

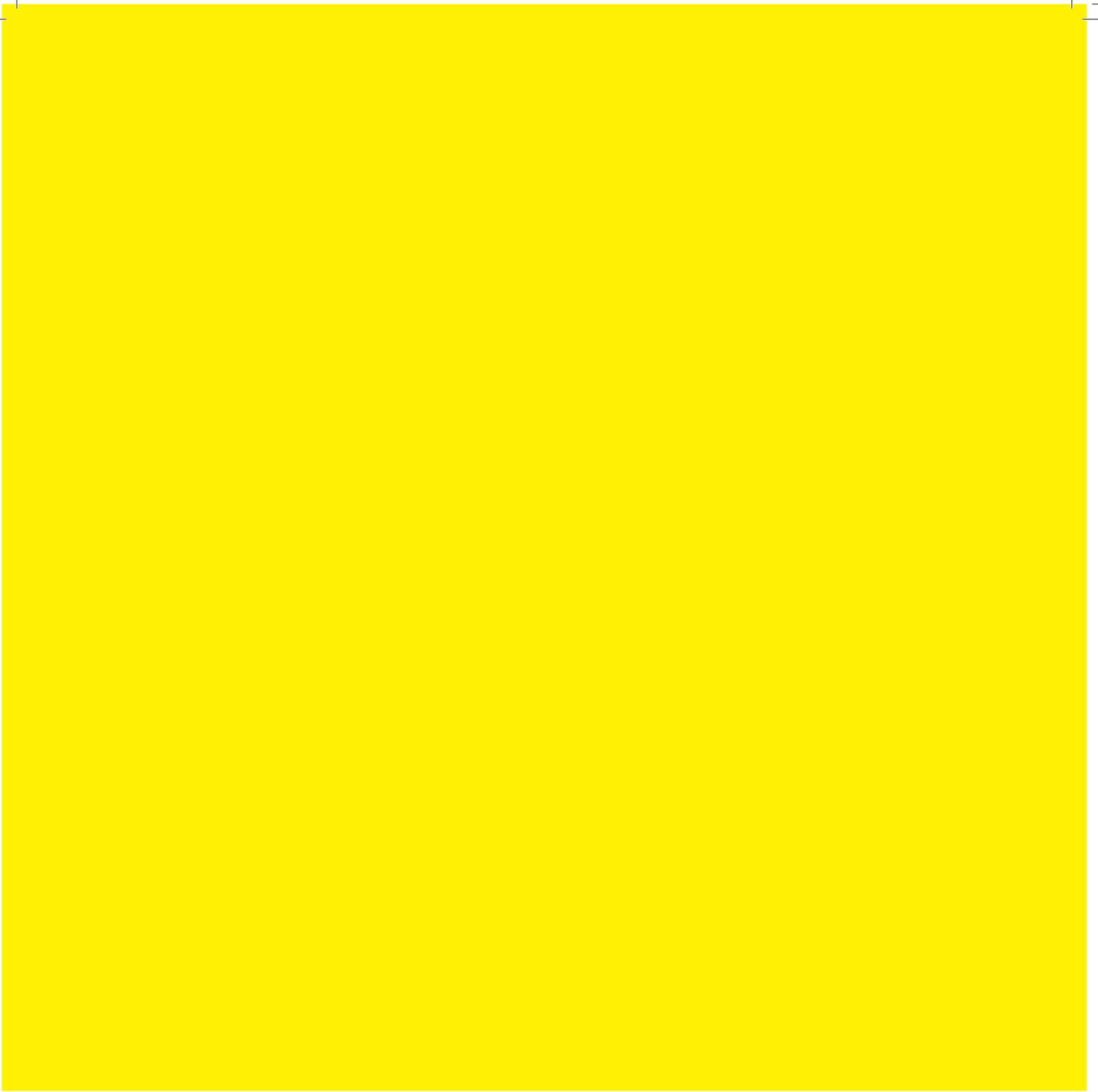


Rijeka 2020

Classroom, Seminar

**How to
communicate
ECOC?**

**RIJEKA JUNE 7th
AND 8th 2017**



Dear friends and colleagues,

—Rijeka 2020 team

It is our pleasure to welcome you to the “How to communicate ECOC?” seminar through which we aim to contribute to the development of knowledge about communication and marketing for European Capitals of Culture. We are thankful to our guest speakers and workshop leaders for sharing their invaluable experience and know-how: Karin Arvidsson (Umea 2014), Xabier Paya (San Sebastian 2016), and Neil Peterson (Liverpool 2008).

We would like to thank the City of Rijeka, Primorje-Gorski Kotar County, the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia and the Embassy of France in Croatia for supporting the Rijeka 2020 capacity building program called Classroom.

Classroom is an integrated learning program for building the capacity of the cultural sector and empowering the local community. It focuses on building and sharing capacities, learning transnational skills – a competence that every European city needs in a framework of inter-dependency and healthy partnerships, regardless of which city carries the title.

We hope these two days of learning and sharing will be inspiring for you. Together with our distinguished guests, we have prepared thought-provoking discussions, practical workshops and many opportunities to meet and exchange knowledge.

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The clusters: Water – Work – Migrations, together with the term Port, form our City’s narrative and value system. At the same time, they mirror and reinforce the European Union’s foundations of respect for diversity, open dialogue and transparent cooperation.

Regardless of political will or democratic tradition, these values should never be taken for granted, but must be revitalised by each generation. It is precisely the true and constant danger of collectively losing sight of these values that makes them so valuable and so fragile. They must be defended seriously, strategically and culturally.

Our Cultural Programme provides the conditions for artists and citizens of Rijeka to defend and develop these values. They are challenges on which the future of Rijeka and Europe depends. We are convinced that Rijeka 2020’s concept and implementation can inspire other European cities to face similar developmental problems with an appropriate cultural response.

Port

Rijeka is the largest Croatian port. It was also the largest port in former Yugoslavia and one of the two competitive, main ports of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, alongside Trieste, for nearly 50 years. The city’s ups and downs follow the ups and downs of its port. The port’s fate was the city’s fate. Despite significant economic shifts, the port maintained a strong position in the economy of the city. Much of this is now being opened for a different kind of urban development. The port is a common, magnetic concept with which all citizens of Rijeka still identify, despite the fact that modern ports, including the port of Rijeka, do not wield the same cultural influence that historical port cities displayed, where seamen became emissaries of cultural exchange, bringing global experiences, new vinyl LPs, new fashion and trends. The historical port of Rijeka played a role similar to the Internet, a global information hub which significantly shaped the spirit of the city.

Water

“Put your finger in the sea and you’ll be connected to the entire world.”

Together with the port, the history of Rijeka developed in a context made up of shipyards, a refinery, a torpedo factory, shipping and fishing industries, and military and naval academies. Life and labour by the sea and with the sea are a distinctive part of our city’s existence. However, the sea is not the city’s only water. Rijeka is a city that thrived on fresh water; its immediate hinterland has an average annual rainfall of 3,500 mm. Our surroundings include dozens of fresh water springs. The city is named after the Rječina river that once represented the border between two countries, and two distinct parts of the city. Since the 17th century, the city’s coat of arms includes the inscription “Indeficienter” (inexhaustible), under the image of a jug from which water flows unfaillingly.

One of the city’s fresh water sources springs at the very heart of the city, supplying the whole of Rijeka and its region with fresh water. Water is both a strategic resource and a public good that provides, one which provides countless possibilities for sensible and environmentally responsible use.

Rijeka is a city marked by water and named by water – a fluid city, both literally and metaphorically.

As an essential human right, work has been completely transformed over the past two decades. In the 1990s, due to the war and a catastrophic privatisation process, Rijeka lost almost 25,000 industrial jobs, as well as the status and identity of an industrial city. In the de-industrialisation processes, which affected many cities, the economic strategy of turning towards the service sector did not bring expected results. Rijeka has yet to discover its full potential in the sphere of intellectual and creative work.

In these times of deep economic and social crisis, accompanied by high unemployment, existential issues arise: what is the fate of work and workplaces in the era of new technologies and industries? Will traditional forms of employment, stable workplaces with full hours and rights, survive after 2020? What will the position of employees be in science, healthcare, education and other spheres of public interest? What fate might befall those that must adapt to a life based on occasional and temporary work? What will the position of employees be in cultural institutions? Of independent artists? Can we talk about a connection and interdependence between the “work of art” and the “art of work”?

Rijeka is a city of political discontinuity, marked by numerous migrations both to and from the city. Different cultures have intertwined/ clashed/re-joined. Fortunately, the result is a tradition of tolerance as a fundamental value. During the entire 19th and 20th century, Rijeka as a strong industrial city attracted new residents, so it is no wonder that to be a citizen of Rijeka today means to live in a city with 22 national minorities, where daily papers are published in two languages (four until recently), regular radio broadcasting in Italian and a Roma neighbourhood whose inhabitants are integrated into the working and social life of the city.

As in the past, Rijeka is recognised today as a liberal and open city which has always opposed discrimination.

While forming the final Cultural Programme, the theme of migration imposed itself as important content / the cause of diversity. We understand that Rijeka, Croatia and all of Europe must prepare for future scenarios involving immense changes of population, increased mobility, physical and intellectual nomadism and transnational exchange. Rijeka, however, already knows this story. So many emigrated, through our port and from our countryside, some have returned, some have nurtured their native culture in other countries and on other continents. We want Ri:2020 to provide creative links between the experiences of emigration and immigration. We want to understand the tendency towards cultural nomadism and intercultural lifestyles.

Rijeka is a city that visitors often bypass on their way to dreamy Adriatic summers because they don't know it. They bypass it because life has become too heavy to include a visit to a complex post-industrial town, fiercely contested throughout history due to its strategic position. With only around 130.000 inhabitants, it is a small city on a European level, yet third largest in Croatia. Being the largest port in the country, its economy mainly relies on shipbuilding and maritime transport. Located in the Kvarner Bay of the Adriatic Sea, it is the main city of the Primorje-Gorski Kotar County and its economical, administrative and cultural centre.

There remains maybe a shyness, rooted in the disappointment of not being seen, of being underestimated. The city learned to not care. The Rijeka 2020 – European Capital of Culture bridge to Europe offers an opportunity to re-ignite both pride and humility. At the same time, Rijeka frames a space burdened with historical events, as a divided city, shaped by forced and voluntary migrations. Rijeka is a living case study of social, cultural and economic discontinuity, attempting to maintain a worthy existence, despite everything. Europe,

as a continent and as a project, is beginning to doubt its own core values of openness, diversity and tolerance. The old world's ambition as a lighthouse of freedom has turned into a wall built of fear. The only appropriate response is a cultural one.

We need exemplary action and citizen engagement, building a Capital of Culture that faces present danger and revives future hope. In 2020, Europe will designate the first Capital of Culture from Croatia, a country still synonymous with insecurity, hardship and war, for everything that frightens Europe. That is precisely why Europe needs Rijeka, a city known for remaining an oasis of normality in an abnormal context.

This stubbornness is what gives Rijeka its European and cultural determinant, although it is barely known. New identities in a transnational context Rijeka is a somewhat tired city that needs to re-imagine itself. In this way, Rijeka needs Europe. We have to reach beyond our own habitual memories and narratives, as a thriving port, a prospering industrial city, because that city simply does not exist any longer. It slid away at the end of the last century, together with lost jobs, leaving abandoned halls, chimneys and power plants. Rijeka's industrial heritage is vast and epochal, it created the city. However, nostalgia is not an ideal way to live in the present nor to create the future. Rijeka's nostalgia feeds apathy.

Thus, our need for strong tipping points: the energy of 20,000 students of our relatively new and ambitious University, the innovation of the creative sector and the title of the European Capital of Culture, to cultivate and communicate. We need a challenge that throws us out of our comfort zone of daily life and local pride. We need different eyes, encounters with the Other, an identity of curiosity and solidarity. We need a common project to gather us in our desire to invent the future rather than wait for it.

Rijeka's cultural scene has always been constant, dynamic, stable and progressive. However, it has never been a decisive part of the city's image. Outside the city's borders there are not many people who associate Rijeka with culture and the arts. Rather, Rijeka brings to mind ships, blue shirts, captains, cranes, rust, oil and residential high-rises for workers' families. Rijeka = Work, while Culture = Pleasure, relaxation, beauty, contemplation. Rijeka has never seriously explored tourism as a development potential, regardless of its predispositions and location. Rijeka arts and culture remain almost completely undiscovered, especially at the international level. Our incredible industrial heritage, indigenous music traditions and a carnival movement protected by UNESCO are secrets kept by the citizens themselves. If it can be said that true culture is endangered by commercialisation and the influence of mass tourism, Rijeka is the contrary.

We have not commercialised our culture and heritage at all, so we face the real danger of a local market far too small to sustain. Rijeka's cultural and creative sector must outgrow its local basic function and become a serious driver of the city's innovative ambitions, attractiveness for tourists and a measurable improvement of the quality of life. Modern world cities are competitors, they fight for investments, new citizens, students, visitors. In that context, Rijeka's cultural potential has barely been tested.

Media attention – from criticism to support

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(What would you do differently if you knew what you know now? – an investigation into 12 former European capitals of culture, Ralf Noras)

What characteristics the media attention most in the different w c s, is the development from being critical and negative to a more positive and supporting position as time went by. The media could be cruel when things were difficult (especially in the early years), and enthusiastic when there was success. Many cities experienced a higher attention from international compared to national media, but the overall impression is that cities are fairly satisfied with the media. The most astounding experience was probably in Linz, where the local daily news wanted to deal with money, and became very negative towards the Foundation because Linz09 refused to contribute financially to certain types of local journalism.

“Both. The attention from local media became stronger when the international media started to write about B2000, even though I noticed several brilliant articles in international media which were never published in Norwegian media. We went through all phases. In the beginning, we noticed normal enthusiasm from the local media. Then we experienced a dramatic change when the Director was replaced by the deputy Director, and there was full agreement among the national media that national support to B2000 was wrong. The Opening ceremony with 35.000 participants, changed in many ways the media’s attention into a more positive and enthusiastic way. There was not much to criticize from local media. From national media there was not much attention.” (Bergen)

“Both. There were problems connected to the close relationship between us. Media wanted their stories and sometimes we question their motivation. But at the same time, they have another point of view to us. The media attention was astonishing. In a sense it may have overwhelmed us. I don’t mean artistically or in terms of programming. But our efforts to keep media at a distance while we examined programme ideas from the public call, our efforts to attend to the political forces bearing down upon our local journalists and our efforts to offset the orchestrated tabloid cultivation of media cynicism, all ruined our peace of mind and damaged. In a sense, for our sakes, a new Delivery team should have been brought in. A crucial event occurred within the Corporate culture of our main media sponsor, The Cork Examiner. The newspaper decided to become a National rather than a regional daily newspaper and changed its name from Cork Examiner to Irish a number of its key journalists, including its Arts Editor. Suddenly, they needed to prove that they were national rather than provincial in outlook. Therefore, ironically, our key media sponsor became the instigator and propagator of the most serious negative media campaigns against us. Handling this chaotic lapse of local media loyalty became the overwhelming concern of the Cork 2005 office.” (Cork)

“Both. Cruel when things went wrong (cancellation of Matthew Street Music Festival in 2007). Supporting and enthusiastic when successful. As time went on, they became more positive. Local media was partner” (Liverpool)

“There were some terrible situations with the media. The worst aspect was probably that the local daily news wanted to deal with money. We refused to be a part of such corrupt way of journalism, and they were against us. We received more attention from international media compared to national media in Austria.” (Linz)

“No reason to complain. The media were critical, but they were supporting and did not work against us” (Essen/Ruhr)

“In the beginning: Very critical, only scandals. What happens in Hungary, happens in Budapest.”
In 2010 the media became more neutral.” (Pecs)

“Mainly supporting. The local/regional media kept Turku 2011 very much visible all the time, every day, especially during the year itself. There was some eagerness to criticize, but mainly before the year.” (Turku)

“In the beginning: Very critical.
Later: Great” (Tallinn)

“2011: Mostly negative. They did not know what to expect, uncertainty regarding the expectations.
2012: Changed in a very positive way. Media realized, like the people, that interesting things were going to happen and were mainly supporting. 400 foreign journalists come to Maribor and it was another challenge for home journalists” (Maribor)

“The problem with media in 2012 was that there was not enough journalists to write about culture. We had to fight for the attention all the time. After all I am satisfied. There are newspapers which are always negative. Others are coming if there is a very well known director or producer. To me it seems like the media has no clear strategy on writing about theatres in general, and about puppets especially” (Maribor Puppet Theatre)

How to communicate ECOC?

Rijeka 2020 is organizing a two-day seminar on the topic of marketing and communication referring to most shared challenges, issues and solutions each ECOC has encountered. Three themes have been identified as the most important:

- a) ECOC communication and marketing plan, considering: geographical division strategy (local, national, regional, EU), chronological division strategy (communication in preparatory years, in the winning year and afterward), communication tools and stakeholder mapping (planning, managing and responding)
- b) Crisis communication (challenges of communication in the framework of ECOC)
- c) Marketing and communication legacy (the long-term legacy - through which the City should, ideally, feel and work differently).

It should be emphasized that one of the most important priorities of every ECOC is to improve the visibility of a city as a whole on an international scale. Therefore, it should be important to communicate the designation and specific activities of the ECOC, communication tools and branding, as well as to timely respond and communicate in crisis situations. The above-mentioned topics are of crucial importance for completing through the first marketing and communication seminar.

Seminar guests and experts are:

- **Xabier Paya**
San Sebastian 2016
- **Neil Peterson**
Inside Track; Liverpool 2008
- **Karin Arvidsson**
Malmö University; Umeå 2014

Wednesday, 7th of June

9:00 a.m. – 9:30 a.m. Registration <i>and welcome coffee</i>	9:30 a.m. – 10:00 a.m. Welcome note & presentation of Rijeka 2020, Rijeka 2020 team	10:00 a.m. – 10:45 a.m. From the border of Siberia to the centre of Manhattan – a journey to make a small town famous, Karin Arvidsson	
10:45 a.m. – 11:00 a.m. Q & A	11:00 a.m. – 11:15 a.m. <i>coffee break</i>	11:15 a.m. – 12:00 p.m. ECOC Development: Hope for the best but prepare for the worst, Xabier Paya	12:00 p.m. – 12:15 p.m. Q & A
12:15 p.m. – 01:00 p.m. Communicating for the Legacy, Neil Peterson	01:00 p.m. – 01:15 p.m. Q & A	01:15 p.m. – 02:15 p.m. <i>lunch</i>	02:15 p.m. – 03:45 p.m. Workshops: w1 – ECOC communication: Ten crises and ten tips; w2 – Communicating for the Legacy; w3 – Co-creation – a way of making the citizens active. And making the politicians happy
03:45 p.m. – 04:15 p.m. Sum up of workshops	04:15 p.m. – 05:15 p.m. Closed session with ECOCs' marketing and communication experts <i>and coffee</i>	06:30 p.m. study visit – Giants of Patagonia, traveling dinosaur exhibition, <i>dinner + concert</i> of Karadin trio (Karlo Ilić, Edin Botić, Rajko Ergić) on Čajni trg	

Thursday, 8th of June

9:10 a.m. – 9:15 a.m. Intro for the day	9:15 a.m. – 10:45 a.m. Workshops: w1 – Co-creation – a way of making the citizens active. And making the politicians happy; w2 – ECOC communication: Ten crises and ten tips; w3 – Communicating for the Legacy)	10:45 a.m. -11:15 a.m. Sum up of workshops	11:15 a.m. – 11:30 a.m. <i>coffee break</i>
11:30 a.m. – 01:00 p.m. Workshops: w1 – Communicating for the Legacy; w2 – Caught by Umeå- a media strategy to enhance the northern look; w3 – ECOC communication: Ten crises and ten tips	01:00 p.m. – 01:30 p.m. Sum up of workshops	01:30 p.m. – 02:30 p.m. <i>lunch</i>	02:30 p.m. – 04:30 p.m. How to communicate ECOC? Karin Arvidsson, Xabier Paya, Neil Peterson MODERATOR: Vuk Ćosić

Brief introduction to our guests and lectures



Karin Arvidsson

Karin Arvidsson is currently working as Head of Communications at Malmö University. She is an experienced Head of Communications with a demonstrated history of working in public administration, and has a background as a journalist, host and producer on Swedish television. She handles media and communication and is professional skilled in Public Affairs, Political Communication, International Communication and Political Science. During the period when Umeå was appointed as European Capital of Culture, she was responsible for the international marketing of Umeå2014.

From the border of Siberia to the centre of Manhattan - a journey to make a small town famous

Among the more visible projects executed during Umeå2014, the tour Caught by Umeå was one of the most successful. The tour encompassed events in seven big cities in Europe, which attracted thousands of visitors and had a huge media impact. During the tour, Umeå presented films, videos, food, sami culture and music in an ice-coverage with roots in the Nordic window of the European house as northern Sweden presented itself to Europe and the rest of the world. It all ended up in a PR-value worth around 400 000 EUR connected to international media coverage.

Karin Arvidson will present the strategy of International marketing for Umeå2014 and also describe the communications process the in years before and after 2014 - the years during which Umeå was in the spotlight as European Capital of Culture. What was the purpose of launching Umeå as a culture capital, and what were the methods of communication and choice of channels? And what was the result in terms of media coverage and impact on the local and national level regarding politics?

Xabier Paya

Xabier Paya is a translator, improviser, musician and researcher. He has carried out the following postgraduate studies: Master of Multimedia Communication at the University of the Basque Country, Master in European Modern Cultures at the University Birmingham, and Expertise in Transmission of the Basque Culture at the University of Mondragón. He was a lecturer in the United Kingdom (University of Birmingham), France (Université de Pau et des Pays de l'Adour) and Spain (Universidad de Mondragón), and has also worked as a screenwriter and collaborated with various media. He recently published the *Anthology of Basque Oral Literature* in three languages, and has translated relevant literary works such as *A Streetcar Named Desire* and *Life is A Dream*.

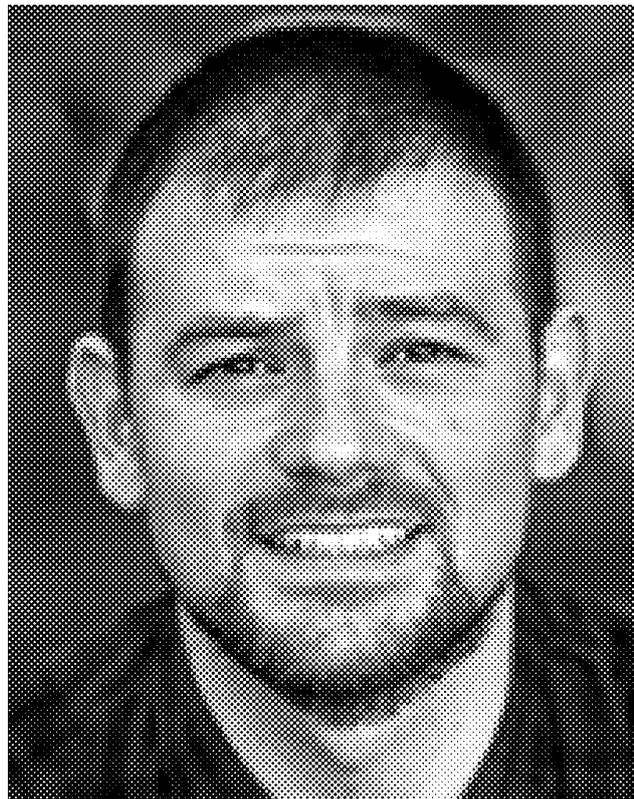
He joined the San Sebastian 2016 Foundation in August 2013, and since then, he has been the main person in charge of the Cultural Programme of the European Capital of Culture, developing more than 200 projects and 3,475 activities.

ECOC Development: Hope for the best but prepare for the worst

"Lions and bears and tigers, oh my!"

By 2020 62 cities will have held the title of European Capital of Culture (ECOC). It is often called the flagship cultural initiative of the European Union, since cities receive greater international understanding and profile, and develop new cultural offers and opportunities for artists and cultural organisations. ECOC acts as a catalyst for a big change in the city... and changes are never easy. Depending on the change sought by the project, the amount of difficult situations and unexpected problems might be considerable, and sooner or later crisis will occur. Every institution is vulnerable to crises; particularly a recently-created foundation that deals with internal organisation, programme development or sponsoring. Hoping the problem goes away and letting time go by are not an option.

This lecture will explore the main challenges of communication within the framework of ECOC. It will consist of three main sections: the basics of ECOC communication, the particular case of San Sebastian 2016, and a series of questions, tips and dilemmas connected to ECOC.





Neil Peterson

Neil Peterson is the director and founder of Inside Track, a cultural and creative consultancy which focuses on helping clients – mostly from major UK and European cities – deliver positive social and economic changes through culture, creativity and sports and other participatory events. Peterson has played a significant role in the development of the European Capital of Culture project over recent years, being a founding member of the ECOC network. He was a member of the Liverpool 2008 senior team, where he led both the international relations work and programmes based on volunteering, community participation and tourism benefits. His special experience is the understanding of role of culture and sport in encouraging creative and active participation in life of the city, as well as finding practical ways to connect cultural and sports programmes with the wider economic development of major cities. He has advised several other ECOCs on these aspects of their programmes, as well as on strategy and legacy. Previously, Peterson has held a range of senior positions in the UK with a particular emphasis on creativity, employment and community development. This includes a spell as England's Northern Director for the Charity Commission and acting as the leader of cutting-edge employment and training programmes in the private sector. He also works with a number of leading creative organisations in the UK, advising on strategy, funding and European partnership development.

Communicating for the Legacy

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A journey of a thousand miles starts with the first step, as the old Chinese proverb tells us. The more successfully European Capitals of Culture manage the early steps of their task, the stronger and more successful becomes the subsequent legacy. A European Capital of Culture is effectively 4 projects:

- a) The transition from Bidding to Delivery organisation
- b) The development of the Artistic programme for the year
- c) The delivery of "The Year"
- d) The long term legacy – though which the City should, ideally, feel and work differently.

The transition is often the most difficult and problematic time. And if things start to go wrong or are badly managed in those early couple of years, inevitably the team spends much of the buildup period in firefighting mode. The result is that much of the focus is on recovery, and even if the year itself is eventually a success, the longer-term impacts are less so. In Peterson's experience – which he will share during his lecture and the seminar – if the right focus is given to communication and planning processes in that transitional period, there is a much better chance of the longer term impact of the city.

Developing a clear and shared City narrative, managing the expectations of the public and key stakeholders, and an honest recognition that not everything will work perfectly during the buildup years form part of an approach to communication which will get people on your side. It is also important both to set out and deliver against some clear milestones so that people can sense positive change, even though there will also be some setbacks. This lecture will share examples of how some ECOCs have been able to deliver this and demonstrate some avoidable pitfalls. It will also cover the ability to develop shared objectives with key stakeholders at the national and regional level in order to deliver improvements to areas such as tourism. Finally, we will also be examining the importance of linking the evaluation and monitoring framework to communication so that the sense of positive change taking place can be measured and shared.

Some literature to read

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SUGGESTED BY Neil Peterson

Reinventing Government

Osbourne, David; Gaebler Ted (1992)

An American change management book from the 1990s which is relevant in terms of practical change programming which is a fundamental part of successful ECOCs

Born to Run

Springsteen, Bruce (2009)

Bruce Springsteen's autobiography. Bruce shows how a willingness to succeed and a passion for his art overcome some huge challenges. It's also great for showing how music can be a way to explore some of the major challenges of working families - very relevant today.

SUGGESTED BY Rijeka 2020

Communicating for the Legacy : Neil Peterson Inside Track

Rijeka Conference

Luxembourg and Greater Region, European Capital of Culture 2007 Final Report

London Journal of Tourism, Sport and Creative Industries

volume 5, edition 6, spring 2011

SUGGESTED BY Xabier Paya

What would you do differently if you knew what you now know?

Noras, Rolf (2014)

An investigation into 12 former European Capitals of Culture.

Masters of Disaster: The Ten Commandments of Damage Control

Lehane, Christopher; Fabiani, Mark;

Guttentag, Bill (2014)

Positioning: The Battle for Your Mind

Ries, Al; Trout, Jack; Kotler, Philip (2000)

European Capitals of Culture: Success strategies and long term effects

paragraf 4.6. Communicating the ECOC, Beatriz Garcia, Tamsin Cox

European Cities and Capitals of Culture

Study Prepared for the European Commission, Part I

Communicating for the Legacy Neil Peterson Inside Track - Rijeka Conference

A journey of a thousand miles starts with the first step, as the old Chinese proverb tells us. And in my experience the more successfully European Capitals of Culture manage the early steps of their task, the stronger and more successful becomes the subsequent legacy.

The ECOC process is complex and constantly evolving. As we know, it has been going for over 30 years. During that time huge social and political changes have taken place. These have been reflected in way ECOC programmes have developed. From the original celebration of recognised cultural cities in the 1980s we moved to the culture-led regeneration models of Lille, Liverpool and Linz. More recent models reflect the need for smaller cities to develop as creative and cultural hubs. As such, the ECOC project has mirrored, even driven developments in cities.

At its best, the ECOC programme enables its host cities to experiment and develop innovative ways to connect culture with positive social change. If one phrase were to sum this up it is **“the democratisation of culture”** the way culture has developed from a “top down”, institutionally owned approach to one which is more open. This allows culture in its widest sense to connect with and find solutions for some of the key issues which face the community.

My first book choice was, in the 1990s, the “bible” for change management in forward thinking governments in the USA and UK – work I was doing at the time. “Reinventing Government” by Americans Osborne and Gaebler was a practical guide for managing the changes needed to create more responsive government. It focussed on the concept of “entrepreneurial” government – led by practical projects which put citizens first. When I revisited the book to prepare for this conference, I was reminded of how much its ideas can help the delivery of complex city change projects like ECOC – because in many ways that’s what ECOCs are.

My proposition is that those ECOCs who understand, address this with citizens and key stakeholders are likely to enjoy a more positive and long term impact. So this lecture examines how to achieve and to communicate this.

A successful transition

In my experience, a European Capital of Culture is effectively 4 projects –

- 1) The transition from Bidding to Delivery organisation
- 2) The development of the Artistic programme for the year
- 3) The delivery of “The Year”
- 4) The long term legacy – though which the ECOC City should, ideally, feel and work differently.

The **transition** period – which Rijeka is involved in currently – is often the most difficult and problematic time. If things start to go wrong or are badly managed in those early couple of years, inevitably the team spends much of the build-up period in fire-fighting mode. The result is that much of the focus is on recovery, and even if the year itself is eventually a success, the longer-term impacts are less so.

My experience – which I will illustrate with some examples – is that if the right focus is given to organisation, communication and planning processes in that transitional period – there is a much better chance of longer term impact of the City.

It's All About The Story!

The first key point is to get the story right and to share it!

Developing a **clear and shared City narrative**, managing the expectations of the public and key stakeholders, and an honest recognition that not everything will work perfectly during the build-up years forms part of an open approach to communication.

The key issue is to get people on your side. It is also important both to set out and deliver against some clear milestones so that people can sense positive change, even though there will also be some setbacks. *Some, but not all, ECOCs have been able to deliver this.*

Now that the Rijeka 2020 team is making progress in filling key positions, this can enable most Build Up activities to be completed with a settled team (though the team is likely to grow again just before 2019 as operational staff join the team). So it's time to share the story of the journey which Rijeka is engaged on.

You should already have a storyline for Rijeka 2020 (why we bid, what our strategy is, what the plan is...). The sooner this is ready, it can

be shared and adapted for key stakeholders and developed as the project evolves. But your core message should be clear and consistent.

The trick then is to find away for people in the City and your key local, regional and national stakeholders to find their own part in the story. By organising in this way, the ECOC becomes the connecting mechanism through which Rijeka moves forward as a City – rather than being seen as this complex and impenetrable beast which becomes a lightning rod for all city criticism.

Here are a number of key areas where clear engagement in the early years will bear fruit in the longer term. Good communication and involvement can make the project so much more successful.

1) Communities

Can we be sure that Rijeka 2020 is really relevant for people in the city, especially in those areas which face the greatest economic and social challenges?

What is clear is that relatively few ECOCs have taken a really strategic approach to community development programme. Yet it is becoming even more important where large groups of people have apparently little stake in mainstream society.

This is a major barrier to the development of creative, inclusive cities. Yet people are looking for something to connect with and also something to help connect to each other. Old familiar structures have disappeared – major employers, faith, communities and with it in some cases a sense of belonging. This provides a major opportunity for Rijeka in terms of a new, shared city story.

Do so whilst there is still time to examine new approaches, and for new cultural maps to be drawn to identify fresh and different ways to connect Rijeka's culture and communities. Which are the key City strategies? Or major issues and problems – which could include health and wellbeing (physical and mental), crime and disorder (are certain areas or groups “crime hot spots?”), community cohesion (do certain areas have a strong, positive and participative culture and other less so).

Review of the cultural assets in communities – libraries, sports and community centres – and which work best and which could work better.

Create a balanced community programme development and encouraging people from the Neighbourhoods to engage in City centre cultural activities (audience development) – and which Neighbourhoods are less represented in the City and why?

Do a similar mapping exercise for the City's **schools** to examine the possibilities of creating some kind of cultural education programme. The establishment of a series of **"teacher champions"** in schools as a key communication channel.

Develop early your strategy for recruiting and developing a programme of Volunteers to embrace and involve local people.

2) Tourism and Business

This is the classic win-win for City, Region and Nation. Rijeka 2020 can become an **"attack brand" for cultural tourism in Croatia**. An opportunity to build on the strengths which Croatia already has, but bringing out a new, more sustainable model.

There is clear evidence in destination development that connecting more than 1 product – strategic regional/national tourism for Croatia with Rijeka 2020 – can massively increase profile and demand.

In Rijeka there is also a real opportunity to linking this to a **tourism/welcome programme** which builds on the positivity and pride which people feel for their city, making them feel part of the solution.

Think about creating a "Business Hub or Club" where businesses of all types can feel part of the growing confidence – rather than complaining that the project is only interested in them as sponsors.

3) A shared Evaluation Model – what success looks like

Revisiting the model in the Bid Book and checking for continued relevance is a crucial part of communication; **identify what it is really important to measure** and starting the measurement process; ideally connecting this to the Commission's own Monitoring process so they are joined up and not contradictory.

But what is absolutely crucial for the legacy is for Rijeka and all of its stakeholders is **to try to understand – collectively and individually – what success looks like**. This can inform the journey to 2020 and communication on progress. It can also provide a growing sense – as the special year approaches – of the kind of organisation needed post 2020 to deliver the ECOC legacy.

4) Delivery Plan

Pulling this – and other areas I have not covered in this paper – into a **Strategic Delivery Plan** to guide the Foundation through the period between now and 2020, and to ensure a stronger legacy, is a hugely beneficial process – both in ensuring key milestones are met, and at the demonstrating that progress is being made against key milestones.

The development, publication and communication of that plan should be a key task of the team in 2017. And regular reviews of progress can form a crucial element of the communication process.

I have not in this paper spoken about **Cultural Programming** – but here, the legacy is more about how the range, quality, organisation and funding of culture in Rijeka from 2021 onwards. I will give some examples of this from Liverpool and other cities in my lecture.

ECOC status can provide an important catalyst for city regeneration, and in particular provide a milestone for bringing major capital projects to fruition. To maximise the benefits, the ECOC year should be integrated within existing plans and strategies (and as early as before the city has received its designation) (ECORYS, 2009a: 74).

Despite this perception, physical developments that are part of, or associated with, ECoCs are not always viewed as positive. Challenges and critiques of particular examples are considered in Chapter 6 of this study.

4.6. Communicating the ECoC

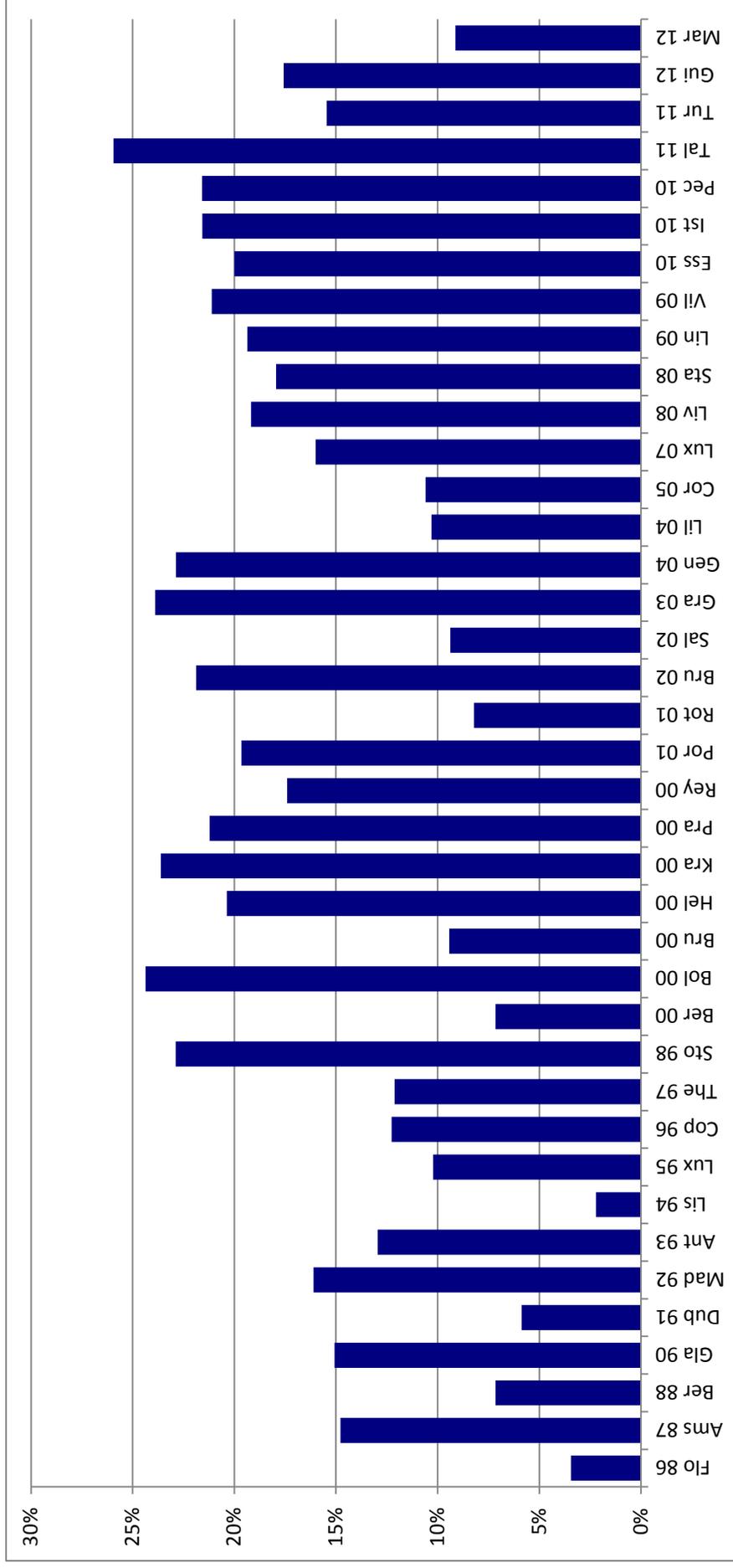
As an event and as an intervention seeking broader social and economic outcomes, a key concern for cities hosting the ECoC is communicating both its designation and its ECoC-specific activity. This Section looks at the budgets ECoCs invest in marketing and communications activities, the kinds of core messages and approaches used, and the specific methods of communications that cities employ to build tourism.

Budgets for marketing and communications

The analysis below (see Figure 13) looks at the proportion of ECoC operating expenditure (not including expenses/expenditure on infrastructure/physical developments) that cities report as having spent on marketing, promotion and communications activities.

Please note that, due to the amalgamation of this data from multiple sources, and the unavoidable variations in the way that the data is collected/supplied by cities, this data should be treated with some caution. The range for all ECoCs included in this analysis is between 7% (Bergen 2000) and 26% (Tallinn 2011), although, broadly speaking, cities fall into two general groups, with a third spending between 7% and 12% on marketing and communications and more than half spending between 20% and 26%. From a historic perspective, there are cities at both the lower and higher end of this spectrum in each of the three Phases; but it is also apparent that, from 2008 onwards, the majority of ECoC hosts are spending around 20% on marketing and communications.

Figure 13: Proportion of total ECoC budget spent on marketing and communications, by ECoC (1986-2012)



Sources: Cork 2005 website; ECORYS (2010a; 2011c; 2012a; 2013a); Garcia *et al.* (2010); Luxembourg GR 2007 (2008); Myerscough (1991; 1994); Palmer/Rae Associates (2004b); Stavanger 2008 (2009)

Beyond the trend towards higher marketing spending, particularly in the third phase of the ECoC Programme (2005 onwards), the only other detectable correlation – which is, however, tenuous – is with city size. Over half of all small cities (less than 0.5m inhabitants) for which data is available tend to spend 20% or more of their budget on marketing; and 64% of them spend 15% or more. In contrast, only 43% of medium cities spend over 20% of their budget on marketing, and only half spend more than 15%. Large cities, meanwhile, though a small group, spend the lowest proportion, with only 29% spending 20% or more of their budget on marketing. (Clearly, there is a relationship between these city size-related variations and the temporal trends detected, as the number of small cities hosting the ECoC has been on the rise, particularly since 2005.) Contrastingly, there is no apparent correlation between the size of a city's programme (the number of events or projects) and its proportional marketing allocation, with the only exception being during Phase 1 of the Programme, when Glasgow 1990 and Madrid 1992 stood out both for the size of their programmes and their marketing effort. This did not apply, for example, to Amsterdam 1987 and Antwerp 1993, both of which also had higher-than-average marketing proportions but average programme sizes. The motivations for cities to spend more or less in marketing are, thus, varied and not dependent on single factors that would allow easy typification. An assessment of the kinds of messages prevailing in the communication effort does, however, shed some more light on key delivery trends.

Core messages and approaches

After mixed beginnings, when marketing strategies were unclear or poorly operationalised, ECoC hosts have become increasingly strategic in their communications. As highlighted by Palmer/Rae Associates (2004b), the main focus of communications is the city itself, and this study confirms that city positioning (for cities with low profile pre-ECoC year) or repositioning (for those that may have a profile, either nationally or internationally, but one that is considered outdated or negative) is the priority marketing approach for 70% of cities for which data is available – with the majority of the other 30% being national capitals and/or cities with an established international profile, such as Athens 1985, Paris 1989, Luxembourg 1995, Copenhagen 1996, Prague 2000, Helsinki 2000, Brussels 2000, or Istanbul 2010.³⁸ Expectedly, the other most common focus of communications is the promotion of ECoC programmes themselves, which, whilst often secondary to city positioning, features in one way or another in almost all marketing campaigns. The majority of cities not prioritising city promotion focus their communications on their respective ECoC programme, with varying degrees of emphasis on their chosen themes for the year (as discussed in the previous Section). However, it is also worth noting that some cities, particularly in the early years but also in a few recent editions, did not develop (or could not fund) ECoC-specific marketing campaigns, relying instead on the dispersed communication efforts of existing cultural organisations or tourist boards.

In terms of priority audiences for the communication effort, the report by Palmer/Rae Associates (2004b) offers an illuminating overview of the period 1995 to 2003. In this period, 75% of hosts indicate that their priority was to reach "opinion formers", followed by cultural professionals (62.5%). Only 31% indicate that young people are their first priority target (instead, the latter tend to be seen as a 'medium priority' target for communications). This is quite a revealing finding, as it suggests that for most hosts in this period, the main purpose of their marketing campaign was to influence media narratives, alongside the views of their peers and key decision-makers, which, in turn, may have influenced a wider audience. This finding supports the view, expressed in

³⁸ This assessment results from analysis of references to respective ECoCs' core marketing messages or marketing strategy by Palmer/Rae Associates (2004b), Myerscough (1994), Garcia (2004) and ECORYS ex-post evaluations of ECoCs from 2007 to 2012.

Chapter 5, that for a long period of time, an important impact area was the ability to shape opinions amongst the elite, to consolidate the credibility and relevance of ECoC programming. In the same report, children and young people dominate as a medium priority communication target (81% of surveyed ECoCs), followed by politicians (50%); whereas elderly people, ethnic minorities and disabled people are mostly considered a low communication priority (44% to 50%). As discussed in Section 4.7 ('Public engagement'), programming for young people has become a common pursuit for the majority of ECoCs; however, the analysis of findings by Palmer/Rae Associates (2004b) suggests that this was not extended to the marketing strategy before 2005. In fact, as extensive research on Glasgow 1990 shows, despite the fact that this city provided an early example of an ECoC presenting work for a very wide range of audiences, its sophisticated marketing strategy was, nevertheless, mostly oriented towards opinion formers and other elites (Garcia, 2003; 2004b). Research conducted on cities within Phase 3 of the Programme, on the other hand, suggests a change of trend, with young people, as well as ethnic and other minority groups, featuring more prominently in marketing and frequently acting as the focus of dedicated marketing campaigns (Garcia *et al.*, 2010; ECORYS, 2009a; 2010a; 2011c; 2012a).

Communicating with local audiences

As noted above, it has become common in recent years (particularly from 2005 onwards) to identify a series of targeted communication activities to make the ECoC appealing to distinct groups at local and national, as well as international, levels. Palmer/Rae Associates (2004b) provide the only attempt at comparing the scope of communication targets over a 10 year period. Their research claims that the priority audience for 81% of cities hosting the title between 1995 and 2004 was locally based, while 62.5% of cities had the region as their secondary audience, with the nation as third target audience (62.5%), and Europe as fourth target audience (87.5%). The only exceptions in this period are Bologna 2000, which considered Europe as its priority communication target, and Prague 2000, which considered Europe its secondary target.

Table 7: Priority communication targets

Year	ECoC	Priority target	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth
1995	Luxembourg	Local	National	Regional	European	International
1996	Copenhagen	Regional	National	Local	European	International
1998	Stockholm	Local	Regional	National	European	International
1999	Weimar	National	Local	Regional	European	International
2000	Prague	Local	European	International	National	Regional
2000	Bologna	European	National	Local	Regional	International
2000	Brussels	Local	Regional	National	European	International
2000	Bergen	Local	Regional	National	European	International
2000	Helsinki	Local	Regional	National	European	International
2000	Reykjavík	Local	National	Regional	European	International
2001	Rotterdam	Local	Regional	National	European	International
2001	Porto	Local	Regional	National	European	International
2002	Bruges	Local	Regional	National	European	International
2002	Salamanca	Local	Regional	National	European	International
2003	Graz	Local	Regional	National	European	International
2004	Genoa	Local	Regional	National	European	International
Most dominant target audience		Local (81%)	Regional (62.5%)	National (62.5%)	European (87.5%)	International (93.8%)

Source: ICC analysis of Palmer/Rae Associates (2004a)

Although comparable data for other ECoC periods is not available, an assessment of the literature gives a strong indication that the emphasis on local (or internal) audiences as top priority continues to be on the rise and that, since 2005, this is the area benefiting from the most extensive variation of dedicated communication techniques. The most important change over time has been a switch from a focus on reaching out to local media and other local elites (cultural and political actors), to a far broader exploration of local community marketing strategies. Amongst the latter, approaches that stand out are locally-owned branding techniques (e.g. contests to design variations of the ECoC logo) dedicated to the local population, or often produced in collaboration with the local groups they serve; and techniques dedicated to rebrand local areas (new place branding). Some examples of this are discussed below, while communication techniques created to appeal to external audiences (in particular, tourists) are discussed in the following Section.

Locally-owned branding

Looking at the marketing techniques employed by Istanbul 2010 from a local perspective, Hoyng notes that:

Especially amongst poor communities, [such as] ex-migrant [communities] in the urban peripheries, technologies of place branding were used to foster 'urban consciousness' and a sense of belonging to the city. A volunteer to Istanbul 2010 explained to me that the project, The March of the Cultural Ants, targeted children from such communities, not so much to define Istanbul for the children as to let them define their city and the event was positioned not just as a festival but as a step towards sustainable change in governance and participation (Hoyng, 2012: 9).

In order to encourage local ownership, some ECoCs make available versions of the core ECoC branding for use by local projects, even if they have not received direct financial assistance from the ECoC agency. In this case, the support provided could be interpreted mainly as a joint communication platform, which heightens the visibility of existing city cultural activities during the ECoC year and helps ECoC organisers in their claim to connect with grassroots organisations, such as neighbourhood associations and community-led youth, religious or ethnic-minority centres. In the case of Istanbul 2010, Hoyng (2012) defines this as "logo support", while other marketing literature would define this as umbrella branding. More generally, Hoyng states that: "Istanbul 2010's place branding staged local populations as co-producers of the project, and more broadly, of Istanbul as a thriving creative city and a frontrunner among global knowledge economies" (*ibid.*: 9).

In addition, Istanbul also seemed to offer a different kind of city in terms of its existing 'brand'. As Bıçakçı (2012: 1004) points out, Istanbul was different to many of the other cities that have been awarded the ECoC title, in that it already had a very strong brand as an international cultural centre and was therefore faced with no overwhelming imperative to build on this area. Indeed, the ECoC award was perceived as an opportunity to market the European aspect of Turkey's identity, thereby helping to facilitate the country's long-term ambition to accede to the EU. However, the author argues that the success that the city had in achieving this goal will not be evident for some time (*ibid.*: 1005). Beyond this, the core communication aim of Istanbul was to use the title to "Involve as many people and organisations as possible; and Redefine the relations between the people of Istanbul and the city administration in order to create a new mechanism for decision-making" (ECORYS, 2011: 76)

The local appropriation and reinterpretation of the ECoC brand was also evident, although highly contested, in Glasgow 1990, Cork 2005 and Liverpool 2008 (Mooney, 2004; O'Callaghan and Linehan, 2007). The struggle over control of logos and advertising materials gave rise to local forms of cultural production that were used both to preserve and promote the oppositional cultures important to these cities' sense of identity. As such, in some cases, communities reinterpreted the logos or created mock versions (see Reason, 2006a on Glasgow 1990). In other cases, communities or individuals have instead chosen to use the original bidding emblems over the official ECoC brand, as the former tend to be seen as accessible, and not commercially owned nor subject to exclusivity deals with sponsors as is the case with the latter (Garcia, 2008). This activity was often conducted in the face of criticism from the organisations administering the ECoC.

Local branding or rebranding of places

Local adaptation of marketing materials has also been used to develop new senses of place and new local brands. Scheytt and Beier (2010: 44) discuss the approach for RUHR.2010, the brand title chosen for Essen for the Ruhr's year as ECOC. As one of the central themes of the programme was the social and cultural transformation of the Ruhr area as whole, it was decided to change the title of the year from 'Essen for the Ruhr Area' to 'RUHR.2010'. In this way, the organisation not only hoped to rebrand the region as a whole (the affix 'Area' was also dropped by other regional organisations), but also to ensure that all individual cities, municipalities and cultural institutions involved could present themselves in unity as part of the larger whole. In some cases, this can present some branding challenges, such as with Marseille-Provence 2013, which has tried to conflate two very different, previously existing place brands: Marseille, as a diverse port city with some rough edges, and Provence as an idyllic/traditionally country area that is much more mono-cultural.

The Pécs 2010 marketing strategy (2008: 21-27) had a similar aim, attempting to develop a new brand for the city via partnerships, with a focus on local elements. Pécs' strategy notes that close strategic partnerships between local, national and international institutions and actors were essential to achieving its goals, along with cooperation with other Hungarian cities and with the two other ECoC for 2010: Essen for the Ruhr and Istanbul. Pécs aimed to establish a new brand that would move away from some of the negative associations that the place had developed (as a site of declining population and tourism), whilst retaining the notion of the city as a cultural city (Pécs 2010, 2008: 11-12). As discussed in Chapter 5, these objectives were largely met and Pécs succeeded in its repositioning as a cultural centre.

Communicating for tourism

At the other side of the spectrum, many ECoCs have specifically identified tourism objectives within their plans for the year, predominantly intending to attract tourism through the marketing of events and wider place-based branding. Prominent examples include Glasgow 1990 and Liverpool 2008, which saw their ECoC year as the chance to reposition their city nationally and internationally, and as the key platform to launch a previously underdeveloped tourism framework. Gold and Gold (2005: 225) argue that as the Programme has developed, the ECoC has become: "longer, better planned, and more extensively marketed, particularly through international tourist agencies".

In terms of external perceptions and tourism, there are different views as to the immediate benefits of gaining ECoC status but most would agree that the designation in itself will not result automatically in tourism benefits; rather, it requires that the ECoC status is used effectively as part of appropriately defined marketing strategies. For a number of cities, the literature suggests that the ECoC status provides a 'hook' for communication with potential tourism markets. For instance, the ex-post evaluation of the 2007 and 2008 ECoCs suggests that the 'visibility' that the designation prompts supported all four ECoCs in those years in generating tourism increases (ECORYS, 2009a) – evidence for which is discussed in the next Chapter, dedicated to exploring the impacts and effects of ECoC activities. The 'hook' of the ECoC goes alongside the creation of a tourist-friendly image, flagship activities and other activities to improve the tourism 'offer', including skills development for the city's visitor front-line services. In all of these cases, what is important is to establish priorities that are appropriate to external audiences and, thus, clearly distinguished from the type of techniques relevant to the local population. In this sense, Palmer/Rae Associates (2004a) found clear evidence of a relationship between type of communication message and target audience: while marketing communications focused on positioning the city were mainly aimed at national or international audiences, the promotion of the ECoC programme *per se* was mainly dedicated to local audiences, with audiences further afield a secondary target or a target only of a selection of event highlights.

It is common for ECoC hosts to want to use the year to change existing perceptions. Bruges already had a significant tourism base upon which to build, but was keen to change perceptions of the city as "corny" and "dead" (Bruges 2002, 2003). Working with specialist agencies, Bruges undertook a branding campaign prior to the start of the year itself and supported this with a media plan, aimed at using the ECoC as the centre piece of a new image: "The Cultural Capital concept is a well-known formula, so Bruges 2002 could automatically count on press interest from at home and abroad" (*ibid.*: 58).

For the year itself, Bruges 2002 worked with travel operators and media to promote the city and the year's activities, and worked with the national and city-based tourism agencies to promote tourism. Similar processes have been used by other ECoCs, from Lisbon 1994 in the early years (Holton, 1998), to Essen for the Ruhr 2010 (Essen 2010,

2009), Liverpool 2008 (ECORYS, 2009a; ENWRS and Impacts 08, 2010) and Linz 2009 (ECORYS, 2010a).

Flagship events have often been a key element of marketing the ECoC and city to tourists. Events that were staged under the 'Liverpool 08' banner – the formal branding for the Liverpool ECoC programme – were an important factor in driving visitors, including those who did not attend events (ENWRS and Impacts 08, 2010: 4, 20). On their own, significant events can be significant drivers of tourism. In Thessaloniki 1997, two significant events (a U2 concert and an exhibition of artifacts from Mount Athos) drew in approximately 10% of Thessaloniki 1997's audience from outside Greece (Deffner & Labrianidis, 2005). In contrast, for Luxembourg GR 2007, there was a sense that the "very limited number of flagship events and relatively weak artistic themes" limited the ability to promote the ECoC to international tourists (ECORYS, 2009a: 33).

Finally, developing the branding and marketing skills of those working in the tourism sector has been a way to develop a city's offer on an almost one-to-one basis. Pécs 2010 ran a foreign language training programme with transport staff, policemen and people working in the service sector, and a regional 'cultural-touristic' network with a job creation programme in support of it, to run until 2012 (2009: 5). Similarly, Liverpool developed a *Welcome programme*, involving 10,000 people (5,000 of whom attended training) who were 'frontline' staff in the visitor experience (ECORYS, 2009a: 69-70). Like Liverpool, Linz trained staff in public transport interchanges to provide information to tourists, and a number of routes – including information centres, cultural institutions and shops – were used to carry information for visitors (ECORYS, 2010a).

Strength of the ECoC brand

Views on the strength or weakness of the ECoC Programme as a distinct brand vary. This is partly a result of the diversity of approaches and models for ECoCs that have been applied across different cities due to the differing national understandings of the ECoC, but also due to the complex interrelationship between ECoCs and wider trends in city marketing and city branding approaches in the context of major event strategies (Richards, 2000; Evans, 2005). The academic debate in this area points at both the risk of underplaying the core brand (which results in poor recognition of what makes the ECoC distinct from other cultural events, e.g. the fact that it is a European initiative and aspires to project a European Dimension) and the risk of making it too uniform (which would lead to a disconnection with the particularities of each host). On the first point, Garcia (2004a) argues that the ECoC brand has been underused or overshadowed for most of the Programme's history up to 2004, which may explain the limited impact of its European Dimension aspirations, particularly from a media coverage point of view. With regard to more recent ECoC editions, however, Aiello and Thurlow (2006: 151) suggest that the promotional material across a range of ECoC cities has developed a "general uniformity". Aiello and Thurlow make the point that cities reproduce "the institutionalised *look* of a European Capital of Culture", suggesting that there is an ECoC brand, and that communicating that the city has become an ECoC is more easily and effectively enabled by adopting the institutional image of the ECoC. To explain what is meant by this "institutionalised look", the authors claim that cities focus on the use of the cityscape as a common visual device, along with other imagery such as fireworks and groups of children. Clearly, the most effective branding approach for ECoCs would be one that strikes the right balance between the individual distinctive features and collective memory of respective host cities, whilst retaining the supposedly recognisable ECoC 'look' identified by Aiello and Thurlow (2006). The paragraph below offers a reflection on some of the best achieved examples, either for the distinctiveness of the look, or the variety of mediums used to make it connect with different constituencies.

Ever since Berlin 1988, which Myerscough (1994: 98) considers the first city “to commit serious resources to the promotion of the event”, respective ECoC hosts have created logos and designed a corporate identity for the year that could be applied to a range of media to make the brand visible and widespread. The most common ECoC communication approach is exemplified by Turku 2011. The city used a range of regular communications methods and mediums, including: press releases, meetings and media materials available online; a listings calendar; magazine supplements with national and local newspapers; an online presence; presence at tourism fairs and work through tourism agencies and tour operators; a targeted promotional campaign for nearby countries (in the case of Turku, Sweden and St. Petersburg in Russia); and inviting journalists to view the city (ECORYS, 2012a: 50). The latter method can be an important source of (medium- to long-term) impact, as travel and culture journalists can be motivated to visit the city for the first time and thereafter use it as a point of reference (see Chapter 5 for a discussion on available evidence). An additional and, if adequately used, very effective mechanism for ECoC branding is to devise a ‘look of the city’ programme, involving the distribution of flags and banners displaying the year’s corporate identity at the most popular city streets and public squares, around iconic buildings and throughout the main city entry points (airport, train stations, road links); this is alongside the display of branded signage, helping visitors find their way around the city. Research on the Liverpool 2008 experience (Impacts 08, 2010d) shows how such programmes can play a key role in shaping first impressions of the year for external visitors, as well as ensuring that tourists not originally motivated to visit the ECoC develop an awareness and interest. The issue of awareness/interest can also apply to locals, with programmes shaping or enhancing their opinion of the year and its value for the city - the subject of the following Section.

4.7. Audiences, participants and volunteers

Most host cities have stressed the importance of engaging local people in the planning and delivery of the year (see, for example, Pécs 2010, 2008: 51), as well as building audiences for activities from within the local population (de Munnynck, 1998; Cogliandro, 2001). The rhetoric of social inclusion is strong in relation to ECoCs. The Director for Cork 2005, for example, stated that: “This project [the ECoC] can only be regarded as a success if all of Cork’s citizens have an opportunity to participate in this celebration of our culture” (quoted in Quinn & O’Halloran, 2006).

What has sometimes been called the ‘citizenship dimension’ of the ECoC is considered key to the success of an ECoC by several commentators (Buursink, 1997; Besson & Sutherland, 2007; Boyko, 2008). For several cities – such as Rotterdam 2001 (Buursink, 1997), Salamanca 2002 (Herrero *et al.*, 2006) and Liverpool 2008 (Prado, 2007) – the ECoC was seen as an opportunity to change public participation in the cultural activity in a significant way. Several ECoCs have demonstrated significant challenges in balancing local participation with other agendas, and the perceived absence of appropriate or significant engagement of local populations is an area of significant critique in literature about the ECoC Programme. For example, Besson and Sutherland note that Cork 2005 acknowledged a tension between the “once in a lifetime agenda of international cultural events” and the potential for excluding local people, resulting in “a loss of public support during the cultural year” (2007).

Despite this emphasis on the importance of public engagement, relatively little information emerges through the main sources to identify what cities did to engage citizens, and particularly what were the mechanisms and detailed approaches. Some evidence is available of different kinds of public engagement sought by cities. Discussed in this Section are:

- Evidence of activity targeted at specific groups
- Approaches to audience development and participatory activity
- Volunteering programmes.

The visitor expenditure estimates in the final column of table 14 have therefore been adjusted to take account of differences in calculation methods, and should therefore be roughly comparable. The indications are that cities such as Rotterdam and Bruges which generate a large number of domestic day visits tend to generate less additional spend than cities such as Porto and Salamanca which attracted proportionately more staying tourists.

These figures indicate that additional visitor expenditure that can be directly attributed to ECOC itself ranges between 10 million Euros and 37,5 million Euros, largely depending on the mix of day and overnight visitors and the total attendance. The average additional spend generated per visitor ranges from almost 20 Euros in the case of Salamanca and Porto to 6-7 Euros in Rotterdam and Bruges.

Detailed visitor surveys in a few ECOC have indicated that the bulk of visitor expenditure is accounted for by accommodation and subsistence costs for visitors staying overnight. Spending by day visitors and local residents not surprisingly tends to be much lower. The fact that most of the economic impact of ECOC is concentrated in the hotel and catering sector points to a problem of coordination that is also noted below in the discussion on collaboration. Although additional visits to ECOC are arguably generated mainly by the cultural resources of the city, relatively little of the visitor expenditure flows back to the cultural sector, for example through admission charges to cultural institutions. The policies of encouraging access to culture tend to keep entry fees low, except in the case of some high profile arts performances. This means that the cultural sector itself gets relatively little direct financial benefit from increased visitor spending compared to the tourism sector.

Marketing

Attracting visitors to ECOC obviously involves a considerable marketing investment, particularly as the competition from other cultural events grows. The marketing budgets of ECOC have varied considerably, although caution should be exercised in comparing marketing and promotional budgets which may include very different elements, and generally do not include additional marketing spend by local, regional and national tourist boards and municipalities. It should also be noted that for most ECOC organisations responsible for managing the cultural programme, marketing efforts were focused mainly on the local or regional populations, leaving the prime responsibility for tourism to specialist agencies or municipal departments.

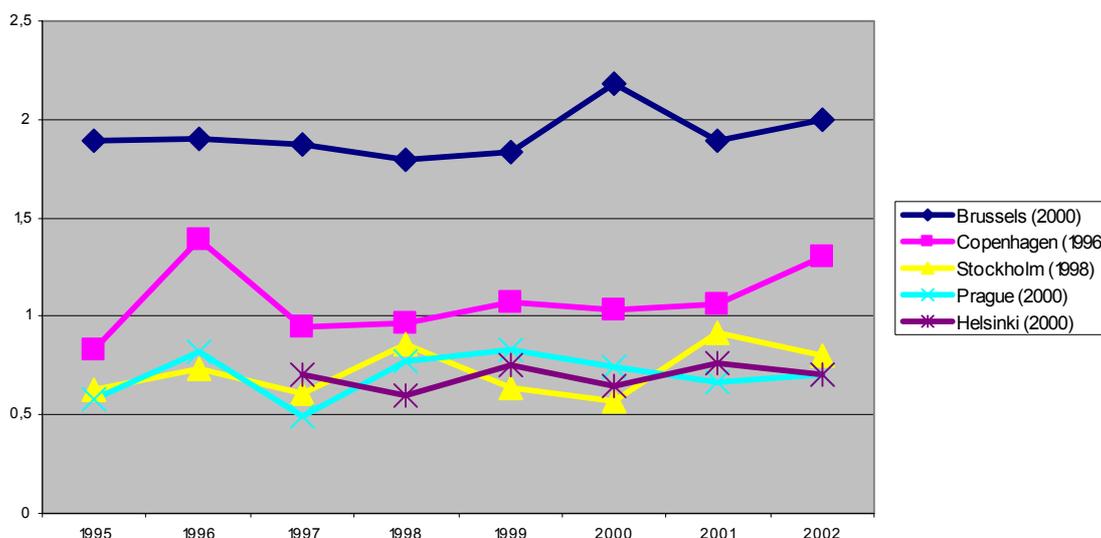
The total marketing budget will usually also include the provision of information to residents, general promotion designed to improve the image of the city, and other non-visitor elements. However, almost all ECOC survey respondents indicated that there had been a specific additional promotional effort to attract visitors. The most important target groups for this promotion were foreign overnight visitors, followed by domestic overnight visitors and then day visitors. This clearly indicates an attempt to maximise the visitor spending impact of the event. However most were not able to identify any additional budget allocation to tourism promotion specifically related to the ECOC status of the city. Those few cities that did provide figures indicated additional spending between 1 and 4 million Euros.

Most cities conducted marketing in collaboration with the tourism sector. The most frequently used partners were local and regional tourist offices, followed by national tourist offices and the tourist industry (hotels, airlines, tour operators). There was relatively little collaboration with cultural venues and facilities to undertake visitor promotion. Many cities also used diplomatic channels, such as embassies, to promote the event abroad.

In terms of promotional media aimed at visitors, local and national tourist offices were again most important, followed by TV/radio, newspapers and magazines. Promotion through the tourism trade press or web sites was used much less frequently. Relatively few respondents indicated that their cities had collected data on the effectiveness of tourism promotion. The most frequently used method was to measure the volume of press and TV coverage. The cost effectiveness was assessed in only two cases. Only seven respondents indicated that the number of tour operator programmes featuring the city had been assessed (see section on Communication, Marketing and Media Response).

For those cities that did provide detailed information on marketing activity, there did seem to be a positive relationship between the success in generating foreign press coverage and the growth in overnight stays.

Figure710 International Conferences Market Share (UIA)



There was some evidence that a few cities had begun to think about their visitor marketing in a more segmented way. As indicated above, some cities had specific strategies to attract cultural tourists, but there were also other cities that tried to attract less obvious market segments. One segment of interest to a number of cities was the conference market. Circumstantial evidence suggests that the ECOC host city becomes a more attractive venue for staging conferences, not only because conferences with a cultural content might be attracted to the city, but also because the general cultural activity in the city is attractive to conference organisers in general. Bologna, Genoa and Stockholm specifically stated that they had specifically targeted conferences during the ECOC. However there also appears to be an effect for other cities as well.

In terms of the problems arising from visitor marketing, few cities indicated that they had experienced major difficulties. Of those that did respond, however, the lack of a clear marketing strategy and communication problems between the tourism and cultural sectors were cited most frequently. The advice offered by respondents in terms of visitor strategy also clearly emphasised the need for clearer strategies and closer collaboration between tourism and cultural organisations.

Collaboration between the Cultural and Tourism Sectors

As the discussion of visitor expenditure and marketing has indicated, the degree of collaboration between the cultural and tourism sectors in ECOC can have significant implications. The cultural sector stands to benefit from a growth in visitor numbers and increased attention generated by the event, and the tourism sector should be able to benefit economically from ECOC. The emergence of cultural tourism as a segment of the tourism market (and as a specific objective of some ECOC) indicates a mutual interest in attracting culturally interested, high spend tourists to the city.

There are some examples given by the cities of positive impacts of collaboration between the tourism and cultural sectors. For example in Weimar, hotel owners collaborated to form a marketing company, Weimar Kulturstad, which aimed to market the city abroad as a cultural destination. In Reykjavik the ECOC helped to open a dialogue between the two sectors which led to the creation of a new organisation responsible for tourism, city marketing and events. In other cities the benefits of collaboration were less explicit, but respondents in Bologna, Salamanca and Santiago stated that there had been a growth in tourism as a long-term legacy of ECOC.

More frequently, however, respondents identified problems which emerged in trying to coordinate the activities of the two sectors during ECOC. The most frequently voiced complaint was that there was a lack of communication between tourism and cultural sectors. This also seemed to be linked to a number

of other problems, such as a lack of a clear visitor strategy, insufficient planning time and budgets and inadequate information.

The communication problems usually revolved around the different cultures and expectations of the two sectors. For example, tourism promotion bodies usually work on a longer planning cycle, because they have to produce promotional material well in advance. Cultural organisations usually produce programmes much closer to the date of an exhibition or performance because of the problems of finalising the programme. This means the tourism bodies often complain that the cultural sector is not able to provide them with the information they need to market the cultural product. On the other hand, those in the cultural sector sometimes complain about a lack of understanding of their needs on the part of the tourism sector, and the unwillingness of the tourism sector to embrace the marketing of non-traditional or unusual events. In most cases such misunderstandings are the cause of friction that can be overcome, rather than serious problems.

Image Impacts

Even where attracting visitors is not one of the main aims of ECOC (although it appears to be for most), changing or enhancing the image of the city usually is an objective, as outlined in earlier sections of this study. Image change is indirectly related to visitor impacts, since by making the city more attractive, it should attract more investment, attention and visitors in the longer-term.

For many cities, developing a 'cultural' image seems to be a major objective of ECOC. Often following the example of Glasgow, other industrial centres such as Rotterdam and Porto have tried to add a cultural dimension to their image. In cities which already had a specific cultural image, such as the historic city of Bruges, there was an attempt to add new dimensions of culture.

However, measuring the image impacts of ECOC is very difficult. The main means used by some cities to establish the image impacts is visitor surveys, which usually present visitors with a pre-formulated list of image elements. For example, data collected by Myerscough in Luxembourg in 1995 indicated that established images of the city such as 'history and charm' (47%) were far more important images than the city being a 'cultural centre' (9%). Research conducted in Bruges in 2002 indicated that elements of cultural heritage such as 'like an open air museum' (47,5% of staying tourists) or 'traditional, old classic' (19,1%) dominated the visitor image of the city. In the latter case there was little evidence that Bruges had succeeded in adding a contemporary cultural element to the city image, as ECOC had aimed to do. This was a specific bone of contention between the ECOC organisation and the tourism authorities, as respondents thought the latter did not make use of the contemporary cultural images that were provided by ECOC for marketing purposes. The tourism sector preferred to stick to the traditional, historic images of Bruges, perhaps feeling that these reflected the expectations of the bulk of visitors, even though, as stated earlier in the report, developing a more contemporary image for Bruges was a priority objective.

A problem with most of the image research conducted in ECOC and other cities is that the data are rarely collected longitudinally in order to show changes in image over time. In Glasgow, Myerscough collected data on the cultural image of the city during the ECOC year and in the month immediately following it. These indicated a strengthening on the cultural image of Glasgow through the event itself, but declined thereafter.

The regular surveys of cultural tourism in Europe by ATLAS provide one means of measuring image impacts over time. The ATLAS surveys have now been staged five times between 1992 and 2004, and since 1997 there has been a specific question on the attractiveness of certain cities as cultural tourism destinations. Since 1999 the list of cities has been expanded to include a number of ECOC host cities. In 2001 data collected by ATLAS in Rotterdam and Porto indicated that Rotterdam had succeeded in improving its cultural image relative to other European destinations in the previous two years. Independent surveys among residents and visitors to Rotterdam also indicated that the perception of Rotterdam as a city of culture and art increased by about a third in 2001. Porto, on the other hand, actually had a weaker international image after the 2001 event than before it. Measurements of the image of Weimar in 1999 and 2001 in the ATLAS surveys also indicate that there was almost no international effect of ECOC. This indicates that image improvements for ECOC are not automatic, but need to be worked for. In the case of both Porto and Weimar image improvement among international

visitors was a relatively low priority, so perhaps it is not surprising that little impact was made. In the case of Weimar, international visitors also comprised a very small proportion of the total.

Trends and Major Issues

In general terms, it appears that attracting visitors was not the main reason for most cities bidding for ECOC designation. Visitor-related objectives, although rated quite highly on average, were not the most important consideration for most cities. Only a handful of cities rated attracting visitors as one of their most important objectives, or saw tourism impacts as an important legacy of the event.

However, attracting visitors does have a strong relationship to some of the other main objectives of staging ECOC, such as strengthening the international profile of the city. It also becomes one of the main pieces of evidence to be cited for the 'success' of an ECOC event, for the simple reason that visitor impacts are more readily measurable than cultural, social or economic impacts.

ECOC does seem to have a measurable impact on visitor numbers and expenditure to the host city. The average increase in overnight stays recorded for individual cities during the ECOC has been about 11% since 1989, and has risen slightly to over 12% a year during the period 1995 to 2003 (figures for 2004 are not yet available). However, there are considerable variations in the change in overnights between cities, with some cities experiencing much bigger increases (23% in Graz, for example) and other cities experiencing a decline (-6,7% in Prague).

It is also clear that the largest percentage increases in overnight stays are recorded in smaller cities that are starting from a lower base. In larger cities such as Brussels the effects tend to be less marked. Over the period under study, therefore, the total annual increase in overnight stays at ECOC host cities has averaged 4,5%. The visitor impact of ECOC does seem to last beyond the event itself, although most cities experience a decline in visitor numbers in the year immediately following the event. The average fall is much smaller than the increase in the cultural year (average 0,3%).

The visitors attracted to ECOC are mainly local residents, followed by domestic tourists and foreign visitors. In general, the proportion of foreign visitors also increases slightly during the cultural year. The overall visitor profile reflects a highly educated professional audience, which is little different from that at other cultural events in Europe. Those working in the cultural sector tend to be particularly important in the audience, and they attend more events than other visitors. Attempts to spread the cultural audience to new groups seem to have made little quantitative impact, although those programmes which include a wide range of different cultural forms tend to attract a wider audience as well. There is some evidence to suggest that a larger, more complex cultural programme will attract more visitors in total than a smaller, simpler programme.

However, one of the major unresolved issues in terms of the visitor impacts of ECOC is the extent to which people visit the host city specifically for ECOC. The evidence from surveys conducted in a small number of cities indicates that ECOC is a specific motivation for a relatively small proportion of people visiting events in the programme. A broad programme of events is therefore likely to generate large number of visitors because of the individual events being staged, rather than being a direct impact of the ECOC event itself. The extent of this effect is extremely hard to assess in the light of the limited data available.

The bulk of the visits also seem to be attracted to a relatively small proportion of the total events staged. In the case of Thessaloniki, almost half of the total 1,5 million visits were made to the Treasures of Mount Athos exhibition (700.000 visits) and in Graz in 2003 almost a million of the 2,7 million visits were recorded on the Island in the Mur. This hints at a 'pareto effect' in visitor attendance, where 20% of the events are likely to attract 80% of the audience. This may strengthen the current tendency in many cities towards 'blockbuster' events.

Blockbuster events represent an attempt to provide 'something for everyone', but also have important strategic and financial implications. In Thessaloniki, for example, the U2 concert attracted 50.000 people, but it cost 3,2 million Euros to stage. In view of the limited total funding available for ECOC, cities will need to think about the desirability of increasing total visitor numbers through such events relatively to their high (and rising) cost. Such events also raise cultural issues about the relationship between global,

European and local culture in the ECOC programme. (Refer to the section on Cultural Programme and Impact).

While ECOC has largely been successful in attracting large numbers of visitors, awareness of the programme is sometimes low. Although the majority of people visiting ECOC are likely to know that the city is hosting the event, a much smaller proportion (generally 10-30%) will be motivated by ECOC to visit the city. There is some indirect evidence to suggest that ECOC acts as a general 'atmosphere' which many visitors may find attractive, even if they do not visit specific events in the programme. This underlines the important role played by installations, site-specific projects and events in public spaces, which will tend to reach a wider cross-section of city visitors than enclosed events.

Most of the host cities made considerable investment in marketing, much of which was targeted at visitors, either local residents or tourists. There is some evidence to suggest that greater investment in marketing will generate higher visitor numbers. This seems to indicate that collaboration between the cultural and tourism sectors can be fruitful, since increased visitor numbers also lead to a growth in cultural visits. There have been a few examples of successful collaboration initiatives during ECOC, some of which have also had a longer-term impact. In many cases, however, collaboration between the cultural sector and tourism bodies has been problematic.

Although attracting visitors is not generally listed as a particularly important objective by all cities, nevertheless it tends to be a widely quoted impact of the event, probably for the simple reason that visitor numbers are one of the most readily available sources of data that can be used to plot trends. However, this study has revealed many of the problems that exist in estimating the number of visitors, and the confusion that often exists between the number of visitors and the number of visits.

There is evidence that ECOC can help cities to achieve greater visitor impacts than would be possible without the event. It is not always clear, however, that ECOC has a bigger impact than 'mega-events'. In the case of Portugal, for example, the impact of Lisbon and Porto were far less than Expo 98 in Lisbon, which attracted over 7 million visits (dos Santos *et al.* 2002).

It is clear, however, that ECOC does attract a 'cultural' audience. This may be advantageous for cities seeking to create a cultural image or trying to attract cultural tourism. It is more problematic if the aim of the event is to create an accessible cultural festival which includes all potential visitor groups. The audience for ECOC on the whole remains firmly professional, middle class and highly educated. This is a phenomenon also observed at other cultural events across Europe, but it has important implications for issues of social inclusion. There is some evidence that some cities have been successful in creating specific events that cater to wider audiences, although little mixing of audiences seems to take place at individual events within the ECOC programme. (Refer to the section on Social Perspectives).

The relatively homogeneous nature of the audience attracted to ECOC was noted by some of the cities in their response to the questionnaire. In particular Stockholm noted that the tendency for events to be located in the city centre reinforced the tendency to attract 'the usual cultural consumers and tourists'. The experience of Rotterdam also showed the importance of developing events in different neighbourhoods of the city to attract a more varied audience. There are potential contradictions between trying to spread the programme spatially and trying to attract more visitors. Inevitably, the most popular events will be those which are in the most accessible, city centre locations. This suggests that a careful selection of events in terms of potential audiences and locations needs to be made in compiling the programme. There is a tendency in some ECOC programmes to try and develop 'something for everyone', but as respondents pointed out this may make the programme unwieldy as well as reducing the visibility of the ECOC events as a whole. The survey evidence from Rotterdam, Porto and Salamanca suggested that the more complex programme in Rotterdam was more difficult for visitors to understand.

Future Approaches

In general, those cities which have established clear visitor objectives seem to have achieved more visitor impacts than those cities which did not. In part, this may be due to better monitoring by the former, but it does seem that a clear visitor strategy is likely to attract more visitors. Essential elements of such a strategy include collaboration with the tourism sector, particularly destination marketing organisations. At

MARKETING AND COMMUNICATIONS

The marketing and communication campaign for Luxembourg and Greater Region 2007 consisted of several coordinated activities in the areas including media campaigns, public relations, advertising, websites and direct marketing. In addition to the range of different media employed and the need to work with a number of different marketing partners (which is a common challenge for all major events), Luxembourg and Greater Region had the additional challenge of communicating across four countries and five different regions in three different languages. In these circumstances, the normal process of creating a coherent and accepted corporate identity became a major issue.

The General Coordination took a decision to work with a large network of small suppliers to deliver many of the marketing tasks. This increased flexibility and ensured competitive prices as well as ensuring creativity in the marketing and communications campaigns.

The overall marketing and communications objectives were to:

- Ensure the success of the ECOC.
- Construct a new regional identity, and reinforce the cultural identity of the region.
- Position Luxembourg as the motor of the ECOC.

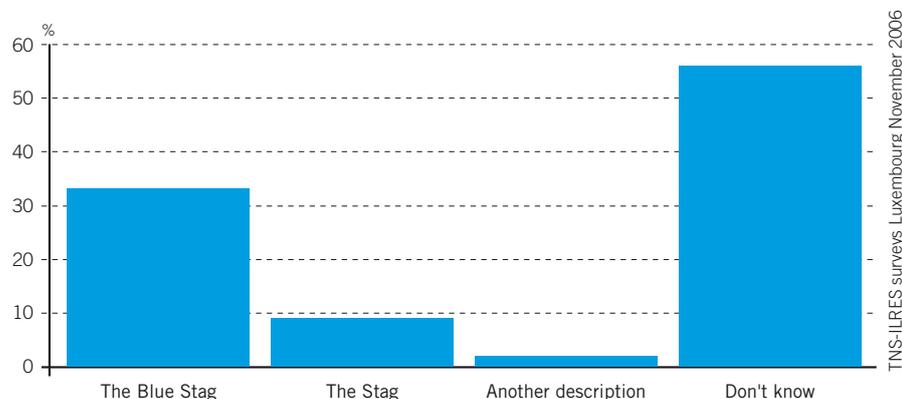
In order to achieve these aims, the communications team had a budget of €7.5 million and a staff of 12 in 2007.

The basic positioning of the ECOC was:

- More than a party: a European Capital of Culture designed to build a more lively and joyous community.
- More than a city: a European Capital of Culture as a truly interregional project at the intersection of four major cultural spaces.
- More than a year: a European Capital of Culture as a statement of long-term ambition.

The choice of a logo as a form of visual identity for the ECOC was important. The Blue Stag (le Cerf Bleu) was chosen through a competition, and proved in hindsight to be good choice. Being an unexpected selection, the Blue Stag generated early debate about the nature of the ECOC in Luxembourg and the Greater Region and helped to raise awareness of the event. The logo also responded to the need for a non-verbal symbol which could unite the different parts of the Greater Region. In Luxembourg, awareness of the logo was over 40% just before the start of the ECOC.

What is the logo of the ECOC?



In the rest of the Greater Region, awareness of the logo was much lower. Just before the opening (November 2006) only about 13% of Greater Region residents recognised the (Blue) Stag, and by December 2007 this had risen to 19%.

This discrepancy between Luxembourg and the Greater Region underlines the problem of communicating a corporate image to such a large and diverse region. The marketing budget was simply not big enough to cover the whole region adequately, so the General Coordination opted for making an ECOC 'impression' on Luxembourg City and the venues they managed directly. The external projects were left to choose how they would link their projects to the ECOC, which meant that the linkage was often poorly visible. Only in Luxembourg City was there a strong 'look' and 'feel' to the ECOC, developed through street banners, posters and the placement of steel Blue Stags at cultural venues.

Publications

A total of 2,613,935 copies of printed information material (brochures, flyers, posters) were distributed, spread across around 100 different publications. Most these were produced in three languages (French, German and English).

The biggest challenge in producing these publications was the choice of projects to present. In such a broad and diverse programme there is pressure to give visibility to all projects. Nevertheless it was also essential to emphasise certain projects in order to create a more legible structure and enable participants to navigate a cultural landscape containing more than 500 projects. Three axes were therefore developed to structure the presentation: the ESSENTIAL (for major projects with an international profile), the IMPROMPTU (smaller, unique projects) and the CROSS-BORDER dimension to retain a balance between Luxembourg and the rest of the Greater Region.

Media campaign

The media plan was developed by the agency Brain&More. A budget of almost €2 million was allocated to the media plan, of which 10% was dedicated to international advertising space purchase. The remaining budget was divided up more or less equally across the Greater Region. The budget was too small to develop a serious international media campaign.

Press campaign

The following objectives were established for the press campaign:

- Creation of a database of press contacts in culture, leisure and tourism at local, regional and international level.
- Positioning Luxembourg and Greater Region on the diaries of the cultural press and international tourists.
- Coverage in event listings and calendars.
- Distributing press information on a uniform basis.
- Sustained coverage in demonstration upstream.
- Promotion of the Luxembourg and Greater Region as a 'culture and more' destination, not just as a financial centre.
- Maintaining press and public attention throughout the year.
- Documenting the event.

A full time press office was appointed in April 2006, and a second press office was appointed in January 2007. The press office also had a European Volunteer between November 2006 and June 2007. The late appointment of a press officer caused problems in the timely delivery of information.

Engaging press attention

The press campaign began in 2004, with the aim of engaging the attention of local and international media. Among the activities conducted during this phase were:

- Database compilation.
- Regular press conferences.
- Inviting the press to key events.
- Distribution of information to press representatives at tourist fairs.
- Press trips by boat along the Moselle.
- Distributing press information.

In order to maximise international coverage, three press agencies were used : Claudine Colin Communication in Paris, Bolton & Quinn in London and Beate Barner in Berlin. Press conferences were organised in Berlin, London, Paris, Madrid, New York, Chicago and Port Washington. Press dossiers were prepared and distributed in French, German and English, along with regular press releases. The trilingual presentation of press information and the 2007 were appreciated by journalists, but the fact that the programme information was only available a short time prior to the start of the ECOC was a problem for some.

A number of press trips were organised to include key events in the 2007 programme, as well as aspects of Luxembourg in general. Collaboration with the Luxembourg National Tourist Office allowed the number of groups to be maximised, and the group trips were accompanied, which increased their effectiveness. There were also many individual press visits.

Public relations

The public relations (PR) campaign was launched in September 2006, and consisted mainly of presentations, information activities at exhibitions and other events, campaigns and the formation of the Club 2007.

During 2006, more than 90 presentations were held for a wide range of groups, including cultural associations, public administration, local authorities, universities and youth groups. During the ECOC itself, PR briefings focussed more on the programme and in particular on the major festivals which opened each new season of the ECOC. In total more than 70 presentations were made during the ECOC which involved more than 5,000 people.

Luxembourg 2007 was represented at a total of almost 60 external events and locations, mainly exhibitions, stands in major stations and other public locations in Luxembourg and the Greater Region. These events and locations were visited by more than 650,000 people. There were also at least 19 delegations from prospective future Capitals of Culture, which ranged in size from 3 to 35 delegates.

There were two major campaigns, one aimed at business and one at the general public. The 'We Support 2007' campaign targeted businesses in Luxembourg, particularly those in the tourism sector. A total of 345 organisations became members of this campaign and received a 2007 'kit' designed to increase awareness of the ECOC.

The Club 2007 was established with the aim of giving the public the opportunity to participate actively in the ECOC event. The recruitment campaign evolved quickly once the ECOC got underway. While there were only 10 Club members in August 2006, by January 2007 this had grown to 152 members, and finally to 241 members by the end of the event. Over half the Club members were under the age of 35, with students making up the largest single group.

There were at least
19 delegations from
prospective future
Capitals of Culture

Club 2007 members, December 2007

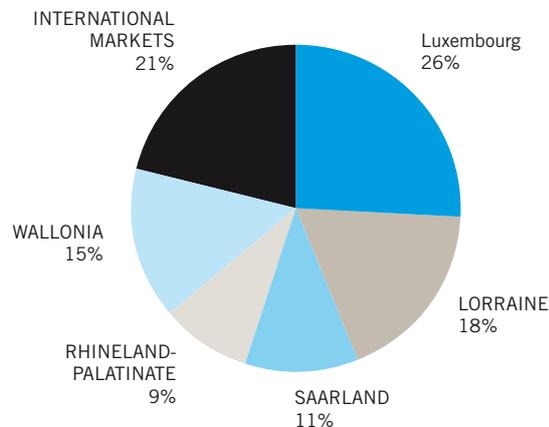
Country	Members
Luxembourg	113
Germany	51
France	34
Belgium	10
Europe	27
Other	6

Via the website a database of interest individuals was created. This increased from 5,683 people at the beginning of the ECOC to 8,598 by the end. Monthly deliveries of flyers, programmes and other materials were made to over 300 locations in Luxembourg and the Greater Region and over 4,000 deliveries were made to other locations on demand.

Media spend

The media campaign had a total budget of around €1.9 million. This was distributed across the different markets of the ECOC, with almost 80% concentrated on the Luxembourg and Greater Region.

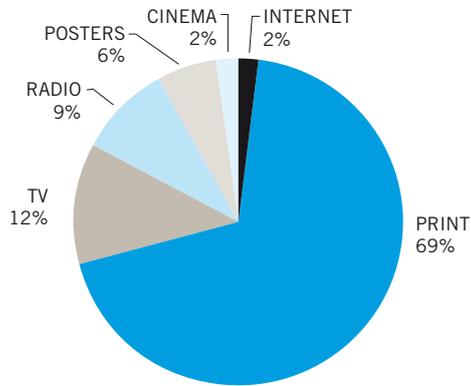
Distribution of media spend by region



TNS-ILRES surveys Luxembourg November 2006

The main area of media spending was print, which accounted for nearly 70% of the total budget. TV was the second most important medium, but this only accounted for 12% of the total budget.

Distribution of media spend by medium



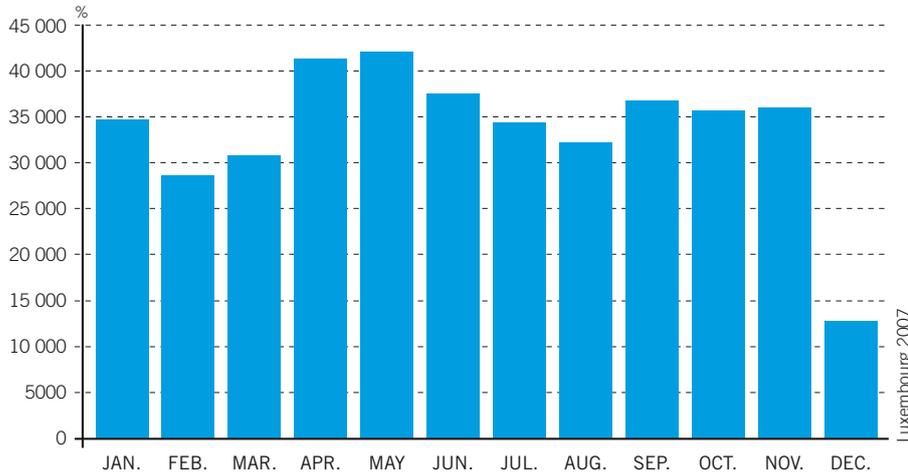
Luxembourg 2007

Print materials included posters, brochures, post cards and flyers. Most materials were produced in French, German and English, although information on joint projects with Sibiu were produced in English, French and Romanian.

website

The website Luxembourg2007.org was developed from 2004 onwards, but only began to be heavily used once the programme information was available. The site received 2,335,400 page visits generated by 270,000 unique visitors in 2007. Usage of the site increased over the early months of the ECOC programme to reach a peak of more than 40,000 hits in April and May.

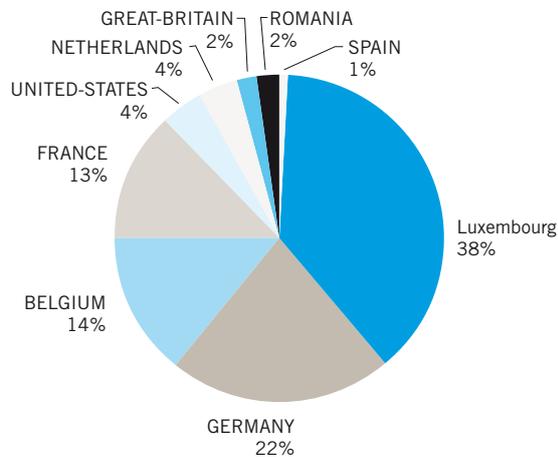
Luxembourg2007.org - page hits per month 2007



Luxembourg 2007

The impact of the website on the Greater Region is confirmed by the distribution of visitors to the site, almost 90% of whom came from the Greater Region, indicating that the media, press and PR campaigns were successful in raising awareness of the event in the main target markets. The cross-border use of the trilingual website again underlines the effectiveness of the marketing activities.

Geographical distribution of hits on the website 2007



Luxembourg 2007

Media impact

A total of 3,380 press and Internet articles were produced on the ECOC between late 2006 and January 2008. An analysis was made of the 704 press and Internet articles relating to the ECOC in general and 20 events organised by the General Coordination (21% of the total). This indicated that 26% of the total articles were published abroad.

The total value of the articles analysed was estimated to be equivalent to €1.36 million. In terms of tone, the majority of articles in French that were analysed (66%) were neutral and 29% were favourable.

In the UK a detailed analysis of the impact of press coverage was also carried out by the press agency. This indicated that the 33 press articles and Internet features on the ECOC had generated coverage worth around £650,000 (€830,000). The agency also analysed the tone of each article, and concluded that 'All of the coverage generated for Luxembourg and Greater Region Capital of Culture was positive, achieving an overall average tonal bias of + 1.91 (Favourable).' Only 7 of the 33 articles analysed were neutral.

These analyses indicate that Luxembourg gained a reasonable amount of positive media coverage from the ECOC. In comparison, Garcia's (2005) analysis of press coverage of Glasgow in the period leading up to and during the 1990 ECOC indicates that around 30% of articles on culture were positive – about the same level as Luxembourg. In terms of the amount of coverage, Luxembourg 2007 achieved slightly less coverage in total than Luxembourg 1995, although the level of international coverage was higher. The level of coverage was in general lower than some other recent ECOC events, but higher than Rotterdam (2001) and Bologna (2000) and Avignon (2000).

Assuming the articles analysed are reasonable representative of the overall coverage of the ECOC, then the total value of the press coverage generated may be as much as €6.5 million. In reality this value is likely to be a maximum value, as the articles analysed will tend to have been in publications with larger circulations.

In terms of the cost effectiveness of the marketing effort of Luxembourg 2007, the spend per visit was just over €2, which is slightly lower than the historic average of around €3 per visit at previous ECOCs. The spend per head was also not much higher than the level of the first ECOC in Luxembourg in 1995 (and therefore considerably lower in constant price terms).

Marketing spend per visit at ECOCs 1995-2007

	Marketing budget €	Total visits	Spend per visit €
Luxembourg 1995	2200000	1100000	2.0
Copenhagen 1996	4700000	6920000	0.7
Thessaloniki 1997	8168245	1500000	5.4
Stockholm 1998	12510000		
Helsinki 2000	6700000	5400000	1.2
Bologna 2000	8198000	2150000	3.8
Brussels 2000	3170000		
Prague 2000	2120000		
Reykjavik 2000	1380000	1473724	0.9
Porto 2001	9500000	1246545	7.6
Salamanca 2002	3673330	1900000	1.9
Bruges 2002	5943520	1600000	3.7
Graz 2003	14139400	2755271	5.1
Luxembourg 2007	7500000	3327678	2.2

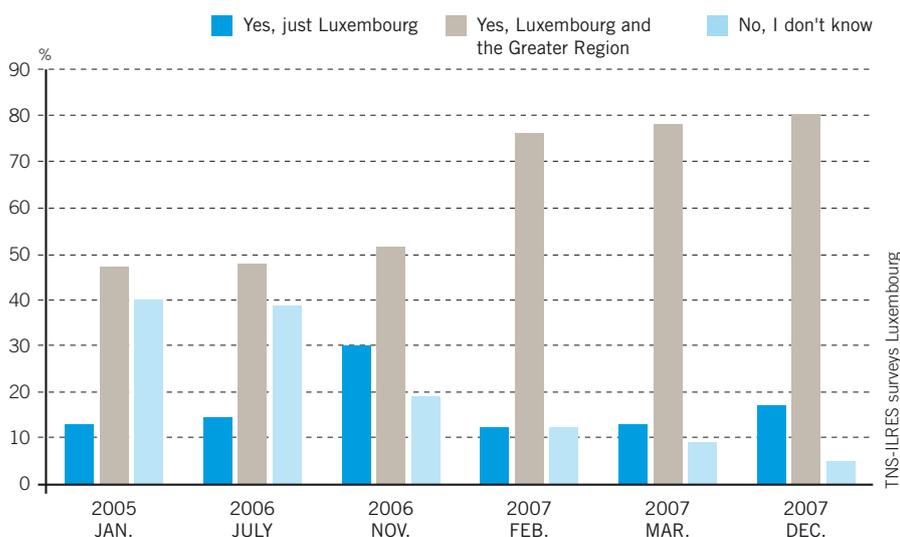
Palmer-Rae (2004)

Public awareness

One of the most important functions of the marketing campaign was to create awareness of the event among residents of Luxembourg and the Greater Region. The surveys carried out among residents of Luxembourg and the Greater Region allow the impact of the marketing and communications effort to be assessed.

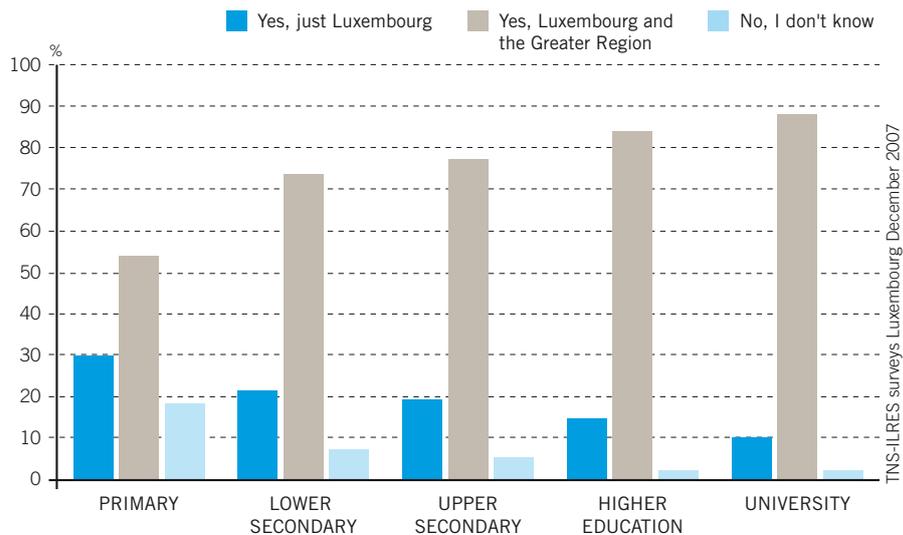
Awareness that Luxembourg would host the ECOC in 2007 was relatively low before the event, with just over half the people in Luxembourg itself knowing about the event. By the end of the ECOC, 95% of the population were aware of the event, and almost 80% knew that it involved the whole Greater Region.

Do you know that Luxembourg and the Greater Region are European Cultural Capital in 2007? Luxembourg residents.



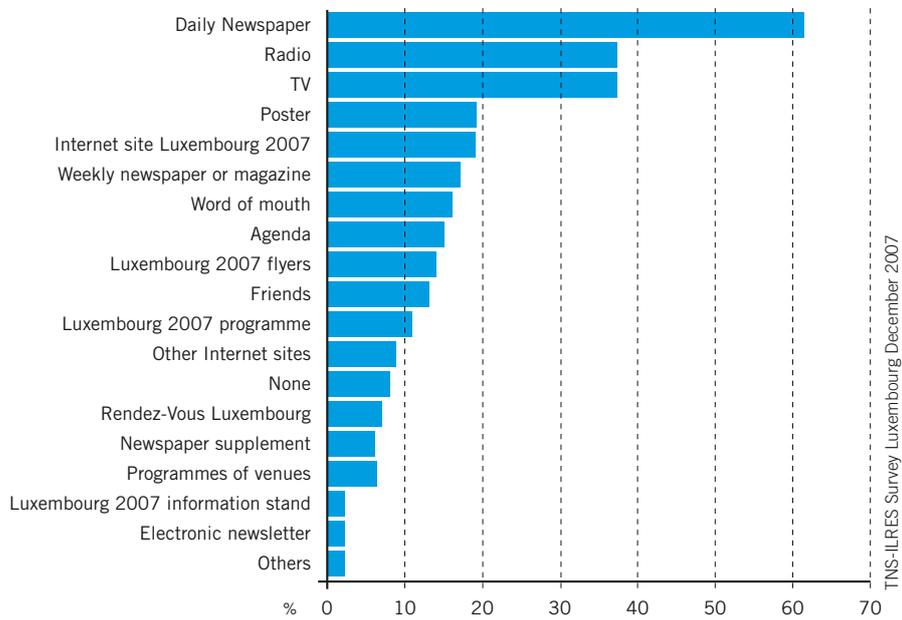
Perhaps not surprisingly, those with a higher education level were more likely to know about the ECOC and to know that it included the whole Greater Region. Those with a higher education level are more likely to have read newspapers or accessed the ECOC website for information. It is also clear that members of the Portuguese community were less likely to have heard about the ECOC (81%) than those with Luxembourg (98%) or other nationalities (97%).

Do you know that Luxembourg and the Greater Region are European Cultural Capital in 2007? Luxembourg residents by education level



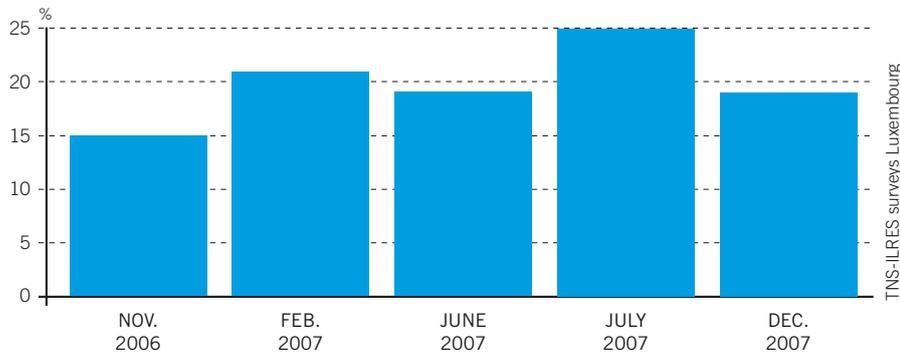
Before the opening of the ECOC, awareness of specific events in the programme was very low. Only 15% of the population in Luxembourg could name a specific event, and most of these related to open-air events such as firework displays or the opening ceremony. The marketing campaign covered many different media and forms of communication. The channels which had the highest impact on the Luxembourg audience were newspapers, radio and TV. More specific Luxembourg 2007 promotion, such as posters and website were noticed or visited by about 20% of the population. Timely promotional material such as flyers (14%) and individual venue programmes (6%) were seen by a lower proportion of the audience.

Information sources used to gather information about the ECOC



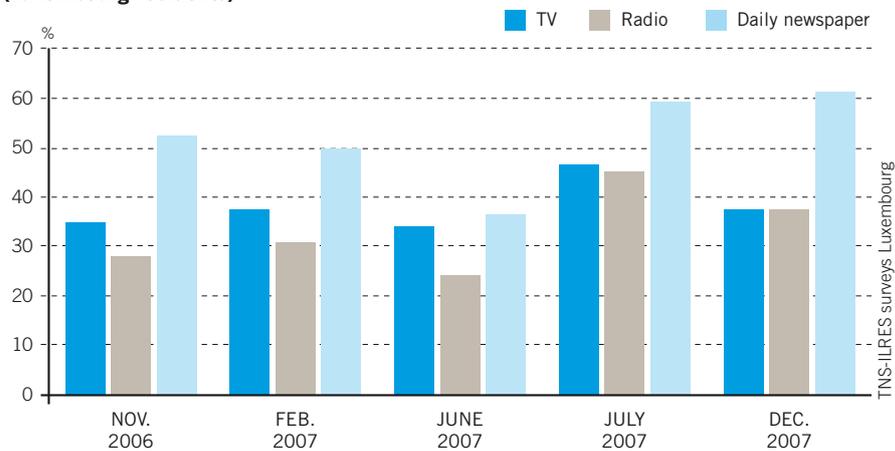
In general, awareness of marketing materials increased as the ECOC progressed. For the Luxembourg 2007 website, for example, use was only 15% in November 2006 prior to the opening, but climbed to 25% by July 2007.

Use of Luxembourg 2007 website



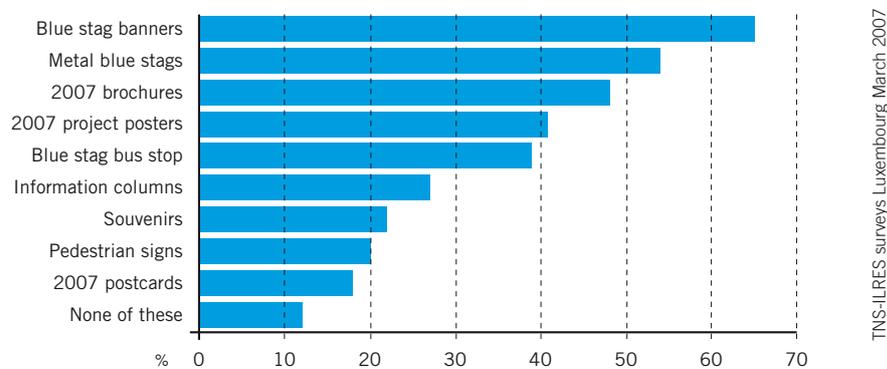
A similar pattern emerged for the mass media, with use of newspapers, TV and radio to find out about the ECOC peaking in July 2007.

Use of Newspapers, TV and radio to gather information about the ECOC (Luxembourg residents)



One of the most important aspects of the public awareness campaign was the placement of 2007 promotional materials in public spaces. The most significant of these were the blue stag posters and the metal blue stags. Over 60% of the population had noticed the posters and over 50% had seen one of the blue stag sculptures placed near cultural sites in Luxembourg.

Have you noticed any of the following marketing activities? (Luxembourg residents)



One of the challenges of the large spatial extent of the ECOC was raising awareness across the Greater Region as a whole. In general, residents of the Greater Region outside Luxembourg were less aware of the ECOC, the blue stag logo and details of the programme. The weakness of the corporate identity outside Luxembourg is illustrated by the survey of visitors to the Constantine exhibition in Trier, who perceived the ECOC and the exhibitions as two separate things. Only 3% of the respondents came across the exhibition via the ECOC.

Ticketing – Pass 2007

The Pass 2007 offered visitors free entry to projects organised by the General Coordination and reduced entry for co-financed ECOC events. Attempts to create a discount pass for all ECOC events failed because of the complexity of organising this across the whole Greater Region. The redistribution of income from the Pass was also felt to be too much of an administrative burden to implement, so there was no financial incentive for external partners to sell the Pass or to apply discounts.

In total, 1,800 Pass 2007 were sold. Most of these were taken by sponsors at a reduced price (either €20 or €40) instead of the full €100 price.

Surveys of Pass 2007 holders indicated that the majority (67%) were satisfied with the pass, but half indicated that they wouldn't buy it again for a future ECOC. Overall levels of satisfaction among Pass 2007 holders were lower than for ECOC visitors in general, even though less than 20% had paid the full €100. Pass holders had tended not to make much use of the Pass, with 38% indicating they had used it 'from time to time' and 33% had 'hardly ever' used it. Interestingly, about 35% of Pass 2007 holders also had another cultural subscription or discount pass. This indicates that the recipients of Pass 2007 were largely frequent consumers of culture, for whom the Pass would probably have made little difference to their behaviour. As a result, almost 40% of Pass 2007 holders did not think they had made effective use of the opportunities offered.

The qualitative interviews also indicated there were problems with the use of the Pass 2007 for external projects, which often failed to offer the 20% discount for Pass 2007 holders. The free entry to museums worked well, however. In retrospect, the Pass 2007 seems to have been a good idea poorly applied.

Issues in marketing and communications

The problems of marketing the ECOC over the whole Greater Region are underlined by the many comments made about this issue in the interviews as well as the results of the resident surveys.

Lack of resources

The basic marketing and communication issue was one of insufficient resources. Lack of staff meant that it was difficult to cover the whole Greater Region in terms of press output and listings information. By the end of 2007, the flow of information therefore tended to become more centred on Luxembourg.

In the views of some interviewees, the marketing budget was too small and there were not enough 'blockbuster' events to attract public attention:

The marketing programme was not effective. Only big events like Constantine are effective in attracting people across borders (The Constantine exhibition had €750,000 marketing budget). The communication of 2007 was also a catastrophe. (Museum Directors)

The problems with communications were reflected in comments from the general public as well. A number of people who felt that the ECOC had not met their expectations mentioned poor information, and particularly the lack of detailed and clear information in the programme as negative points. The problem of achieving the right balance between scope, clarity and depth of information is clearly one of the biggest challenges in marketing an event of this kind.

There were also complaints that Luxembourg did not get as much coverage in the international media as Sibiu in 2007:

Communication was a disaster. There were very few articles about Luxembourg in the international process. There were more articles about Sibiu. (Museum Directors)

Decentralised marketing

The use of partners was an essential mechanism for ensuring effective distribution of information across the Greater Region. A decentralised approach to the organisation of the ECOC meant that much of the marketing effort was devolved to the external project organisers, who were expected to do most of the promotion for their own events. This did not always go smoothly, particularly for new projects where there was no previous experience of marketing. In general there was a tension between the general marketing of the ECOC as a whole and the specific events which was difficult to manage, particularly over such a large region.

Organisation of communications

Many stakeholders criticised the communications of Luxembourg 2007, particularly in the early months of the year:

There were problems of communication. The responsibility for projects was not clear, and information was not easy to find in the programme. Themes were not very clear in the programme and there was a lack of an overall artistic concept. (Focus group with theatre directors)

Information overload

In Luxembourg the problem was an overload of information because of the large number of events taking place. There was no clear line of information in the programme which could help the public decipher the information more easily. Comments from cultural journalists illustrate the problems:

in the beginning sometimes it was really hard to get information. In December 2006 we made a special issue on the ECOC, but they didn't know the details of the events. The problem was there was no selection of events. Only in March or April they really made a selection. They didn't know themselves how to manage it. They didn't want to make a selection, but it was impossible for our readers, nobody knew what was going on.

It was a pity there were an overwhelming number of things so in the beginning you looked at this book, and you weren't looking forward to the cultural year, you were overwhelmed. So maybe they ought to be little gems that they can give out, because we only human, we only have one head, one life. I was just overwhelmed.

Stagflation

The labelling of events with the blue stag was also confusing sometimes, simply because there were so many labelled events. The press stopped using the logo after a while because there were so many.

However, if 'stagflation' reduced the value of the logo in Luxembourg, there was a different reaction in other parts of the Greater Region. In Trier, for example, there was a lot of attention paid to the blue stag logo, because this was arguably something new for the city (Cultural Journalist).

Internet problems

The 2007 website also had problems, particularly as the Internet platform was set up very late.

There were the 'golden duck' (Alternative Design & Communication Awards) awards, and Luxembourg 2007 won a prize for being the worst site last year. The animation was good, but if you were a journalist looking for information, it was hard. Imagine if you were a consumer just looking for what time things start, it would be impossible. And that was not a good thing. (Cultural journalist)

The combination of all these issues sometimes compounded the problems:

The fact that press conferences included coverage of events throughout the Greater Region often meant that these were very long affairs, and this was not convenient for journalists with limited time. The fact that press conferences were also organised by project leaders, the general coordination and cultural institutions meant that the calendar was very crowded, and the number of journalists present at each one fell. The flow of information to the press about specific events was also slowed by the complexity of the programme. (Cultural journalist)

Marketing and communication successes

It is clear that the marketing and communications programme suffered from a number of problems. On the other hand, many stakeholders felt that a good job had been done in difficult circumstances:

We simply have to accept the fact that as a small country it was not such a bad result in the end, and they got coverage in the international media and they made their point.
(Cultural journalist)

For participants in the youth programme, there was also a feeling that the programme had benefited from the international coverage generated by the ECOC, and there was a lot of attention from the international press. However, there was also a feeling that the programme would have had a greater local impact if a specific promotional programme could have been developed for the Youth Programme alone. In the end, the Youth Programme took some of the marketing tasks on themselves, which diverted attention from other tasks.

There were positive responses from cultural venues as well:

The press were helpful – journalists visited the Philharmonie, and there were lots of articles in the foreign press (including daily newspapers). Not all of these were about the Philharmonie, but it helped to create interest in Luxembourg and therefore indirectly for the Philharmonie.

Conclusion

The marketing and communication effort for Luxembourg 2007 was complicated by the geographical extent of the programme and the range of partners involved. The need to produce material in three languages also made the programme appear even more crowded than it already was, and led to delays in information delivery. The already large geographic extent of the Greater Region meant that resources had to be concentrated, and marketing in international markets was limited. In effect, the marketing seems to have suffered from the programming approach, which was designed to be democratic, with all projects receiving equal coverage. The decision to highlight a few key events after the first few months of the ECOC improved the legibility of the information and satisfaction with the marketing, and there was praise for what was achieved within the limited budget available.

reviewing contemporary African art exhibitions, noting that although there are clear differences in their critiques, the overall result is ultimately the same – the promotion of a condescending attitude towards these exhibitions which reinforces simplistic, eurocentric views about African art.

Finally, Reic reviews Morgan et al.'s (2010) *The Tourism and Leisure Experience: Consumer and Managerial Perspectives*. This publication which seeks to combine theoretical explorations with practical managerial tools and techniques is a highly recommended text for academics as well as practitioners in the field. As Reic observes, the text helps define a new context of service provision within the tourism and leisure sectors, making her review a fitting close to this edition of the journal, which features articles on a range of tourism and leisure activities.

It is hoped that the articles in this edition help to foster continued debate within the tourism, sport and creative industries as well as provide new clarity and insights into emerging issues.

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Research Paper

Cities of Culture and the Regeneration Game

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Abstract

On 10th January, 2009 Liverpool held the official closing event under its European Capital of Culture (ECoC) programme exactly a year on from its inauguration. This event also saw the transition from Liverpool's 'Year of Culture 08' to 'Year of Environment 09' and a simultaneous event in the Austrian city of Linz to which the Capital of Culture mantle passed, along with Vilnius, Lithuania. An estimated 60,000 people congregated at the Pier Head as well as at the Albert Dock and Wirral bank, for a celebration that included sing-a-longs, firework displays, street artists on illuminated bikes and light projections onto a famous refurbished new museum building making up this World Heritage city. This 'Light Night' celebration also kick-started similar events held in cities in England and Scotland, with extended opening of venues. The Light Night theme chosen for Liverpool 08's swansong emulates the Nuit Blanche festival celebrated in dozens of cities such as Paris, Rome, Montreal and Toronto - the largest of which attract 1 to 3 million participants over 'late night' weekend extravaganzas (Jiwa et al., 2009). These 'eventful cities' (Richards and Palmer 2010) reflect a global trend and network that spreads virtually and geographically (Evans, 2011).

Key words: European Capital of Culture, eventful cities, 'festivalisation', regeneration

'Festivalisation' of the City

Cities of Culture (CoCs) associated with city branding, re-imaging and regeneration using culture and flagships to soften and celebrate urban renewal efforts, can also be characterised as the festivalisation of city development and of 'identities' - political, economic and community - and as one element in a continuum of thematic 'Years' and 'Cities of..' - in which Culture is just one manifestation. Competitive mega-events in this case include EXPOs and Olympic Games (summer and winter) as well as major sporting events, notably World Cups and sub-regional games, whilst economic place-branding now incorporates Creative and Design Cities (for example, Montreal, Berlin and Seoul), and Science, Knowledge and Innovation city designation (for example, Liverpool and Manchester in North West England both have national 'Science City' status, as do Leeds, Sheffield and York in

Yorkshire). In each of these categories, exemplar cities serve as benchmarks and models to which emulator cities aspire to capture and celebrate their regenerative and reputational advantages and impacts - notably 'Gaudi Barcelona', Guggenheim Bilbao, Silicon Valley, Glasgow- and now Liverpool 08.

The afterglow generated by these mega-events - despite instances of negative media, local resistance or indifference and often contrary evidence to the 'good news' advocacy - continues to attract newcomer and established cities, cities that seek to repeat or recapture past event effects, or those seeking to reposition themselves or update their heritage or dated images. When the UK Cultural Ministry (DCMS) opened a call for UK CoCs, twenty-nine candidates including several urban-rural sub-regions, put themselves forward - with Birmingham, Derry (N. Ireland), Norwich and Sheffield shortlisted and Derry eventually winning.

Well known cultural capitals also seek renewal and leverage for regeneration schemes, having hosted such events in the recent past, whilst cities bidding for high stake world events such as Olympics often come back for more, for example, Madrid (2012 and 2016 bidder), Tokyo (1964 host and 2016 bidder), Beijing (2004 bidder and 2008 host s) and 'persistent' failed bidder, Istanbul (2000, 2004, 2008 and 2012 bidder) but successful 'European' CoC 2010 host. Cities also use the culture and regeneration opportunity selectively, for example Rio resisted the Guggenheim franchise, but successfully pursued both the World Cup (2014) and Summer Olympics (2016) as part of its major national and city strategies.

CoCs and other festival and sporting events should be viewed in this longitudinal frame alongside a city's trajectory of culture and regeneration and associated branding through flagship development and infrastructure projects. Individual events punctuate what are in fact an accumulation of intervention and urban regeneration initiatives through festivalisation. This combined trajectory of culture, competitive city and regeneration therefore requires a longer view than the focus on the event year suggests - and this includes measuring 'impacts' - since the regeneration process is often not linear or progressive, and change effects and their attribution are subject to reinterpretation and even revision over time. Public and political attention on the 'event' can also distract from the past and future. The assessment of European CoCs (Palmer, 2004a) for instance, found that 'too often, Capitals of Culture have focussed most of their efforts on funding of events and projects that form part of a year-long celebration, with too little time and investment given to the future' (Palmer, 2004b, p. 5). This suggests that the culture and regeneration story requires a historical analysis that also maps change and effects over a much longer time period, within which events form only a relatively small (financial and strategic) part. Investment in housing, retail, transport, education and local amenities are likely to have a more lasting legacy and impact. This will also be important in order to consider how culture might better contribute to the regeneration process, as opposed to simply being corralled into a 'festival event' or 'year'.

Hall (1992) for example situated mega-events in a thirty year era of the 'city of renewal'. Today this phenomenon has a near fifty year pedigree, begging the question: does this imply a successful formula given its serial replication across the globe to cities large and small, developed and developing? Perhaps one answer

lies is in the general term 'renewal' – i.e. replacing worn out or updating venues, image, economy, tourism offer etc., including repositioning 'old culture' (heritage) for contemporary culture and entertainment - and the shift from arts and culture to the expansive creative industries (Campbell, 2011). Cultural tourism and post-industrial economics therefore drive this universal tendency, which is also fuelled by the globalisation of cultural intermediary activity - curators, architects, artistic directors - which has in turn enabled the growth of, and opportunity for cities to develop culture city strategies and festivals - at an imported price. Manifestations include the growth of biennales (over 140 worldwide) and cultural festivals, including the European and national city/capital of culture initiative, and the ubiquitous art museum.

Regeneration, not just Renewal

However, renewal (and the US 'revitalisation') must be distinguished from regeneration which is more associated with extremes of social decline, multiple deprivation and disadvantage and in economic terms, below-average performance (for EU Regional Structural Fund eligibility, below 75% of the EU-average). Regeneration therefore responds to a degree of sustained degeneration, defined as the transformation of a community or place that has displayed the symptoms of environmental (physical), social and/or economic decline. What has been described as: 'breathing new life and vitality into an ailing community, industry and area [bringing] sustainable, long term improvements to local quality of life, including economic, social and environmental needs' (in Evans and Shaw, 2004). Mainstream regeneration programmes such as central government Single Regeneration Budget (SRB), New Deal for Communities (NDC) and their predecessors originating in the 1970s – the European Structural Development Fund (ERDF) and European Social Funding (ESF) - have traditionally lacked a cultural dimension and 'culture' is not one of the key domains that feature in how improvement is measured and regeneration investment is assessed (Evans, 2005). Culture, however, touches the mainstream in economic terms - through creative industries and tourism sector employment, which often serve as proxies for 'culture' in economic development - and in social terms (social cohesion and capital and quality of life) and most explicitly in physical regeneration through cultural facilities, icons and public facilities, including infrastructure. Transport infrastructure - airports, bridges, light rail and metros feature highly in cities using culture as part of their place-making plans and have been a fundamental prerequisite in putting cultural quarters and cities on the map, for example, Bilbao, Salford Quays, Gateshead and La Defense, Paris.

The distinction between the 'city of renewal' – to which all places eventually look in order to survive economically - and the 'city of regeneration', is therefore important when evaluating culture and regeneration policy and impacts. CoCs and Festival Cities whilst sharing some common goals display quite different rationales for 'renewal and regeneration'. For example, the small historic city of Bruges (CoC 2002) in contrast to, say, Glasgow (1990) and Liverpool'08, or when compared with capital cities of culture such as Madrid (1992), Copenhagen, (1996), or Dublin (1991). The latter are often playing catch-up with their major cultural facilities, quarters and city

promotions, measured by their positioning in tourism and global city location rankings, including concentration of creative industry activity (Evans, 2009a). These capital cities are not averse of course to pursuing global events to accelerate regeneration projects and investment, evidenced by the number of capitals bidding for summer Olympics in recent years – for example, Madrid, Moscow, London, Paris, Beijing and Tokyo. Expanding and reinvesting in their cultural assets (GLA, 2008) is however a mainstream concern, not dependent upon festival or event opportunity, for example, New York and London competing over Tate Modern and MOMA makeovers to retain their prime world art museum status; Paris's new Grand Projects; or Toronto's 'C\$1 billion babies' (Evans, 2009a, p. 1025). The feature articles in world architecture magazines reveal a continual growth in the art museum and cultural facilities in old and new world cities, often employing familiar star architects, signifying their membership of the international creative milieu, and the 'cultural turn' in city and urban development and politics (Soja, 1999 and Mercer, 2006).

On the other hand, smaller cities particularly those with an historic or heritage reputation, resist the imposition of contemporary events and structures and the influx of visitors that drive CoC strategies. For instance, in Bruges where a clear conflict emerged between resident and tourist identification with its historic character - the very reason that European CoC and hallmark event status was granted in the first place - and the bid organiser's motivation to change the image and cultural profile of the city as a competitive contemporary place (Boyko, 2002). As Bas van Heur observes (2010), using the example of Maastricht (CoC candidate 2018) smaller cities without the levels of agglomeration, flows and economic and social diversities, struggle to counter the competitive advantage of larger, and cosmopolitan cities and exemplar Knowledge/Science/Cultural and Creative Cities (Bell and Jayne 2006). As he notes, much cultural production participation is voluntary or at least un/under paid, and even in larger cities such as Liverpool: 'music recording studios, nightclubs, the Philharmonic Hall and orchestra and a nascent film sector all contribute to the cultural heartbeat of the city but still, as yet do not provide a substantial amount of regular, full-time employment' (Meegan, 2004, p. 154). Nonetheless, this *broedplaatsenbeleid* policy to create 'cauldrons of creativity' is indiscriminately pursued, even though as Marlet and van Woerkens (2005) found in the case of Dutch cities, urban amenities and aesthetics, historic and natural environmental qualities were the determinants of creative industry growth (and of course, job opportunities), rather than Florida's formula of bohemian, gay scene, diversity and night time economy factors (2002). Comparative advantage and distinction building on endogenous creativity (including incumbent students) would appear a better strategy in these cases, certainly not the notion of importing a yet to be identified 'creative class' as footloose, migrant saviours of a city's cultural scene and economy (Evans, 2009a; Peck, 2005 and Montgomery, 2005). Spatially it should also be noted that serious economic regions in terms of growth, innovation etc. span areas larger than even capital cities - polycentric and city-regions linking several cities and towns, large and small (viz, Liverpool, Merseyside, North West region/Scotland) - for example, to Oresund, Rhine-Ruhr, Ile de France. Creating cultural identities for this scale can present difficulties (Platt, 2011) not least when they cross borders, but this can also better reflect inter-regional, 'intercultural' (Woods and Landry, 2007) as well as economic identities and aspirations (see for example, Mercer, 2005 on Oresund). Provincial post-industrial, and port cities in

particular have sought to recover and reclaim part of their lost trade and geographical power through cultural and hallmark events linked to urban regeneration, like Liverpool: 'the least typical of British cities, turned with its back against the land, having in common with all ports the sense of being a city-state, always looking out to sea, expecting and even hoping for a stranger' (Grant, 2005, p. 424). These include European Cities/CoCs: Glasgow (1980), Dublin (1990), Copenhagen (1996, EXPO bidder 2020), Thessaloniki (1997), Rotterdam (2001), Genoa (2004), Cork (2005), Liverpool and Stavanger (2008); Istanbul (2010), Marseille (2013), as well as Barcelona (Olympics 1992, UNESCO Cultural Forum 2004), Vancouver (2010 winter Olympics); Shanghai (EXPO 2010) and Yeosu, South Korea (EXPO 2012).

What this cursory review of the festival city phenomenon also reveals is the continued effort this approach demands, and the fact that certainly one mega-event alone is seldom enough to elevate or sustain regeneration investment to achieve competitive city or cultural city status and the social and economic benefits that are pursued. The hosting of CoC by Liverpool in 2008 can be traced back as far as 1984 when it hosted the Garden Festival as part of another competitive national programme. Three years after the 1981 riots in Toxteth, Liverpool 8 and the government's Inner City Task Force response, physical regeneration projects and culture-led area regeneration ensued, with the location of the Tate Gallery outpost at the £200m refurbished Albert Docks in 1988. This city was also one of the first to identify the role of the arts and cultural industries: 'realising and developing the political, cultural and economic significance of the arts, as part of the cultural industries, in relation to economic development and planning' (LCC 1987). The 1990s had seen Liverpool benefit from European and national regeneration funding of capital projects - over £12m from ERDF alone between 1990-6 - including the Liverpool Institute for Performing Arts, Philharmonic Hall, Tate, Unity Theatre and Empire Theatre and for cultural industries development (Evans and Foord 2000) with the Liverpool Biennale first held in 1988. These types of events and festival city time line can also be seen in Glasgow (for example, Glasgow's Miles Better 1983, Garden Festival 1988, CoC 1990, Year of Architecture & Design 1999 and Commonwealth Games 2014) and new waterfront museums, whilst other cities have followed mega-events with festival city programmes and new facility and site developments, notably Montreal 'year round festival city' (1967 EXPO, 1976 Olympics, UNESCO City of Design 2003, annual Nuit Blanche 2003- and international festivals), NewcastleGateshead (1990s regeneration, 1996 Year of Visual Art), and Barcelona (1992 Olympics, annual festivals, UNESCO Cultural Forum 2004). Port cities such as Rotterdam and Marseille represent particular examples of incremental regeneration of key sites and economic sectors, of which the European City of Culture will have been only one milestone with the event itself, only part of the long process of revitalisation. In Rotterdam the event year built on the development of cultural facilities, including an upgraded museum quarter and a new architecture centre and the investment in several non-cultural waterfront icons. Marseilles likewise is building on a long-term regeneration of its docklands and industrial sites (the Euromediterranean programme commenced there in the early-1990s), as well as improving its problematic image in France - not unlike Liverpool and Glasgow in the UK.

What this festivalisation also has in common is a reliance on national, European (and Provincial, in the case of Quebec), and international validation and resources, not just to target regeneration programmes, but to valorise city 'culture' for both public and investor consumption and approval. This exogenous development has arguably crowded and squeezed out local and endogenous cultural autonomy and preferences, for example in Bilbao (Evans and Foord, 2000 and Evans, 2003). This goes some way to explain the tensions, conflicts and organisational problems that beset such events once the award or decision has been made politically, not least in Liverpool (and now Istanbul), as well as in other regeneration incorporating cultural flagships/events where the opportunity cost - land-use, capital investment and revenue funding, as well as art form and cultural diversity - is high.

Measuring Impacts

Physical and cultural displacement, for example, is one feature of creative city regeneration where cultural labour, skills, workspace, participation and markets are replaced by high exchange value activity (for example, digital media for crafts based production - as in Barcelona, New York and London). In Liverpool this extends to population decline in the inner city and movement out to Merseyside and the surrounding region/suburbs (as in Glasgow), with density and growth levels actually reducing, in contrast to other UK cities. New housing, e.g. waterfront developments, has generated new inner city dwellers as elsewhere (e.g. Sheffield, Manchester), but with a non-residential buy-to-let market of 1 and 2 bed apartments, new communities (and families) have not embedded, whilst established residential communities decline further¹. This also explains why the stories and history of such events are not just contested, but continue to evolve and reveal themselves long after the event has taken place, or a flagship has first opened. Measuring effects has therefore started to capture this over time and place, as in the case of the Liverpool08 Impact study², but communities are less rooted and defining community and residents at neighbourhood level becomes problematic. Lee for instance cites the 'Liverpool character', in adapting Bourdieu, as a "habitus of location". He suggests that cities have enduring cultural orientations which exist and function relatively independent of their current populations or of the numerous social processes at any particular time: 'in this sense we can describe a city as having a certain cultural character....which clearly transcends the popular representations of the populations of certain cities, or that manifestly expressed by a city's public and private institutions' (1997, p. 132). This is important in any consideration of cultural planning, since attempts by municipal and other political agencies to create or manipulate a city's cultural character are likely to fail, produce pastiche or superficial culture, and even drive out any inherent creative spirit that might exist in the first place (Evans, 2001).

¹ In the 2001 Census the proportion of family households in Liverpool city centre was half of the city average, with students making up 42% of the city centre and 50% of the working age population, and although students dominate the city centre population and 'set the cultural tone' (Nathan and Urwin, 2005: 26) the centre/fringe is also home to many of the city's pensioners, low earners, and benefit dependants.

² <http://www.liv.ac.uk/impacts08>

Findings from the ongoing Liverpool'08 Impact study reveal the mixed and marginal effects felt by residents, with: 'ambivalence about the likelihood of sustained benefits resulting from ECoC' and 'concerns over the sustainability of retail and leisure developments and viability of new city centre apartments' (Impacts08, 2009, p. 13). Critically 'most people did not feel that ECoC would benefit either them as individuals or their neighbourhoods' (ibid, p.12). Here as elsewhere, is a case of undervaluing community culture and amenities, and the exaggeration of event activities and interventions, as felt by local people. Businesses in the city centre (less so outside of the area) had seen a growth in sales due to the CoC award, although less in Merseyside than in the region as a whole. However the majority of firms consulted did not anticipate winning future business from the event, which was not seen as the critical factor in the city's economic recovery, although a source of 'great pride and enthusiasm', but rather, the major infrastructure investments such as the new Arena and Convention Centre (Impacts08, 2008). As one observer notes: 'continuing the momentum beyond the city centre into neighbouring districts, little touched by the year's festivities, presents a potentially tougher challenge, and from past experience a far greater chance of getting things wrong' (Stonard, 2008, p. 35). Harvey had observed earlier that 'one of the possible benefits from cultural industries in the centre of cities is that insofar as you can bring back predominantly the suburban upper middle class into the city centre, you will involve them with what's going on (there)', but as he went on to admit: 'many people commute into the city to work and then go off back to the suburbs and are not bothered with what's going on elsewhere in the city' (1993, p. 8). In Liverpool as in other post-industrial cities, work, shopping and occasional entertainment, are the sum of most people's engagement and identification with the 'city' and its 'culture'.

However, in contrast to other regions, increased arts attendance and participation in the North West between 2006/7 and 2007/8 - which included the lead-up and opening events of Liverpool08 - suggests the '08 affect may well have played a part (nationally, musicals and live music attendance showed increases, participation in dance also - Oskala and Bunting, 2009). Indeed if it had not done so, this would be a direct failure of the event and of the time and resources devoted to it. This small national survey sample does not allow for local area analysis (Evans, 2008), but clearly one measure will be how far this activity can be sustained post the event year, and how the intensity of cultural activity has changed across the city's population (as distinct from visitors). Three perhaps semantic but significant distinctions have been made in this relationship between culture and the regeneration process: Culture and Regeneration; Culture-led regeneration; and Cultural Regeneration. These have been expanded as follows (Evans and Shaw, 2004 and Evans, 2005).

1. Culture and regeneration

In this model, cultural activity is not fully integrated at the strategic development or master planning stage often because the responsibilities for cultural provision and for regeneration sit within different departments or because there is no 'champion'. The intervention is often small-scale: a public art programme once the buildings have been designed; a heritage interpretation or local history museum. In some cases, where no planned provision has been made, residents - individuals or businesses -

and cultural organisations may respond to the vacuum and make their own interventions - lobbying for a library, commissioning artists to make signs or street furniture, recording the history of their area, setting up a regular music night, etc. Although introduced at a later stage, cultural interventions can make an impact on the regeneration process, enhancing the facilities and services that were initially planned.

2. Culture-led regeneration

In this model, cultural activity is seen as the catalyst and engine of regeneration. The activity is likely to have a high-public profile and frequently to be cited as the sign of regeneration. The activity might be the design and construction (or re-use) of a building or buildings for public or business use (for example, Baltic and Sage Music Centre in Gateshead, Tate Modern in London, Bankside); the reclamation of open space (for example, the garden festivals); or the introduction of a programme of activity which is then used to rebrand a place (City of Culture).

3. Cultural regeneration

In this model, cultural activity is more fully integrated into an area strategy alongside other activities in the environmental, social and economic sphere. Examples include *Birmingham's Renaissance* where the arts were incorporated with policy, planning and resourcing through the city council's joint Arts, Employment and Economic Development Committee, and in the 'exemplar' cultural city, Barcelona with an 'apolitical' tripartite agreement between industry, government and citizens and a ten year cross-cutting Cultural Strategy. This model is closely allied to the 'cultural planning' approach to cultural policy and regeneration, i.e. where culture is embedded and prioritised in mainstream urban planning and policy-making (Evans, 2008).

Liverpool's *Capital of Culture* was seen to embody the Culture-led regeneration approach (Culture NorthWest, 2008, p. 2), although as already noted, the longer-term regeneration strategy and city centre property developments lacked a cultural dimension and certainly there has been little integration of culture within mainstream urban design, planning or economic development agendas. For instance, the garden festival site there as in Glasgow has stood derelict for many years. In practice, much cultural activity is an add-on to urban development and social programmes. Nationally, the official economic impact and investment appraisals have been widened over this period through *Regeneration, Renewal and Regional Development* (3 Rs') assessments (ODPM, 2003) and Culture Ministry and Treasury evaluation guidance (Evans, 2005). These seek to apply cost benefit analysis, including notions of heritage, access and social impacts, alongside more quantitative economic multiplier and additionality/substitution calculations at a regional and national scale - for example, how far has a public investment project displaced activity elsewhere, for example, arts audiences; or would the project have gone ahead anyway without public investment, for example, Liverpool One retail centre.

Perhaps the mostly significant response to the need for more robust evidence to support the claims and case for culture within regeneration (DCMS, 2004) has been

both the above distinctions and the development a wider set of methods and case studies using social impacts, process-based evaluation and longer term research. Longitudinal impact studies have been undertaken in Gateshead (Bailey, Miles and Stark 2004), Glasgow (www.impact.arts.gla.ac.uk/), City Fringe London (Bagwell et al., 2009) and most recently for Liverpool'08 (Culture North West, 2008 and see Moriarty, 2002). Measuring social impacts of arts programmes and evaluating participation and 'public good' effects on host communities - beneficiaries, participants as well as 'non-users' - have been advanced by particular action and policy research, notably Matarasso, Moriarty, Reeves, Evans & Shaw, including studies carried out in Liverpool (ACME, Hill and Moriarty and Lorente). A 'triple bottom line' approach is also recommended by festival specialists as a route to embedding sustainable development principles into event planning and impact evaluation. Noting, perhaps over-optimistically that: 'the effect would be to ensure that the usual claims of economic benefits are not accepted at face value, and that social, cultural and environmental measures of value would be equal to the economic' (Getz, 2009, p. 76). A growing feature of social impact evaluation has been the use of oral history facilitated by low cost audio-visual and now digital media, as well as cognitive (Lask, 2011) and participatory mapping using Geographic Information Systems (GIS-P) and Planning for Real, blogs and community web sites, community-based design charrettes and more engaged insertion of artists in the regeneration site and process itself, including installations, residencies, visualisations and activism (Evans, 2009b). When applied over time, a richer and more robust picture is able to be built up; opinions and effects captured as they evolve and change; survey data can be triangulated and validated; and participation in the process itself can form part of the 'event', even long afterwards.

Conclusions

Given this knowledge and skill base, a measure of an impact study's quality and of its own 'impact' should therefore be the range of research methods employed and those used within the event or intervention itself, and how these are synthesised and valued in drawing 'meta-conclusions' in answering the key questions around 'success', 'attribution', 'distribution' (social, spatial) and impacts. It can be concluded, however, that despite their principles and novel and multi-disciplinary methods, the impact studies, evaluations and assessments being undertaken and planned for future events (for example, the London2012 Olympics) are being undertaken *a posteriori*, with stakeholders who had little or no say in the actual decision, delivery or shape of the 'event' (or regeneration scheme) itself, and its relationship with wider urban redevelopment.

So that whilst there is no shortage of 'evidence', techniques and methods, how these relate - if at all - to the governance and regeneration regime, and where power over which and whose culture is 'invited to the festival' resides, is not apparent or at least not part of the evaluation or impact study process. The extent to which this accumulating evidence on the wider effects of hosting and delivering such mega-events has and may be used in the future to inform future events and both cultural and regeneration strategies, is at best marginal. Host city decisions lack 'normal' rationality and are overridden by geopolitical and individual (commercial,

politician, "personality") imperatives and ultimately acts of blind faith, where contrary evidence is dismissed or offset by the larger gains at stake, particularly property, prestige and pride. As Kunzmann wryly observed: 'Each story of regeneration begins with poetry and ends with real estate' (2004, p. 2).

This can work both ways, as in a decision not to proceed such as in the case of Liverpool's ill-fated Fourth Grace³. The decision by Liverpool Vision to commission the design and development of a new building on the Pier Head in 2000 was tested through architectural competition then 'public consultation' on the four submitted schemes. Will Alsop's 'The Cloud' received the lowest vote (18%, whilst another poll, by the Liverpool Architecture & Design Trust also placed Alsop's design in last place with only 10%), with Foster's Ark 30%, Cullinan's Fourth Grace and Roger's Serpentine both receiving 26%. The decision by Liverpool Vision to ignore the popular vote then and abandon the scheme two years later signalled both a lack of confidence in and by the agency, and cemented Liverpool's reputation as an 'anxious city' (Williams 2004: 107) with a poorly performing Council - named the worst financially managed local authority by the Audit Commission in 2008. A ruling party Liberal Democratic Councillor blamed part of this problem on the cost of 'being the European City of Culture which we are funding 60% and which has led to people taking their eye off the ball' (Turner, 2008, p. 7). The 'event city' can therefore still accentuate the oppositional rather than unify, engender consensus and equity - as the events themselves can occasionally do - even if ephemerally.

Liverpool, like other ERDF Objective 1 eligible city-regions (e.g. Glasgow, Dublin) has benefited from over two decades of continued regeneration and cultural investment in their post-industrial and creative economies and city infrastructure. Cities such as Glasgow and Barcelona have managed to better integrate their cultural regeneration within economic and social development strategies and master plans, such that investment in cultural facilities, festivals and programmes can be seen as a long-term project rather than the one-off event, led by economic development and regeneration rather than cultural agencies and departments. With European and public sector spending guaranteed to decline and cease altogether for cities such as Liverpool, how its cultural infrastructure can be maintained and the aspirations for its citizens and for inward investment met, is unclear. In particular how the benefits from this long term investment and event strategies have been used to genuinely create a stronger social and economic base and wider inclusion. This is a challenge for advocates and critiques of the event city, and for those measuring pre and post-event effects and impacts in this context, given the city of renewal's longevity. What can be observed over this period, however, is a systemic dependency on external programmes and support

³ The 'Fourth Grace' named 'The Cloud' by its architect, Will Alsop, was designed to complement Liverpool's 'Three Graces' - The Royal Liver Building, The Cunard Building and the Port of Liverpool Building - on Merseyside's Pier Head. This spectacular flagship formed a key part of Liverpool's successful bid for *European Capital of Culture 2008*: 'a focus and catalyst for the next stage of Liverpool's renaissance, an eloquent image for a resurgent city' (www.liverpoolfourthgrace.co.uk). Following the *Capital of Culture* designation, the City Council cancelled this project, citing spiralling costs (forecast to rise from £228m to £324m), unclear usage, and the experience of out of control iconic building projects in other places (Evans 2005).

for what ostensibly are key components of the new knowledge and experience economy through the creative industries and tourism, which include cultural and sporting events, leisure retail and associated advanced producer services.

In many respects the culture and regeneration phenomenon and European project rolls on (Evans and Shaw, 2006), as does the impact study and 'evidence-based policy' regime - not least in London2012's Legacy Evaluation programme with a maze of parallel impact studies and meta-evaluations - at least six - by international, national and regional agencies (LDA, 2009). However in terms of cultural and community development, the regeneration project and event city looks both tired and dated. A move towards cultural planning (Evans, 2008) as a process of assessing need and demand through cultural mapping of activity, facilities and cultural assets and genuine consultation - underpinned by perhaps more rigorous understanding of people, place and participation - would seem to better situate the festival within changing social, economic and physical landscapes and better locate the extraordinary in the everyday, and vice versa. In this sense: 'a cultural planning approach goes way beyond simply attending performances, exhibitions, or cultural events. Cultural planning delivers access to, ownership of and participation in appropriate developmental cultural activities ... and contributes to the building of civil society; developing citizens and promoting citizenship' (fablevision.org, in Evans, 2008).

As the next event and 'Year of...' proceeds and past events recede into fragmented and official memories, it seems important to take the time to stop and ask the question - what do we mean by a city of culture and a 'former' city of culture? - is this a case of 'dependency culture' (and does this matter), or is it important to have 'something to call our own'? As Raymond Williams suggested in his *Long Revolution* (1961), introducing change and exposure to new practices over time was a route to lasting cultural development (and cultural democracy). This incremental, transformative and inclusive approach needs to be central to the festivalisation agenda and the measurement of its effects, over time.

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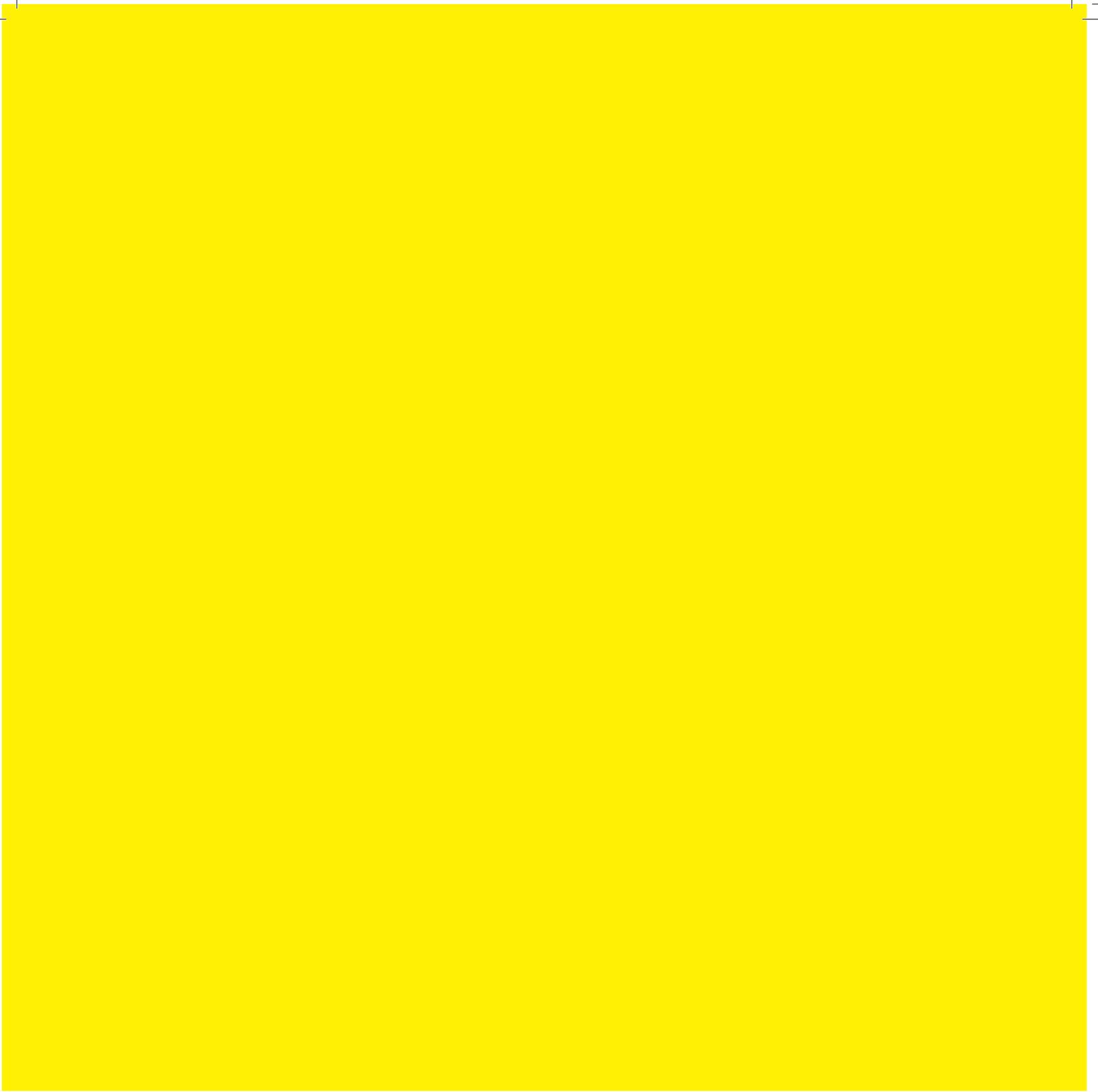
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