marketing activities include⁵⁴:

- media visibility valued at €33 million in Finland and €19.7 million abroad;
- 5,075 articles in printed media, 2,300 online articles, 315 radio and TV articles in Finland from November 2010 to October 2011;
- 740 media hits in international media from 2008 to October 2011;
- 179 organisations and other parties co-operating as Messengers;
- 19,600 Facebook group members; and
- 11,000 recipients of the Culture Buddies newsletter

A survey of residents' in the autumn of 2011 showed that the overwhelming majority of people in Finland were aware that Turku was hosting the ECoC title in 2011, i.e. 96% of Finnish residents and 100% of residents of Turku and Southwest Finland. The same survey shows that the media was of significant importance in providing information about Turku 2011: 72% of respondents in autumn 2010 indicated that they received information about ECoC from the media, 90% in spring 2011 and 91% in January 2012.

The most important media sources have been the following:

- newspapers (69%);
- television (67%);
- internet (31%); and
- radio (27%).

In spring 2011, television was more a popular media source than newspapers (newspapers were more popular in autumn 2010). Some information was also received from friends and acquaintances (17%) and by participating in different events (14%). After the title year 6% of the Finnish population aged 15-79 years (i.e. around 250,000 people) reported actively following Turku's ECoC and knowing a lot about it. The number of occasional followers was quite large (45% of Finnish residents). Attitudes concerning the information of the ECoC have changed clearly between autumn 2010 and January 2012, with much more people agreeing that Turku 2011 was 'a well-informed project'. Also, attitudes concerning 'the credibility' of the Turku 2011 project were more positive after the ECoC year than in 2010.

Project representatives also highlighted that one of the key differences that the ECoC had made to them was the possibility to undertake marketing activities as part of their own projects and due to the work of the Foundation. This was reinforced by the survey of projects as highlighted in the tables below.

⁵⁴ Turku 2011 Foundation website: <http://www.turku2011.fi/en/turku-2011-facts>

Table 4.5 Project feedback on media visibility

Indicator	Exceeded expectations	According to expectations	Did not reach expectations
How did media visibility meet your expectations?	29%	52%	19%

Source: Project Survey (n=144)

Table 4.6 Project feedback on communication and marketing activities

Indicator	Highly satisfied	Fairly satisfied	Not satisfied but not disappointed	Fairly disappointed	Very disappointed
How satisfied were you with support from the Foundation for marketing and communication?	33%	37%	22%	7%	1%
How satisfied were you with the Foundation's online services and the www.turku2011.fi website?	17%	34%	21%	26%	2%

Source: Project Survey (n=144)

The survey of residents shows that 48% of Finnish residents at least partially agreed that the ECoC was well communicated and 57% at least partially agreed that it was important for raising international awareness of Finland.

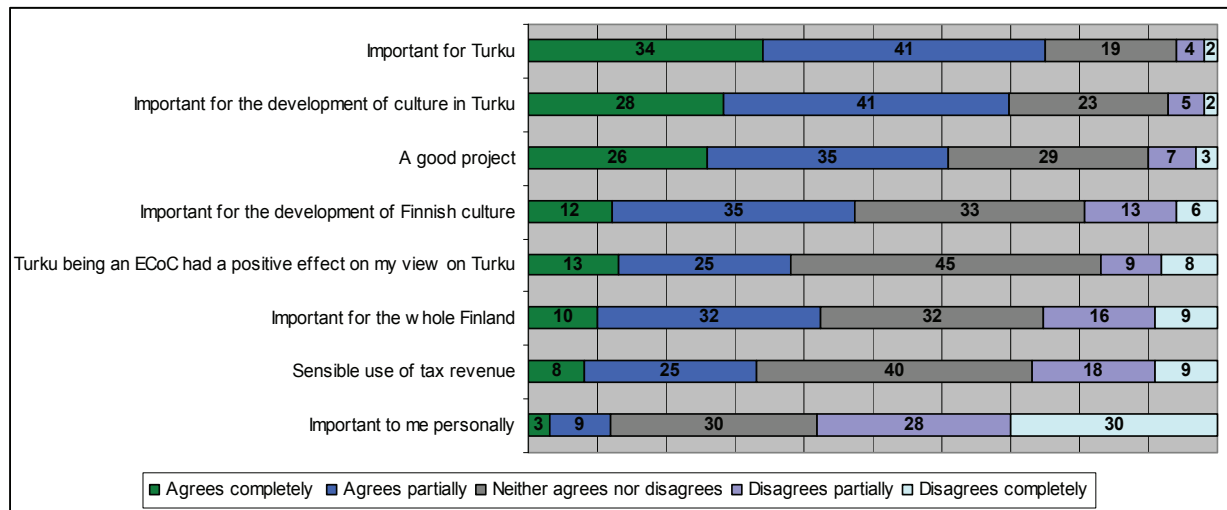
The fact that the ECoC was a European event was reported by the Foundation to be of key importance in attracting local, national and international media attention and contributed to the success not only for the communication activities but also for the wider cultural programme. Importantly, the guidance from the European Commission emphasises that cities should make a significant effort to stress that the ECoC is an EU initiative, which should be evident beyond formal communication. Moreover, the monitoring panel recommended that Turku should use the EU logo in its communication materials in order to increase the visibility of the European dimension. However, whilst the EU logo was used in formal communications and in some official reports, its use in wider communication materials was limited. The stakeholder interviews emphasised that for most people it was obvious that the ECoC was a European event and therefore use of the EU logo was not seen as an important element of the communication activities.

4.5 Effectiveness

4.5.1 Development of cultural activities

Turku's 2011 ECoC year strengthened its status as a cultural city and increased the participation of Turku residents in cultural activities. The residents' survey provides important information on the views of residents regarding Turku's culture life and the role of ECoC. The results of the survey are presented in the table below.

Table 4.7 Residents views on Turku culture life and ECoC effects for it



Source: Residents' survey

More than 40% of Turku's residents reported that they visited more cultural events in 2011 than usual. This is only true among the people of Turku and the Southwest Finland region. The survey of residents also showed that nine out of ten Finnish residents, who knew about ECoC, think that Turku 2011 had no influence on their level of participation in or attendance at cultural activities. In any case, the cultural year has increased interest in culture and in new forms of culture: 20% of Finnish respondents reported that Turku 2011 has increased interest in the city's cultural services and cultural life. Some 51% of Turku residents reported that because of the title year they became more interested in the cultural life of the city. Some 25% of Turku residents and 14% in Southwest Finland have become acquainted with new forms of culture and art during the cultural year, compared to only 5% nationally.⁵⁵

The same residents' survey found that visitors to the ECoC events from Finland had a positive experience: almost 87% of visitors described their experience as positive and 37% as "very positive". The survey shows that those people who live outside Turku and travelled to the city specifically to the ECoC event had the most positive experience. Among the events that attracted most visitors from Finland were the opening ceremony, Logomo programmes, Colourscape and the Tall Ships Regatta.⁵⁶

A survey of cultural operators implemented by the Turku 2011 Foundation showed that 96% of projects established new contacts and networks as a result of the ECoC. Moreover, 71% of projects mentioned that their operational capacities in the field of culture had improved. When asked specifically if Turku 2011 project status had boosted their operational prerequisites in the artistic and cultural domains, 74% of projects who responded to the survey agreed that it did so "very much" or "fairly much". This is strongly supported by the interviews with project representatives: cultural organisations especially based in Turku highlighted that they established new links and contact with other cultural and other organisations in the city. The ECoC allowed for both small and established organisations to implement large scale activities and facilitated their links and co-operation. Increased co-operation among key stakeholders was seen as one of the key benefits for the culture sector in Turku.

Project interviews identified that the ECoC enabled cultural operators to undertake many more significant cultural productions and events. This is relevant for both small cultural organisations and well-established large organisations. The survey of projects also highlighted that 90% of operators that implemented projects had learned new things from the experience.

⁵⁵ Ibid

⁵⁶ Ibid

The interviews identified that cultural programme of Turku 2011 was well-balanced by including a number of large-scale events and grassroots initiatives. Turku's cultural programme included a number of activities that were produced nationally and internationally, although this was criticised by some local cultural operators who mentioned that ECoC should be about highlighting local talent rather than "importing" cultural activities from elsewhere.

Significant attention was given to cross-sectoral co-operation. For example, co-operation projects were implemented together with universities in Turku, and the links between culture and health as well as productions by teams representing different art fields were emphasised. The role of universities in Turku was to contribute to ECoC through the delivery of research projects and participating in cultural projects. The projects interviewed emphasised that such co-operation was very successful and important to the implementation of the projects. For example "John-Eleanor" was a theatre production on cross-dressing which was prepared and performed in co-operation with a researcher.

A number of projects presented new productions and art works. For example, Cirque Dracula was a large-scale performance specifically produced for Turku 2011. The 1827 Infernal Musical was a production by Turku Youth Theatre which told the story of Great Turku Fire in heavy metal style - an amateur theatre performance which was very popular and very well received by Turku residents. The Flux Aura project presented 12 art works in public spaces. The Musicam Video project brought together musicians, art music composers and video artists to produce video and art compositions. More information on the Musicam Video is presented in the text box below.

Figure 4.2 Musicam Video

Musicam Video brought musicians, composers and video artists together to produce videos and art compositions. The project included symposiums and other events aimed at supporting the work of professional artists, new pieces of music and video art, visualised concerts and musical art exhibitions. The aim of the project was to create three new pieces of art combining music and visual arts. Exploring new ways of performing, illustrating of contemporary music and expression was at the core of the new productions and required dedication, skills and strong team work. Development of strong teams at the initial stages of the project; careful preparation and piloting this approach at much smaller scale in order to test what works well and what needs to be adjusted provided a strong basis for working together and led to success of the project.

4.5.2 Promoting the European dimension

As mentioned above, "internationality" was one of the objectives of the Turku ECoC. In pursuit of that objective, the Foundation made the involvement of European partners an important criterion in the selection of projects for funding. Overall, representatives from over 62 countries contributed to the cultural programme of Turku. The table below shows the most common home countries for project partners that came from other countries.

Table 4.8 Countries most represented in projects

Country	No. of projects (based on 144 responses) ⁵⁷
Sweden	35
Germany	31
USA	28
UK	25
Estonia	23
France	21
Russia	18
Norway	17
Spain	14
Denmark	14
Netherlands	9
Lithuania	9

Source: project survey (n=144)

When asked about their co-operation with international partners, almost 50% of projects reported that they had increased co-operation with international partners within their primary domain. Just over 20% of them highlighted that international co-operation increased with organisations representing cultural fields outside their primary domain. Finally, around 25% of organisations reported that they had increased international co-operation with organisations both in their primary domain and in other cultural fields.

Among the key priorities for the cultural programme was co-operation with other cities in the Baltic Sea region especially Tallinn, St. Petersburg and various Swedish cities. For example, the Detour documentary presented by Atelier Limo explored shared memories and history connecting Finland, Russia and Estonia. The Dancing Tower project was an international production hosting performances both in Turku and Tallinn. In addition, the Turku 2011 cultural programme included productions by Finnish artists and cultural operators working outside of Finland, such as Cirque Dracula; Pots, Sandals and a Tent; and Curated Exhibition to the Baltic Sea.

The projects also developed co-operation with European and non-European countries that are neither neighbouring nor culturally closely related to Finland. The table above shows that the involvement of German organisations was second highest following Sweden. Organisations from UK, France, Spain and Denmark also contributed to delivery of ECoC programme. Outside of Europe, partners from the USA had significant involvement as well. Co-operation with Japan was also of significant importance during the title year, even though limited to a relatively small number of projects.

Some of the projects are originally European (international) like Black Market, Colourscape and Eurocultured, which in their own way brought international input to local initiatives (cf. Eurocultured and Street life projects). Some of the projects emphasised (network) co-operation between local and international artists like in Cirque Dracula and in the Dancing Tower. Also, the two opera productions Alvida in Abo and Eerik XIV had a strong European background based on ancient and medieval history in Europe.

⁵⁷ The number indicates how many projects had partners from a relative country but not the number of organisations/artists from the country. For example, 35 out of 144 projects had partners from Sweden but some projects might have more than one partner from the same country.

The importance of European co-operation for projects interviewed varied for different projects consulted during the evaluation. Some highlighted that increasing and strengthening international networks was of significant importance for them. Others indicated that increasing co-operation at local level and showcasing local talent was of key importance for their projects. Importantly, international co-operation for many of them was at the core of their work before the title year and remained so during 2011.

Significant attention was given to scientific projects in the Turku 2011 programme. University research projects have had a naturally wider dimension than national ones (e.g. in the Baltic Sea realm). During the title year, there was a significant increase in the number of international seminars, workshops and meetings organized in Turku when compared to previous years. This concerns not only universities, but also the Art Council of South-western Finland (Ars Baltica Network meeting and more organized 'cultural bulletins' from EU cultural programme than ever before). The Art Council also reported that more European artists visited Turku during 2011 and more information of financial possibilities to organize international co-operation at the European level was also received. The foundation of the Aura River Network to bring summer events and festivals under one umbrella and promote European culture was one of the concrete achievements of Turku ECoC year. Turku Chamber of Commerce and Finnish Association of Architects also hosted their national/international meetings to Turku during the year 2011.

Themes of European significance that featured in the cultural programme were often related to environmental issues – particularly in relation to the Baltic Sea. For example, Curated Exhibition to the Baltic Sea initiated development of five art productions based on the direct experience of the Sea through sailing and exploring it by self-made boats. These explored the Baltic Sea as one of nature's complex systems, the opportunities and challenges it evokes for people living in the areas influenced by it. The Contemporary Art Archipelago explored the questions of the archipelago community and its seafront environment, as described in the box below.

Figure 4.3 Contemporary Arts Archipelago

Contemporary Arts Archipelago was an exhibition in the archipelago aiming to explore new spaces for visual art works. Rather than being a traditional exhibition, it produced a number of artworks for exhibition in public spaces that could be seen from cruise ships, boats and roads and from in the water. The role of the Baltic Sea and its environmental situation was at the core of the project and artworks reflected on how it affects people living in the Turku archipelago. The artistic works were supported by events facilitating interdisciplinary debates exploring this theme. For example, the symposium *Archipelago Logic: Towards Sustainable Futures* that created a platform for multidisciplinary discussion taking as its starting point the urgencies of the Baltic Sea and the Turku Archipelago was organised together with Åbo Akademi University. Key success factors for the project included the active involvement of local people, strong partnerships with different organisations and a cross-disciplinary approach.

4.5.3 Supporting social development through culture

Changing residents' attitudes towards the city, emphasising the role of culture in well-being, increasing participation in cultural activities and widening people's understanding of culture and its effect on day-to-day life were at the core of Turku 2011. Around 1500 events and activities targeted nurseries, schools, hospitals, housing for the elderly and prisons.⁵⁸ Many artworks in public space were meant for casual passers-by (e.g. Turku³⁶⁵).

Turku 2011 Evaluation Programme prepared a specific report concerning the relationships between culture, participation and (social) welfare as part of the 'Whose Capital of Culture?' theme of the evaluation programme and based on a large survey, literature review and 20 in-depth interviews with selected projects. The projects were selected according to the following criteria: citizens as participants,

⁵⁸ Ibid.

as producers, as volunteers or as some other way. The main research question was: 'How have citizens participated in the cultural year 2011 and what kind of effects has the participation caused'. There were many active ways for citizens to participate events during the Capital of Culture year. In some cases, citizens were able to carry out by themselves the programme in workshops conducted by professionals (2000 & 11 self-portraits, Artist as Neighbour, Clapperboard, Eurocultured). In others, citizens contributed to events by dividing their memories and experienced with cultural operators (No Man's Land, Village Tour, Battle for the City) or by being as objects of artworks (Our Family) and by 'presenting' them (Central Park of Culture and Exercise). Some citizens also participated in events by 'producing' them (Middle-Aged Hair, Turku Grand Prix–Downhill Racing, Neighbourhood Weeks).

A number of interviewees identified that the ECoC had had a significant effect in changing attitudes towards the city. This is supported by data from a national opinion survey in 2012 which indicates that 38% of Finns felt that the ECoC had a positive effect on how they view Turku; some 64% of Turku's residents felt that the atmosphere in the city improved and 59% of residents partly or fully agreed that the ECoC strengthened their pride in the city.⁵⁹

Participation in cultural events and activities increased in 2011 compared to previous years. The residents' survey mentioned above also shows that more than 40% of residents took part in cultural events to some extent or considerably more when compared to previous years and 21% are planning to do so in the future. This is also confirmed by the stakeholder interviews, which indicated that visitor numbers at Turku Art Museum increased significantly in 2011. Similarly, the Logomo received around 270,000 visitors, compared to 150,000 that were originally expected. Data on visitor numbers for the major cultural organisations shows that most enjoyed more visitors in 2011 than in previous years, particularly Turku Art Museum, which attracted three times more visitors than in 2010. More information on visitor numbers in main cultural organisations is presented in Annex Eight.

As mentioned above, one of the key themes for the title year was culture and wellbeing contributing significantly to social development through culture. Even though many cities are exploring links between cultural and social development, Turku was the first ECoC to explore the specific theme of culture and wellbeing at significant scale within the cultural programme. The theme was reflected in all parts of the culture programme including cultural activities, accessibility, research programme and communication.

Increasing participation was among the key objectives of Turku 2011. The stakeholders interviewed emphasised that grassroots initiatives and participatory projects were very important for the overall programme and succeeded in engaging with Turku's residents; key examples of such projects include Neighbourhood Weeks (see box below) and Turku³⁶⁵. A number of projects aimed to increase the participation of older people in cultural activities. For example, the musical "Hair" was performed by middle-aged and elderly people, whilst another project, the KUVA – Culture for Elderly People, introduced cultural plans for the elderly as part of a more comprehensive treatment package.

Figure 4.4 Neighbourhood Weeks

Neighbourhood Weeks provided a platform for associations based in different parts of the city to develop their own cultural programme during one week that would be specifically focused on their neighbourhood. The project provided the opportunity to bring cultural activities closer to where people live, bring together different associations based in the same place, facilitate their co-operation and explore different parts of the city. The project proved to be very successful, especially in bringing different associations to work together in developing the cultural programme for their week. Those involved showed significant interest in building on this experience and have established a new association responsible for organising such activities during the following years.

⁵⁹ Turku 2011 Foundation website: http://www.turku2011.fi/en/news/finns-give-hire-rating-turkus-capital-of-culture-year_en

Turku Library traditionally plays an important role in the cultural life of the city. During the title-year, it received 1.3 million visitors, a significantly higher number of visitors than in previous years, higher than any other Finnish library and a figure comparable to much bigger cities in Europe. The ECoC contributed to this increase through increased visibility of library services and a number of events taking place in the Library.

Around 400 volunteers contributed to the implementation of the cultural programme, the first time that Turku's cultural sector had benefit from a co-ordinated volunteer programme targeting a wide range of activities across the city. The aims of the volunteers' programme were to provide the opportunity for all to contribute to delivery of ECoC and to support the projects implemented by the Foundation. The Foundation developed a database of volunteers, arranged information and training events, collected information from the projects about the help that they needed and distributed it among volunteers encouraging them to take part. Following the contributions, the Foundation collected feedback from projects about their experience of working with volunteers. Projects interviewed stated their appreciation of such support and highlighted that it would be useful to have such an organisation after the title year as well. In addition to the volunteers programme run by the Foundation, more than 13,000 volunteers contributed to the delivery of individual projects.

A group of 20 international volunteers also contributed to the delivery of the programme. In addition, three organisations were partners for the volunteering programme including Red Cross Finland, Mannerheim League for Child Welfare, and the Centre for Personal Assistance. While working with organisational partners, the Foundation aimed to strengthen the voluntary sector in the city and to increase the number of volunteers.

4.5.4 Supporting economic development through culture

The contribution to the long-term development of the city was one of the key objectives set for the ECoC, particularly through the development of the creative industries. The economic impact of Turku ECoC was analysed by Turku School of Economics; it estimates that due to the ECoC, employment in Southwest Finland increased by 3,300 person-years, and the total revenue impact was €260m, i.e. €60m higher than estimated by researchers in 2009. The increase in tourism played a significant role in this, contributing to a €200m increase in production out of the total of €260m. Similarly, employment in Turku's tourism sector increased by 2,500 person-years out of the total increase of 3,300.⁶⁰ Among the key achievements in this area was the development of the Logomo and increasing the importance of the cultural sector within the political agenda and the recognition of its potential to contribute to the long-term development of the city.

The key investment related to the development of creative industries was the Logomo, which was co-funded by ERDF and provided a key exhibition and performance space for ECoC events. It attracted over 270,000 visitors against 150,000 expected. The survey of residents showed that 96% of Turku citizens and 29% of Finns had become aware of the Logomo by the beginning of 2012.⁶¹

Turku's application anticipated that tourist visits would increase by 15% in 2011, contributing to the development of the service sector in the city. The actual increase in overnight stays in hotels and hostels during the title year was more modest at 7%. Although this increase was less than first anticipated, it nonetheless compares well with the average increase of 4% across Finland during 2011. Information available from the Foundation indicates that the modest increase of overnight stays could be explained by difficulties in the ship-building industry. The Foundation estimates that day tourism increased significantly. The Foundation estimates that, when taking into account day-tourism, the overall increase is 17% which is slightly higher than the target set in Turku's application.

⁶⁰ Elias Oikarinen (2012), *Ex Post Evaluation of the Financial Impact of Turku Capital of Culture Project Main Results*, Report prepared by Turku School of Economics.

⁶¹ Turku 2011 Foundation website: http://www.turku2011.fi/en/news/finns-give-hire-rating-turkus-capital-of-culture-year_en

Turku was the second most popular city for international congresses in Finland after Helsinki in 2011. Some 68 international congresses and conferences were organised in the city, which is more than ever before, attracting twice as many visitors in 2011 as in 2010. The tourism revenue generated from the congresses amount to €14.1m. Information provided on the Turku City website indicates that much of the increase was directly or indirectly related to the ECoC cultural programme.

Projects were asked if their ECoC project activities had the potential to be developed as business activities and 43% projects agreed that it was the case. Therefore, the ECoC is likely to have positive effect on the financial situation of cultural organisations after the title year.

4.6 Sustainability

One of the key aims of Turku 2011 was to ensure that the ECoC made a positive contribution to the long-term development of the culture sector and of the city in general. In pursuit of this aim, the Foundation established a working group in May 2011 to develop a sustainability strategy. It included 24 members representing a wide range of organisations and individuals in Turku. The strategy currently is one of the important strategic documents defining activities of the Foundation including the projects that are selected for funding in 2012.

4.6.1 Cultural activities

As mentioned above, the sustainability of cultural activities was a very important objective for Turku 2011. Of those cultural operators responding to the survey, some 83% of projects reported that the activities generated within their ECoC project will or probably will continue after 2011. This finding has been confirmed through the qualitative interviews as well. A majority of the projects indicated that they are thinking of new ways to further present the work that was created or continue with similar activities further. For example, the Neighbourhood Weeks project will continue in 2012 and the association that is responsible for implementing the project has already been established. Similarly, the activities of the Sam Body Plays project have already continued during 2012.

Increased co-operation among cultural operators and other stakeholders was most often mentioned as being a significant effect of the ECoC year. A significant majority of projects (88%) reported that they are likely to continue the co-operation with new contacts and networks after 2011. The benefits of working together were highlighted during 2011 and most of the organisations and individuals that were interviewed, mentioned that they would like to keep such co-operation alive. For example, the Aura River Network was set up in order to bring different cultural events and activities under one umbrella after 2011. The approach to marketing summer events and other collaborations that was established during the title year will be repeated in a similar way in 2012.

The interviews identified that the activities of some of the projects will be implemented at a larger scale in 2012 than in 2011. For example, the culture plans for elderly people piloted in 2011 will be provided at a larger scale in 2012, with around 1,500 elderly residents of healthcare organisations set to benefit.

Importantly, Turku 2011 Foundation will continue funding some cultural activities (around 50 successful projects from 2011 culture programme were funded in 2012) until 2013 and providing support for some networks and associations, thus contributing to the implementation of the sustainability strategy mentioned above. In addition, some marketing activities will also continue beyond 2011 in order to share experience from the title-year, including a photo exhibition, various publications and the Foundation's own website. The funding available in 2012 is an important factor to ensure sustainability of the cultural activities.

4.6.2 Cultural governance

The experience of the title year has highlighted the benefits of the common approach towards the communication and marketing activities of Turku's cultural sector. As mentioned above, some of the projects initiated will continue with a similar approach as part of the Aura River network activities. Similarly, the City administration has recognised the importance of a common approach to marketing and communication and is looking into how it could be introduced further within the City's communication strategy. Importantly, the logo that was used during the title year will continue to be used in the city's marketing materials, albeit with some modifications.

A key outcome of the ECoC has been the greater emphasis placed by the City administration and by cultural operators on co-operation in different fields within culture and between culture and other fields of activity. Encouragingly, the interviews with City representatives have indicated that there are some initiatives to review the organisation of the City administration in a way that would facilitate such co-operation.

From the very beginning, the Foundation aimed to provide something for the projects that will endure beyond 2011. As mentioned above, the production support team aimed to increase the capacity of the organisations involved so that they would deliver similar activities in the future. The support provided by the production team was very important especially for some smaller organisations and they would like such services to continue. This was also identified in Turku's application as one of the "Long-Term Capital of Culture projects". Currently two projects are funded by Turku 2011 Foundation aiming to continue activities of the project support team. A two-year project directed by the Arts Academy in the Turku University of Applied Sciences was launched in order to continue the volunteers programme. The Humanities department of the University has also launched a two-year project, which will continue project support activities such as offering office facilities, meeting spaces, advice and support. The University has provided similar support for small businesses for a long time and will now expand its activities to include public events and cultural activities.

The Foundation itself will continue its work until 2016, although with very limited resources after 2012. As recommended by the working group responsible for developing the sustainability strategy, the City Administration will be responsible for sustaining good practice and effects of the ECoC once the Foundation closes and should emphasise cultural development as one of the strategic developments. Even though there will be no dedicated organisation taking over the role of the Foundation, the City Administration is planning to incorporate into its work a number of the lessons learned. For example, it is currently planning to develop a programme aiming to increase the attractiveness of Turku based on lessons learned from ECoC. It has therefore, the City Administration shown interest in learning from good practice developed by the Foundation in order to improve governance of the city.

The sustainability strategy also highlighted that ECoC experience related to the wellbeing should be included as one of the policy priorities for the development of the city. Indeed, the ECoC highlighted the benefits of citizen involvement in culture and the intention is to build on this experience further. More specifically, the sustainability strategy has proposed the following:

- Revitalizing urban space with culture (e.g. the environment of the River Aura);
- Development of Logomo, Fortuna Quarter, and Old Great Square as future areas of creative and vital activities;
- Provision of more environmental art in public areas;
- Provision of more training using cultural experts for economic life;
- Developing food culture as its own special topic in cultural sector; and
- Facilitating collaboration between the actors of cultural sector concerning communication and marketing.

In addition to the cultural activities mentioned above, a number of research projects will continue to take place. For example, a national evaluation will continue to take place in two phases, i.e. 2010-12 and 2013-16.

4.7 Conclusions

4.7.1 Success of the ECoC

Overall, Turku's ECoC was successful in achieving most of the objectives set by the City, especially those related to developing international links, well-being and the assessment programme. The international links between cultural organisations and artists were developed or strengthened during the year. The well-being theme was of significant importance for the cultural projects resulting in sustainable projects, studies and an important role within local policy discourse. An extensive research programme was implemented including an ongoing evaluation and a number of other research projects. The achievement of the results regarding the development of creative industries is to some extent less obvious. The importance of creative industries within the political agenda and recognition of their importance for the long-term development of the city was supported by the title year. The development of Logomo also has the potential to help foster the creative economy in Turku. However, the actual effect of the title year for the development of Turku's creative industries remains to be seen.

One of the key successes of Turku 2011 has been the increased co-operation among a wide range of stakeholder groups in the city. Indeed, the delivery of large-scale projects within the cultural programme brought together number of organisations and individuals together to deliver common projects. Such co-operation, encouraged by Turku 2011 Foundation, proved to be beneficial to those taking part. Cultural operators and organisations representing other fields, such as education and health, have experienced the benefits that working together brings. Such co-operation is being taking forward both informally and through the establishment of new networks and associations. For example, the Aura River Network was established in order to bring together different summer events and festivals under one umbrella. Associations taking part in Neighbourhood Weeks also benefited significantly from working together and have established a new association that will initiate similar activities again.

Turku succeeded in supporting grassroots organisations in the city that brought culture closer to people. It challenged traditional understandings of culture by asserting that culture is not only to be found in established cultural operators but can also enrich everyday life. Moreover, accessibility was a very important aspect of the cultural programme. This encouraged not only greater attendance but also active involvement in the delivery of culture projects by a wide range of people including, the young people and elderly people.

Increased visibility of Turku abroad was one of the key successes for Turku 2011. Indeed, the visibility of Turku internationally in 2011 was higher than ever before. Two of the highlights mentioned by a majority of the respondents was a New York Times article on Turku and the inclusion of Turku in USA Today's list of the best travel destinations in 2011.

One of the key success factors of Turku 2011 was the stable governance structures and management arrangements. Some core staff members were involved in the delivery of ECoC from the very first initiatives for Turku to prepare the application until the completion of the cultural programme itself. Notwithstanding some important challenges related to preparation and delivery of ECoC, the key stakeholders and staff members remained committed to Turku 2011 until the very end.

The extent to which the results achieved will be sustained during the next couple of years will be of key importance of perceptions of success locally and nationally. The long-term impact was seen as one of the core motivations and rationale for hosting the title in Turku and a significant amount of the budget was reserved for implementation of this sustainability strategy. To address this, considerable effort was put into the development of the sustainability strategy early in 2011. Moreover, consideration of the ways of

supporting long-term development of the cultural programme was a part of the initial planning process. This resulted in the Production Support Team aiming to increase long-term capacity of cultural organisations to deliver similar projects in the future.

The tables below illustrate the extent to which Turku performed against the core indicators discussed earlier in section 2.2.

Table 4.9 Core Result Indicators for Turku 2011

Specific objective	Result indicators	Turku
Promote the European dimension of and through culture	No. of European cross-border co-operations within ECoC cultural programme	Approx 90 projects of the total 165 projects.
Develop cultural activities	Total number of events	8,000 (5,000 free of charge)
	€ budget for the ECoC cultural programme	€35.7m (includes funding from the Foundation and projects)
	€ budget for the ECoC as a whole	€55.6m
	Attendance at events	Over 2 million visits 77% of Turku residents visited ECoC events
	% residents attending or participating in events, including young people, disadvantaged or “culturally inactive”	400 volunteers in Turku 2011 Foundation volunteers programme; over 13,000 volunteers contributed to projects
Support the social and economic development of the city through culture	No. active volunteers	n/a
	€ value of investment in cultural infrastructure, sites and facilities	
	Sustained multi-sector partnership for cultural governance	Turku legacy strategy has been developed in 2011 by representatives of different culture fields; City Administration is planning to launch a 2 year programme to develop the attractiveness of Turku based on ECoC experience.
	Strategy for long-term cultural development of the city	Turku vision for 2031 is currently being developed. The aim of the vision is to create an attractive and enjoyable city of culture that is well cared for.
	Increase in tourist visits	7% increase in overnight stays; estimated 17% increase when taken into account day tourism.
	Volume and % of positive media coverage of cities	In Finland, 5,075 articles in printed media, 2,300 online articles, 315 radio and TV articles from November 2010 to October 2011; 740 media hits in international media from 2008 to October 2011; 19,600 Facebook group members ; 11,000 recipients of the Culture Buddies newsletter
Awareness of the ECoC amongst residents	96% of Finns were aware that Turku hosted the title; around 100% Turku and Southwest Finland residents knew that Turku hosted ECoC title.	

Table 4.10 Core Impact Indicators for Turku 2011

General objective	Impact indicators	Turku
Highlight the richness and the diversity of European cultures and features they share; Promote greater mutual acquaintance between European cultures	Citizens' perceptions of being European and/or awareness of European culture	(Information is not available)
	National / international recognition of cities as being culturally-vibrant (e.g. peer reception, positive media coverage) and having improved image	<p>38% of Finns think that the year had a positive effect on their view of Turku. 64% of Turku residents think that the atmosphere in the city has improved.</p> <p>59% of Turku residents partly or fully agree that the Capital of Culture year strengthened their pride over their hometown.</p> <p>USA Today included Turku among key tourism destinations in 2011.</p>

4.7.2 Lessons learnt

Turku delivered a successful ECoC with strong governance, a good cultural programme, effective communication and a credible legacy programme. This success led to a significant effect on bringing culture closer to people and widening the understanding of culture within society and increasing cooperation among cultural operators in the city. Nevertheless, ECoC being a significant and unique experience for each city taking part provides number of learning points. Such learning points for Turku are presented below:

- It is challenging to ensure enthusiasm and commitment from a wide range of stakeholders from the application to the delivery of the title year, especially when decisions on the distribution of funding are being made. However, significant attention should be given to finding ways for open communication towards cultural operators at local level and engaging them throughout the whole process is very important for the development of the cultural programme.
- Involvement of people with significant experience and reputation within the culture sector is beneficial. This creates the potential for developing trust from cultural organisations in the artistic quality of selected projects especially at the time when limited information is available on how the cultural programme will look.
- Similarly, one of the key criticisms of the development process was linked to a perceived lack of transparency regarding project selection. On the one hand, a similar approach when people assessing applications are not known to wider public is common in Finland. On the other hand, this was to some extent challenging for ECoC. There is wide interest from the culture sector, wider public and media on how the programme is shaping, the progress to date and other issues related to the preparation to host the title. The Foundation found it challenging to communicate why there was limited information available at that time.
- The fact that the ECoC is an EU initiative was mentioned by a number of stakeholders as being very important for the success of Turku 2011. As an EU initiative, the ECoC enabled Turku to gain a higher national and international profile, which also had a significant effect on the success of the title year especially at local level.

Conclusions and recommendations

5.0 Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusions

We offer here a set of conclusions and recommendations based on our considerations of the 2011 ECoC but which relate to the implementation of the ECoC Action as a whole.

5.1.1 Relevance

- The current evaluation supports the conclusion from the previous evaluations of European Capital of Culture Action regarding the relevance of ECoC to Article 167 of the EU Treaty. ECoC remains of key importance and thus of significant relevance for the Treaty through contributing to the flowering of the Member States cultures, highlighting the common cultural heritage and increasing cultural co-operation between Member States and internationally.
- The ECoC concept continues to be of relevance to the objectives of the EU and of local stakeholders. This relevance relates in particular to: promoting the European dimension of culture; development of the range and diversity of cities' cultural offerings; strengthening the capacity and governance of cities' cultural sectors; enhancing social development and citizenship; promoting the international profile and economic development of cities.
- Similarly as above, the ECoC Action remains complementary to other EU initiatives in the field of culture especially the Culture Programme 2007-2013 and the MEDIA Programme. Importantly, it also contributes to achieving the objectives set for the European Agenda for Culture through promoting cultural diversity, developing international cultural links and increasing the role of culture in the long-term development of European cities.
- The ECoC Action complements other European programmes especially in fields such as youth, citizenship, education and training and regional development. In particular, the experience of 2011 demonstrates the potential of ECoC to be reinforced by and add value to investments made by the ERDF as well as the importance of the links between culture, education and research. For example, Turku developed an extensive research programme supporting both academic research and science and arts co-operation contributing to European initiatives related to research.

5.1.2 Efficiency

- The open competitions organised at national level in both Member States generated considerable interest in the ECoC on the part of cities. However, some nominated bids did not match closely the criteria set at EU level.
- The current monitoring arrangements show a significant improvement to those of previous years. However, they do not ensure that all cities fulfil all their commitments made at application, first monitoring stage and second monitoring stage (thus also in respect to the award of the Melina Mercouri Prize).
- At national and local level, the governance and management of ECoC is often challenging and political influences remain very significant. To some extent this is expected due to the nature and scale of ECoC. In most cities holding the title, it is important to establish an independent delivery agency and ensure that political influences do not unduly affect the artistic independence and smooth implementation of activities.

- The funding necessary to achieve expected results varies significantly between cities. Whilst cities make implicit commitments in their applications regarding the funding, the funding in Tallinn was significantly reduced compared to the original application and also to a lesser extent in Turku.
- At European level, the ECoC Action continues to be very cost-effective when compared to other EU policy instruments and mechanisms. However, the share of the Melina Mercouri Prize within the overall budget of the ECoC programme varied widely between the two cities and thus also its significance. For example, in Turku the Prize was relatively small in relation to the overall budget and was thus primarily of symbolic importance, i.e. providing recognition that the city had progressed significantly in its preparations to host the ECoC title. In contrast, the Prize represented more than 10% of the overall funding of Tallinn and was thus more significant in terms of increasing the size and scale of the cultural programme. However, in neither city were the benefits of the Prize made particularly visible to cultural actors and audiences.

5.1.3 Effectiveness

- The 2011 ECoC both succeeded in implementing cultural programmes that were more extensive, innovative and international (e.g. in terms of themes, artists/performers and audiences) than the usual cultural offering in each city. They explored new themes, highlighted the richness and diversity of each city's cultural offering and used new or unusual venues.
- At the same time, it must be highlighted that the cultural programme of Turku was much larger in scope and scale than that of Tallinn; indeed, Tallinn 2011 was one of the least-extensive ECoC of recent years. As with previous ECoC, the 2011 titles highlight the uniqueness of each ECoC, with each reflecting the specific circumstances, capacities and ambitions of the host city.
- Whilst both cities presented very strong local narratives, those narratives can be seen as containing common themes that are essentially European in nature. For example, the cultural programme of both cities highlighted their common histories related to the role of Russia, the Baltic Sea and as well as the contemporary characteristic of being multicultural societies. The experience of 2011 demonstrates, therefore, that all "local" narratives if well explained can be considered as European in essence. It also demonstrates the potential offered by the ECoC title for such local narratives to be communicated to European audiences in a meaningful way.
- The European dimension of the cultural programme of both ECoC mostly related to the efforts to support transnational cultural co-operation and to internationalise the cities' cultural sectors. Whilst European themes were present in both ECoC, these tended to relate to specific projects rather than permeating the entire cultural programme.
- Both ECoC strongly supported citizens' active participation and targeted people who traditionally tend to participate less in cultural activities. In Tallinn, significant attention was given to involvement of the Russian community in the ECoC programme and separate projects were devoted to it. In Turku, the Swedish-speaking community was encouraged to take part in the cultural activities through ensuring that all activities and materials were accessible, i.e. translated into the Swedish language. However, the experience of both ECoC highlights the fact that very different (typically more intensive) approaches are required to widening the participation of citizens as creators or performers, as opposed to merely widening their participation as audiences.
- There are significant differences between cities regarding their approach to evaluation and research. Turku developed an approach incorporating the recommendations of the ECoC Policy Group, undertook regular residents' surveys and incorporated project survey in final reporting structure. By contrast, Tallinn gave much less attention to the monitoring the achievement of indicators presented in the application.

5.1.4 Sustainability

- As identified in previous evaluations, ECoC generates new activities, co-operation and cultural facilities that are sustainable beyond the title year itself. This remains relevant for both cities hosting the title in 2011.
- The creation (or continuation) of a dedicated agency is one way by which a positive legacy can be ensured. Depending on the specific circumstances of each city, this agency may require a quite different focus to the activity taking place in the title-year and perhaps also a different structure and staff. But it can be beneficial for such an agency to carry forward some of the activities initiated in the title-year and to exploit new opportunities that can help ensure that the overall vision for the ECoC is fulfilled in the long-run.
- The 2011 ECoC have demonstrated the potential to offer sustained improvements in the governance of culture within each city and to enhance the contribution of culture to the wider development of the city. However, the fulfilment of such potential remains to be seen and will depend on the choices made by the key stakeholders over the next year or so.

5.2 Recommendations

- 1 The European Commission should continue the ECoC Action as a high-profile and symbolic initiative of the EU, which makes a significant contribution to policy objectives in the field of culture and in the wider fields.
- 2 When preparing the legal basis for ECoC post-2019, the Commission should consider expanding the objectives of the action to include enhancing the governance of culture at the local level, supporting social development and citizenship and supporting the economic development of the city particularly through development of its cultural and creative sectors.
- 3 There is a need for a more explicit and comprehensive set of selection criteria especially related to governance and funding. Such criteria should be consistently applied not only for selecting the cities but also for monitoring progress.
- 4 The Melina Mercouri Prize also should be strongly tied to the cities' progress in delivering their commitments especially in relation to selection criteria. Recipients of the Prize should also be required to take appropriate steps to publicise the use of Prize money in their cultural programmes.
- 5 There is a need for clarification of what budget is provided at the application stage, and particularly whether the budget in cities' application includes only the funding that is to be managed by the delivery agency or whether it also covers the funding secured by the projects and other cultural and public organisations. The Commission should consider providing clarifications for the cities as to what funding should be considered as direct funding for ECoC when compared to the mainstream funding for cultural activities in the city.
- 6 There is a need for more explicit requirements for using the EU logo within communication materials in order to ensure the visibility of the European dimension. Consideration should therefore be given to including the requirement to use the EU logo among the criteria for awarding the Melina Mercouri Prize.
- 7 As recommended by the evaluation of the ECoC selection and monitoring panel, consideration should be given to introducing in the new legal base for ECoC post-2019 a requirement for Member States to indicate clearly from the outset of the process in their country the amount of funding, if any, which they will make available for the winning city.

- 8 Cities should be encouraged to implement a core set of research tasks in order to provide evidence of the achievement of their objectives, including a survey of residents and visitors. As part of that, the European Commission could consider a requirement for each ECoC to commission evaluations satisfying certain key criteria.
- 9 The Commission should consider awarding the Melina Mercouri Prize only once there is clear evidence that the commitments made from the selection phase through to the second monitoring phase have been fulfilled, especially those related to finance. On that basis, it may therefore be necessary to award the Prize much later, e.g. during the title-year itself, in which case it would serve as a source of funding for legacy activities rather than for activities during the title-year.
- 10 The Commission should consider ways to encourage further dissemination of good practice among past, present and future ECoC, e.g. through seminars organised in Brussels.
- 11 Given the often long-term developmental objectives of the ECoC and the long timescales over which positive impacts can be expected to occur, the Commission should consider further research into the long-term impacts of the ECoC in recent years (i.e. those not covered by Palmer-Rae 2004).⁶²

⁶² European Cities and Capitals of Culture; Study Prepared for the European Commission; Palmer-Rae Associates; August 2004

Post-script: fostering the participation of citizens

6.0 Post-script: fostering the participation of citizens

6.1 Introduction

A requirement of the Terms of Reference for this evaluation was to assess the impact of the two ECoC for 2011 and learn lessons from their experience. This aim has largely been satisfied by the reports for each city (sections 3 and 4) and by the conclusions in section 5. In addition to these findings relating specifically to 2011, there are, however, a set of lessons that emerge from the experience of ECoC across the years. Previous evaluations of the ECoC have captured some of these lessons in a series of post-scripts covering "lessons in delivery", "the European dimension" and "leaving a legacy". Together, these post-scripts constitute a rich resource for future applicants and title-holders as well as for those responsible for the future development of the initiative at European level. To complement this resource, we now present a set of reflections on lessons learnt with respect to the involvement of citizens in the ECoC. This draws on the experience cities holding the title in 2011, as well as those covered by the other recent evaluation reports (i.e. the 2007 to 2010 titles).

Decision 1622/2006/EC requires ECoC to be selected according to their ability to fulfil criteria relating to "the European Dimension" and to the "City and Citizens" dimension. With respect to the latter, the cultural programmes of ECoC are intended to "foster the participation of the citizens living in the city and its surroundings and raise their interest as well as the interest of citizens from abroad". The involvement of citizens allows the ECoC to be practically possible but also to articulate a distinct narrative that is both local and European – and to articulate that narrative in a variety of ways.

Experience from ECoC in recent years highlights the key success factors around different groups of citizens that can be involved, the narrative that can be articulated, and the mechanisms by which to foster the participation of citizens.

6.2 Which citizens to involve?

Cities holding the ECoC title are of course all unique in terms of their size, the composition of their populations and the extent and nature of their citizens' involvement in culture. Each city must therefore make its own choices and strike its own balance in the emphasis placed on involving different types or groups of citizens. But above all, there should be recognition that ECoC can help cities to identify untapped sources of talent, inspiration, ideas and energy, which not only enriches the ECoC cultural programme but also provide a legacy in terms of invigorating the cultural life of the city more generally. Based on recent experience, we raise some questions that future title-holders should perhaps consider.

First, ECoC should recognise the potential for citizens throughout all sections of society and across all neighbourhoods to be involved in cultural activities. This may require fresh, perhaps even radical, approaches to be taken and which have not proved easy to facilitate given the current cultural infrastructure and capacity within any city. Such approaches may even prove risky for some stakeholders. For example, established state institutions may have a long-held and highly-deserved reputation gained of serving their long-established, typically well-educated and sometimes conservative audiences with a high-quality offering; for such bodies, the effort to reach entirely new audiences may prove something of a risk, or at least a departure from their usual practice.

Second, there may be the need in particular to identify and engage communities that have tended to be less involved in culture or in particular forms of culture. Here, the underlying reasons for lower involvement need to be identified and new approaches taken. But such approaches are likely to vary according to the nature of any barriers facing particular groups. Reasons are likely to vary: for some ethnic communities, the reason may be a relatively limited cultural offering in their native language, as was the case with Tallinn's Russian-speaking community; for others, proximity may be an issue, as was the case in 2010 for residents of some of Istanbul's more peripheral neighbourhoods who found themselves relatively far from the main centres of cultural provision. In Turku, significant attention was given to ensure accessibility to the cultural events for all and significant attention was devoted for ensuring that people with disabilities and older people would be able to take part and contribute to the delivery of cultural programme. For many groups in society, the primary barrier may be cost or simply the perception that culture is something remote: to be found in galleries but not relevant to their day-to-day lives.

Third, it is important to recognise that the local cultural sector itself is likely to be diverse and heterogeneous, creating the need for a diversity of approaches to engage with it. Established, professional bodies and institutions are likely to be essential to the delivery of any ECoC cultural programme. But independent, underground and amateur cultural operators can equally represent and articulate the cultural life of the city in new ways. For example, the cultural life of Tallinn had traditionally been dominated by the state institutions and so the ECoC sought to showcase the independent scene as well as create links to the state institutions.

6.3 What narratives to articulate?

ECoC are intended to be, in essence, both European and local. They are intended to present the very best of European culture and in that way highlight the richness and diversity of European cultures. Yet some ECoC have been criticised for being elitist and for failing to implement cultural programmes that involved local people and reflected the realities of daily life in the host cities. In short, for ECoC to fulfil the European objectives set for them, they must be rooted in their locality and represent the cultural expression of those localities. Moreover, it can be said that the culture and heritage of any city can only be fully understood in their wider European context, since they have been continually shaped by wider trends or events affecting Europe as a whole. In that sense, the history and culture of Europe can be traced in all European cities and the "narrative" expressed by any ECoC can often be considered as a local "interpretation" of a broader European narrative.

ECoC present, then, both the need and the opportunity to articulate a narrative that is both local and European. Typically, the developmental objectives of the main stakeholders will require the ECoC to articulate a new narrative – one that resonates with the everyday experience of citizens, but which can encourage citizens and the wider world to view the city in a new light. Citizens are both the intended audiences for this new narrative and the means by which it is expressed.

What should this narrative be? It will, of course, reflect the developmental objectives of the stakeholders, i.e. how they would like the city to be viewed in future. It should ideally reflect and enrich the "genius loci", the very essence of what the city is and what makes it unique. Each city will develop its own unique narrative, but these have typically related to putting it on the "European map", presenting it as a cultural destination, reinventing the city (e.g. where there has been a history of industrial decline), emphasising particular characteristics (e.g. the focus of Linz 2009 on "Industry, Culture, Nature", Pécs); encouraging citizens to see the city as part of a wider geographical space (e.g. Essen for the Ruhr 2010, which sought to present 53 different municipalities as a unified metropolis; similarly, Luxembourg 2007, which was based on the concept of "La Grande Région" covering Luxembourg and neighbouring regions in Belgium, France and Germany) or proving to themselves and others in the country that city can make successful events and deliver high quality culture programme (e.g. Turku 2011).

The articulation of this narrative may offer an important opportunity to involve specific groups or communities in a new way. Indeed, ECoC may offer the opportunity for a diversity of sub-cultures or ethnic minority cultures or even an underground culture to be highlighted in a new way. For example, Luxembourg 2007 particularly allowed the cultures of its youth and ethnic minority populations to be given greater prominence and thus help them to become a more established and visible part of the city's cultural scene, which had previously been dominated by the established (and relatively conservative) institutions. Turku 2011 gave significant attention to increasing the active participation of older people in developing cultural activities (e.g. Middle Age Hair production). Such approaches may not only enrich the cultural life of a city, but also make an important, albeit intangible, contribution to social cohesion: as different groups within the city are encouraged and enabled to express themselves and engage in intercultural dialogue.

6.4 How to involve citizens?

Each ECoC is different and must involve citizens in the way that is most appropriate to the circumstances of the city and to the objectives set for it. However, the experience of recent years suggests a number of key success factors.

First, the main partners in any ECoC must strike an appropriate balance between the need for efficiency and accountability and the need to allow space for new approaches to be tested. The ECoC delivery body (and projects within the cultural programme) will most likely be reliant on the institutional partners to provide the necessary support, expertise and resources to make the cultural programme a reality. But the public authorities and state institutions will often need to allow a greater degree of freedom than has been allowed to the cultural sector previously, if a wider range of citizens is to be involved in new and exciting ways. Such approaches inevitably represent a loss of control on the part of the main institutional partners and thus a degree of risk; some projects may fail or may enable dissenting voices to be raised. But without such flexibility, the risk will be that the ECoC will be constrained in its ability to involve citizens and allow them to express the culture of the city.

Second, there is the need to ensure effective communication from the outset and throughout the implementation of the ECoC. After the initial excitement of securing the title nomination, there is the inevitably quieter phase, when delivery structures are being put in place and the cultural programme being developed. Many citizens may naturally be sceptical about the importance of expenditure on culture, particularly where they see it as being remote or unnecessary at times when public expenditure is under pressure. Some may be suspicious of or even hostile to the EU in general, whilst others may be simply unaware of the ECoC and its purpose. To maintain the interest and enthusiasm of citizens it is essential to ensure regular and positive media coverage, for example, related to key developments in the preparations and/or preparatory events. Equally, the support of citizens can be raised where preparatory events can be particularly focussed on involving local citizens, e.g. through small-scale events in local neighbourhoods. For example, Tallinn's "52 Surprises and Ideas" supported public cultural events lasting one week and taking place in different districts across the city in 2010. "Blockbuster" events, not least the opening and closing ceremonies, can be equally important in involving attracting numbers of citizens and maintaining their interest and awareness. For example, many thousands of Liverpool's residents witnessed the parade of the mechanical 15-metre spider ("La Machine") down the city's streets in 2008.

Third, open calls for project proposals can be particularly effective in engaging local citizens as creators, performers and organisers. Moreover, they also help create the impression of openness and transparency in the selection of projects and in the allocation of funds. Open calls for projects have enabled some of the most successful and innovative ECoC projects to be implemented – often by small or independent operators who were previously unknown to the main institutional partners and whose ideas might never otherwise have come to prominence. For example, Tallinn's Lift11 project, which enabled eleven new and innovative installations to be developed in public spaces, became one of the ECoC's most visible projects and yet was conceived by a small firm of architects who, other than responding to the call, had had no other involvement in developing the ECoC.

Fourth, practical and technical support can sometimes be as important as financial support in enabling local people or independent operators to operate effectively as project organisers. Amateur or independent cultural bodies can often deliver quality activities for modest sums of money, for example, through using volunteers or improvising where necessary. In addition to funding, such bodies often have a greater need for artistic advice, practical and technical support, such as the loan of equipment or help with communication and handling the media. Where small or inexperienced operators receive funding, perhaps for the first time, there may be a need to help build the capacity to handle such funding; in particular, this will involve the ability to satisfy any conditions applying to grant funding, such as the provision of monitoring reports and audit trails. For example in Turku, a project support team was established in order to increase organisational capacity ranging from available office spaces, meeting rooms, accessibility equipment to advice on legal requirements and specific training. The need for such support should not be underestimated, particularly in cities where there is a limited tradition of state support for such cultural operators.

Fifth, the involvement of citizens should be encouraged across the cultural programme and through a diversity of projects. Small-scale projects are, of course, important to allow individuals or groups of citizens and small operators to operate as project organisers. However, it is not the case that citizens can only be involved in small, amateur productions. Where the involvement of citizens has been most successful and extensive has been where they have been involved in both small and large events and in amateur and professional productions. For example, the Klangwolke (Cloud of Sound) Festival in Linz 2009 involved around 1,000 volunteers over several weeks in creating polythene animals before carrying them in a procession through the town for a performance in a riverside park. Collaborations between professional and amateur artists or between state institutions and independent operators in the context of ECoC can also very often enable capacity to be built and encourage the professional of new, small or independent operators; they can also lay the foundations for continued co-operation in the long-term.

Sixth, there needs to be a diversity of cultural events for citizens to attend as audiences, typically at locations across the city. The specific nature of these locations and the type of events will vary from city to city. Typically, the need is for small events in accessible locations across different neighbourhoods, as well as large events at the major venues or in public spaces. New audiences can be attracted by events in new or unusual locations or by events in the established institutions that are specifically targeted on them (e.g. young people). Very often the events will need to reinforce the overall narrative that the ECoC is attempting to articulate. For example, Tallinn 2011 and Sibiu 2007 placed great emphasis on events in public spaces, to reinforce the message that culture can be part of everyone's daily life and can take place everywhere. Tallinn also organised many events at the seafront, in order to encourage citizens to visit areas that had previously been closed. In Turku significant attention was given to bring culture closer to everyday life through implementing projects in all the neighbourhoods of the city through Neighbourhood Weeks, Artist as a Neighbour. Moreover, number of projects aimed to provide art work in unexpected places such as parks, Aura river and theatre performance in a swimming pool. Essen for the Ruhr 2010 organised many events in former industrial premises, as a means of emphasising the area's regeneration and recovery from industrial decline. Both Liverpool 2008 and Linz 2009 placed great emphasis on organising cultural event in neighbourhoods across the city, particularly in schools (in the case of Liverpool).

Last, a volunteering programme can one of the most effective ways of increasing the long-term, active participation of citizens in culture. Whilst most volunteers tend to be young people, often art students or others interested in a career in culture, each ECoC has typically attracted around 500-1,500 volunteers of all ages and backgrounds. The key success factors tend to be effective co-ordination (typically provided by a full-time, dedicated co-ordinator), a central database, proper induction (relating both to the ECoC in general and to the specific volunteer position), careful matching of volunteers to positions, clear articulation of the requirements of both volunteer and cultural operator, and ongoing training and support. Where proper planning is undertaken (and resources provided, e.g. paid co-ordinator), there is the potential for many of the individual volunteers to continue in their positions well beyond the end of the title-year and for the programme itself to endure.



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