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Ex-post Evaluation of 2012 European Capitals of Culture

Final Report for the European Commission

DG Education and Culture

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Disclaimer

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

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Executive Summary

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Introduction

This evaluation report considers the European Capital of Culture Action in the year 2012 including the cultural programmes of the two cities designated as European Capital of Culture (ECoC) for that year: Guimarães (Portugal) and Maribor (Slovenia). The evaluation considers the relevance, efficiency and effectiveness of both 2012 ECoC throughout their "life-cycle", i.e. from the preparation of their application, through the designation and development phase and up to the completion of their cultural programmes at the end of the title year. Consideration is also given to their likely sustainability and legacy. The evaluation then considers the relevance, efficiency, effectiveness and sustainability of the ECoC Action as a whole.

Evaluation framework and methodology

The ECoC Action was evaluated against the objectives that are proposed by the Commission for the ECoC post-2019. Although the 2012 ECoC are not bound by the Commission proposal, the proposed new legal basis for the ECoC offers revised objectives for the initiative, which better reflect the EU's current policy intentions for ECoC, as well as contemporary trends in cultural policy more generally. Therefore, the objectives that are presented in the table below reflect the objectives that are implicitly expected from the cities hosting the title in 2012.

Global objective
• Safeguard and promote the diversity of European cultures, highlight the common features they share, and foster the contribution of culture to the long-term development of cities
Specific objectives
• Enhance the range, diversity and European dimension of the cultural offer in cities, including through transnational co-operation; • Widen access to and participation in culture; • Strengthen the capacity of the cultural and creative sector and its connectivity with other sectors; and • Improve the international profile of cities through culture.

The two cities were first evaluated individually, based on primary data either collected during the fieldwork or provided by each ECoC, as well as the analysis of a range of secondary data sources. Primary data sources include qualitative interviews conducted during two visits to each city as well as by telephone. These interviews have sought to gain a variety of perspectives on each ECoC, including those of the management teams, decision-makers at local and national level, plus key cultural operators and a range of partners involved in the delivery of ECoC. In addition, those responsible for ECoC projects were invited to contribute to the evaluation via an online survey. The secondary data sources include information in the original ECoC applications; studies and reports commissioned by the ECoC; events programmes, promotional materials and websites; statistical data on culture and tourism; and quantitative data supplied by the ECoC on finance, activities, outputs and results.

A comparative review then considered the conclusions emerging from Guimarães and Maribor, comparing and contrasting approaches, as well as identifying common themes and findings for the ECoC action as a whole.

Main findings

Guimarães

Guimarães is a historical city situated in the northern part of Portugal with a population of 53,000 (and 158,000 in the wider region)[1]. It is often called the "cradle of Portugal" because its history is very closely linked with the development of Portuguese national identity[2]. From the 15th-16th centuries the city developed a number of commercial industries, such as the manufacture of cutlery, jewellery and leather-working. [3] Today, Guimarães is located in the most industrialised part of Portugal and is particularly well known for its textile manufacturing. In common with many other industrialised regions it is experiencing a significant decline in industrial production, leaving many factories vacant. In response to industrial decline the municipality has initiated an ambitious urban regeneration policy, acquiring land and industrial sites in affected areas and transforming some of them for cultural uses. The *Complexo Multifuncional de Couros* (Multipurpose Centre) is a successful example of such development and includes hotels, education facilities and a cultural centre. At the same time, together with the University of Minho, the local authority aims to transform Guimarães into a 'science and technology city', as manifested by the setting up of several innovation centres and a Science and Technology Park[4].

Guimarães has a significant cultural sector, with a number of institutions and associations based in the city. One of the key cultural institutions in the city is centre Vila Flor, which is a leading organisation in contemporary performing and visual arts in the region. Probably the most distinctive characteristic of the city's culture sector is the wealth of cultural associations bringing together amateurs and professionals in a variety of different fields including folklore and popular culture. For example, the oldest Cine Club in Portugal is based in Guimarães and has a relatively large and strong membership while many cinema clubs in other parts of the country have seen a significant decline. The city is also an important tourism destination and one of the key drivers for this is the inclusion of the historical centre of Guimarães in the UNESCO list of world heritage sites.

The Portuguese Government decided to recommend Guimarães for hosting the ECoC title in 2012 without hosting a national competition. The city administration welcomed this decision and understood it as recognition of its efforts to develop the contemporary culture sector in the city from the early 1990s. ECoC provided an opportunity for the city to re-emphasise the importance of contemporary culture as well as traditional cultural festivities for the development of the city and the region. More generally it was seen as an important impetus for the region's economic and social development. This has been reflected in the three main objectives of Guimarães' application, namely to:

- Develop Human Capital;
- Generate a Creative Economy; and
- Create a new Geography of Senses.

[1] University of Minho (2012), Guimarães 2012: European Capital of Culture – Economic and Social Impacts. Available at: http://www.guimaraes2012-impactos.pt/pdf/guimaraes_2012_RI_maio_2012.pdf
[2] Information available at University of Minho website. Available at: http://www.uminho.pt/en/live/guimaraes-guide
[3] Ibid.
[4] OECD (2008), *OECD Territorial Reviews: Portugal.*

Following the award of the title by the European panel, the Guimarães City Foundation was established as a dedicated institution for hosting ECoC. In addition it was also decided to include key existing organisations in the governance structures. Therefore, A Oficina, which has managed the Vila Flor centre since 2005, became a key partner in the delivery of ECoC. A number of cultural associations were also invited to establish a consortium and to develop their own programme called *Intersecting Times.* The consortium formed of Círculo de Arte e Recreio, the Associação Cultural Recreativa Convívio, and the Associação de Etnografia e Folclore de Guimarães was the third pillar of governance set up for Guimarães 2012.

Although the management and governance structures worked relatively well during the title year, some difficulties were experienced in the development phase. The management team that started work during the development phase did not relate sufficiently to the local community and struggled to work together with local institutions. This created tensions and a lack of confidence in the team around the development of a cultural programme for the title year. In addition, there was a lack of clarity in terms of the division of roles and responsibilities between the different organisations involved. This tension, and information presented in the media concerning the salaries of key people in the administration, seems to have contributed to changes in the Foundation's Board and executive team during the summer of 2011. Although the new team started working in August 2011, only a few months before the start of the title year, it appears to have managed to quickly develop strong working relationships with the city administration, A Oficina and other stakeholders. The new management also changed its communication approach, resulting in a turn-around of negative attitudes towards ECoC, just before the start of the title year.

Securing the funding for Guimarães 2012 was also of key importance during the development phase. At an early stage an agreement with key funders was put into place specifying the funding sources and amounts to be allocated. This was a key success factor for securing the funding for the title year. At this stage it was decided that the key funding source for the cultural programme would be European Structural Funds, specifically the ERDF. Funding from the ERDF contributed over 70% of the budget for the cultural programme, with co-funding provided by the national Government. The use of ERDF funding was facilitated by such factors as the realignment of Guimarães 2012 objectives to the regional priorities of ERDF; a widely-held perception that ECoC was of strategic importance for regional development; the early involvement of ERDF managing authorities in the development of ECoC; and alignment between the timetables for the development of ECoC with the development and implementation of the regional operational programme for ERDF.

The successful use of ERDF funding provided financial stability for the ECoC, which was of significant importance at a time of economic crisis and meant that the level of funding initially foreseen in the application was delivered. However, it also brought some significant challenges. The administrative funding requirements for projects that were already extensive became even more challenging when the Government undertook a review of Structural Funds in 2012 and stopped any new commitments. This resulted in significant cash-flow problems for all those involved in the governance of the ECoC, as well as the organisations actually delivering projects. This was only resolved thanks to strong cooperation at regional level between all parties, though in the end significant delays in reimbursement could not be avoided.

The Guimarães cultural programme included over 2,000 events with over 25,000 artists and professionals contributing. The key aim of the programme was developing conditions for artistic creation in the city including such areas as the development of creative facilities, strengthening local capacity and developing new opportunities. It was of key importance to present a programme that was genuinely new and unique to Guimarães. Activities exploring the city through artistic interpretations constituted an important part of the cultural programme. These activities were implemented through such projects as *Reimagining Guimarães,* which was part of an audiovisual programme aiming to rediscover audiovisual heritage or *Starting from the City,* which formed a core part of the performing arts programme. Involving citizens in cultural activities was at the centre of the cultural programme and one of the key achievements for the whole ECoC. A significant part of the programme focused on creating new artistic experiences for citizens, through such projects as story-telling, the closing event and the *You are Part of It* initiative. In addition, the communication and

marketing initiative, especially through the logo, were embraced by citizens and commerce in the city centre, creating a feeling of celebration across the city during the title year.

The European dimension was addressed through artistic residencies which were at the core of artistic content creation. For example the young musicians' orchestra that was established for the title year included musicians from many European countries. In addition, almost all those who responded to the survey highlighted that international cooperation had increased during the title year. However, other forms of the European dimension, such as exploring themes of European significance, were less prominent in Guimarães.

The ECoC contributed to the economic development of the city through the increasing number of tourists, which also drove the establishment of new businesses in the city centre. This was an important achievement at a time when the country is experiencing a severe economic crisis. Facilities for development of the creative industries were also developed during the title year – examples include business incubation facilities in the Platform of Arts and Creativity, and the establishment of a Design Institute and infrastructure for film production.

At the time of writing it is too early to produce definite conclusions about the sustainability of cultural activities and the longer-term effects on cultural governance. However, the overall funding allocated by the city municipality for cultural activities has been increased and new facilities have been established, which can only increase the sustainability of ECoC. It appears that the importance of culture for city development has been understood and reinforced during the title year. The evidence collected certainly suggests that the city municipality, as well as key local cultural organisations, are willing to build on the experience of the title year for the future development of the city's cultural offer.

Maribor

The ECoC title was held by Maribor, which involved five partner towns in Eastern Slovenia: Murska Sobota, Novo Mesto, Ptuj, Slovenj Gradec and Velenje. With a population of about 119,071 the city of Maribor is the second largest in Slovenia and the capital of Štajerska (Slovenian Styria)[5]. The five partner towns range in size from Novo Mesto (40,000 inhabitants) to Slovenj Gradec (7,000 inhabitants). Maribor's historical development has been determined by its geographical position and the city prides itself on having a chequered history, rich wine tradition and diverse social and cultural life[6]. After many centuries as a provincial trading town, the first industrial revolution in the 19th century transformed Maribor into a regional commercial centre. Maribor was later one of the leading industrial and commercial centres in the former Yugoslavia, though industrial decline with the loss of these markets created many abandoned buildings and urban spaces and also meant that Maribor lost a key part of its function and identity[7].

Maribor's location has also exposed the city to diverse cultural influences from across Central Europe and the Balkans, and the city has a strong cultural infrastructure, hosting both publicly funded cultural institutions as well as small and independent cultural operators. Among the most significant institutions are the Slovenian National Theatre (SNG) of Maribor, Maribor Art Gallery (UGM), Regional Museum Maribor, Maribor Public Library, Regional Archive Maribor and Maribor Puppet Theatre[8]. The five partner towns all have their own cultural assets and development priorities, ranging from heritage tourism in Ptuj to children's festivals in Velenje.

[5] Information provided on the website of local authority in Maribor. Available at: http://www.maribor.si/povezava.aspx?pid=3791

[6] http://www.slovenia.info/pictures/town/atachments_2/2012/Maribor_2012_UK_DE_13899.pdf

[7] Ibid.

[8] Maribor Puppet Theatre moved into new premises in the reconstructed former Minorite convent on the banks of the River Drava in 2010.

The Government of Slovenia decided to run a national competition to select the host city, based on an open call for applications held in 2006. Maribor's application was developed in collaboration with the wider "Eastern Cohesion" region[9], built around Maribor and the five partner towns. While the cities had a heritage of technological and industrial development, culture and creativity were seen as the best opportunity to promote connections between the cities (and further afield), with ECoC providing evidence of culture's ability to act as a bridge to other sectors and support social, environmental and economic development.

Maribor's application was constructed around the key concept of "Pure Energy", referring to the region's role in power generation and the building up of energy towards a "cultural explosion" in 2012. Originally, the application set out a broad set of cultural activities under sixteen individual strands, together with planned investments in infrastructure, cultural heritage and the promotion of cultural tourism.

The development phase saw changes in governance and personnel, as well as disagreements over institutional forms, financial commitments and infrastructure investments. The final delivery agency for ECoC (the Maribor 2012 public institute) was established in 2010 and following the recruitment of key staff, a new concept and slogan was developed for the programme, "the Turning Point". This process saw extensive revisions of the cultural programme, organising activities around four main programme strands and three separate entities. The final programme was not presented to the public and media until October 2011, with very little time available for supporting activities such as international promotion or commercial revenue generation.

The final budget available to Maribor 2012 was much lower than originally foreseen, with significant reductions in national and municipal contributions, but also the amounts of funding obtained from other public and private sources. However the delivery agency successfully ensured that available resources were focussed on programme activities, using co-productions extensively as a way of ensuring that the cultural programme was of sufficient scale and scope.

Maribor 2012 implemented an extensive and innovative cultural programme, with 406 projects and 5,624 individual events. This included many completely new cultural activities with a strong emphasis on new forms of creative expression and interdisciplinary working, as well as a highly collaborative, participatory approach bringing international operators together with local organisations, artists and citizens. Among the highlights were the *Town Keys* and *Urban Furrows* strands. *Town Keys* used multiple forms of creative expression to reinvigorate the city centres, while a number of other elements of the programme brought cultural events to unconventional venues. *Urban Furrows* developed a number of template projects designed to explore complex social and ecological issues and test practical locally-based solutions.

All supported activities were required to reflect the European dimension of ECoC, though this was perhaps addressed most successfully in specific elements of the cultural programme, such as the Cultural Embassies 'entity' which involved collaborations with 80 cultural institutes and embassies from 31 countries (including 16 Member States). There was also a variety of project activity built around international collaborations or reflecting on themes of European and international significance such as migration and intercultural dialogue. Given Maribor's size and location, international audiences were mainly limited to the citizens of neighbouring countries.

Maribor 2012 did not meet all its original social and economic goals, mainly because the planned urban and cultural infrastructure investments were not achieved. However, ECoC certainly made a positive contribution in some areas, through high levels of public awareness of and engagement with activities, including the active involvement of many schools. In economic terms the increased level of spending on cultural activities and increasing numbers of visitors from Slovenia and neighbouring countries is likely to have had a positive impact on the regional economy.

[9] This is not an administrative region, but part of the NUTS geographical hierarchy corresponding to the entire Eastern half of Slovenia.

While the year itself is seen as a success by the vast majority of stakeholders and partners, longer-term effects are likely to be modest and limited to the specific cultural activities and collaborations that are continuing after the title year. There have been few enhancements to the cultural infrastructure or the skills, capacity and governance of the cultural sector. The lack of long-term planning or a legacy body combined with reduced cultural budgets means that it will be difficult to maintain the recent increase in cultural activities or the increased levels of public engagement with culture.

Conclusions

We offer here a set of conclusions and recommendations based on our considerations of the 2012 ECoC but which relate to the implementation of the ECoC Action as a whole.

Relevance

ECoC remains of key importance and thus of significant relevance for the EU Treaty, particularly Article 167, through contributing to the flowering of Member State cultures, highlighting common cultural heritage as well as cultural diversity and increasing cultural co-operation between Member States and internationally.

The ECoC concept continues to be of relevance to the objectives of the EU and a range of local stakeholders in the title cities. This relevance relates in particular to: promoting the European dimension of culture; developing the range and diversity of cities' cultural offerings; enhancing social development and citizenship; and promoting the international profile and economic development of cities (including through increased profile and increased visitor numbers for example).

The ECoC Action remains complementary to other EU culture initiatives, especially the Culture Programme 2007-2013 and the MEDIA Programme (and their successors under the proposed Creative Europe Programme). Importantly, it also contributes to achieving the objectives set for the European Agenda for Culture through promoting cultural diversity, developing international cultural links and increasing the role of culture in the long-term development of European cities.

The ECoC Action complements other European programmes especially in fields such as youth, citizenship, education and training and regional development. In particular, the experience of Guimarães in 2012 demonstrates the potential of ECoC to be reinforced by and add value to investments made by the ERDF. Many previous ECoC have used ERDF funding for infrastructure developments, but in the case of Guimarães 2012 around 70% of the total funding came from the ERDF. This was possible because local and regional decision-makers demonstrated the complementarity of ECoC with ERDF regional priorities; and at an early stage identified ECoCs's ability to support strategic investment in regional development. The experience of Guimarães shows that ERDF resources allowed stability of funding for ECoC during a time of severe economic crisis in Portugal. Bringing the two initiatives together was clearly not without its problems, so it is likely that valuable lessons have been learned in this area.

Maribor's bid was built around a regional concept, partly because of the need to ensure a large enough population base for ECoC. In general, representatives of the partner towns were very positive about their involvement in ECoC and made use of the opportunity to develop their cultural offer and infrastructure. However, the cultural programme differed in each town, with few examples of common projects and activities and spending distributed over a wide geographical area. This is likely to constrain the achievement of a 'critical mass' of impacts with the funding available, and the quantitative data suggests that Maribor benefitted most directly from the social and economic impacts of ECoC.

Efficiency

In 2012 one city was awarded the title through a national competition (Maribor) while the other (Guimarães) was appointed by the Portuguese Government. The experience of 2012 shows that hosting a national competition does not (certainly not alone) guarantee a more successful ECoC, with other factors such as strong local leadership, effective partnerships and continuity of funding in the development phase likely to be of critical importance.

In the case of Maribor the competitive element appears to have magnified local rivalries and raised doubts about fairness and transparency in some quarters, which may have acted as a distraction during the development process. The Portuguese Government decision to nominate Guimarães directly was generally well accepted by other cities and the wider public at least in part because Lisbon and Porto had already hosted the title.

Although the current monitoring arrangements are a significant improvement on those of previous years, they still do not ensure that cities fulfil all the commitments made at application, first monitoring and second monitoring stage (therefore also in respect to the award of the Melina Mercouri Prize). In retrospect, some of the expectations around eventual funding and performance targets for Maribor have been shown to have been unrealistic, or at the very least extremely ambitious, though this should have been reasonably clear and could have been identified at an earlier stage.

The experiences of 2012 once again highlight the significant challenges posed by the governance and management of ECoC and the role of political influences, organisational uncertainty and staff turnover. This is perhaps inevitable due to the nature and time-scale of ECoC; but 2012 also highlighted the importance of the city and other authorities providing consistent support and showing strong backing and commitment so that any difficulties can be quickly identified and addressed.

The funding necessary to achieve expected results continues to vary significantly between cities. Maribor originally planned to spend €57.4 million and actually spent about half of that amount (€28.4 million). For Guimarães the budget planned at application stage was delivered in practice with €41.5 million eventually spent. Compared with cities hosting the title in previous years both 2012 cities delivered below average budgets, though a number of previous ECoC have delivered the title for even less (e.g. Tallinn, Vilnius and Sibiu).

In Maribor's case, anticipated ERDF funding for infrastructure did not materialise, but there were also reductions in funding from other municipal and national sources, as well as from other public and private sources (especially commercial sponsorship). To a certain extent, this reflected difficult economic conditions, though the time available for revenue-generating was severely curtailed. Despite this, Maribor was able to deliver an effective cultural programme, principally through the extensive use of co-productions.

Guimarães was able to fund its ECoC largely through the Structural Funds (accounting for 70% of expenditure) since the priorities of the North Region Operational Programme coincided with ECoC objectives around supporting the development of cultural and creative industries and investing in the economic development of the region.

At European level, the ECoC Action continues to be very cost-effective when compared to other EU policy instruments and mechanisms, given the very modest EU funding available from the Melina Mercouri Prize. Although the Prize represents a relatively modest proportion of the overall ECoC budgets for both cities, the financial challenges facing each meant that it was highly appreciated in each case. In addition, the Prize has a strong symbolic value and recognises the progress made by the cities during the development phase. However, the experience from Maribor shows that the current arrangements do not prevent cities from reducing budgets after the Prize is awarded, so the Commission proposal to issue Prize funds during the title year itself is likely to make some contribution to cities honouring their commitments up to that point.

Effectiveness

The 2012 ECoC both succeeded in implementing cultural programmes that were more extensive, innovative and international (e.g. in terms of themes, artists/performers and audiences) than the usual cultural offering in each city. They explored new themes, highlighted the richness and diversity of each city's cultural offering, used new or unusual venues and reached out to citizens. This is a significant achievement when taking into account the size of each city, the extremely difficult financial situations they found themselves in and the political instability in Maribor.

Maribor 2012 implemented an extensive and innovative cultural programme, which represents a significant achievement given the time, resources and infrastructure available. This included many completely new cultural activities with a strong emphasis on new forms of creative expression and interdisciplinary working, as well as a highly collaborative, participatory approach bringing international operators together with local organisations, artists and citizens. Guimarães was successful in delivering a cultural programme incorporating many new and innovative cultural activities. It was successful in engaging city residents, attracting national and international visitors as well as increasing the offer of cultural experiences produced in the city.

One of the key success factors for both cities was engaging citizens. Guimarães 2012 received significant support, energy and active involvement from city residents, who saw the title year as one of the key milestones reinvigorating the city, enhancing its role nationally as well as increasing its visibility internationally. The communication style and logo were key success factors here. Maribor too eventually achieved high levels of awareness, participation and engagement and gradually built support from citizens, media partners and other stakeholders, to overcome early negative publicity and widespread scepticism.

The European dimension of the cultural programme in both cities was of mostly related to the efforts to support transnational cultural co-operation and to support some internationalisation of the cities' cultural sectors. Whilst European themes were present in both ECoC, these tended to relate to specific strands or individual projects rather than permeating the entire cultural programme. It is unrealistic to expect ECoC to have marked out Guimarães and Maribor as major European cultural destinations (at least not after the title year) and while ECoC had a positive impact on wider perceptions of both cities and tourism promotion, the lack of intensive international promotion represents something of a missed opportunity in both cities. Furthermore, there was less extensive cooperation between the two ECoC than hoped, though there is limited potential for extending linkages in cases such as this where distances are great or there are no historical or cultural links.

The strong political support that Guimarães 2012 received from the city administration contributed significantly to its success. This was reflected through the commitment to the development of cultural infrastructure projects, support and close cooperation for the management team and significant support for the delivery of the culture projects. The ECoC was seen as a strategic project by the city administration and significant effort was devoted to ensuring its successful implementation. In Maribor's case the same level of support was not so apparent and success was achieved largely by the delivery agency acting alone (albeit with the support of multiple co-producers).

Both cities were able to point to increases in visitor numbers, which contributed significantly to local economic activity. Some 39% of visits to Maribor and partner cities in 2012 were solely due to ECoC and in Maribor the increase in foreign visitors more than offset reductions in the domestic market, while businesses in the town centres experienced tangible benefits. There was a 120% increase in visitors to tourist information offices in Guimarães and over 25% of visitors reportedly indicated that ECoC was one of the reasons they visited the city.

Sustainability

In both cities, cultural operators have gained valuable skills and experience and there are likely to be moderate effects in terms of enhancing the cities' cultural offer. Continued impacts on cultural governance appear unlikely however, reinforcing the need for long-term strategy to be incorporated in selection and monitoring processes under the proposed new legal basis for ECoC[10].

In both cases sustainability appears far from secure, not least because of the uncertain economic situation. In Maribor, the political situation remains volatile, the economic outlook remains negative and lack of long-term planning or a legacy body (after June 2013) combined with reduced cultural budgets means that it will be difficult to maintain the recent increase in cultural activities or the increased levels of public engagement with culture.

Guimarães has no long-term culture strategy in place, and the City Foundation that managed the ECoC will be disbanded at the end of 2013. However negotiations are taking place between the local authority, national Government and university on setting up a cooperative framework for ensuring the sustainability of governance structures. It is also likely that the local authority, together with A Oficina, will be able to ensure the continuation of certain key activities.

Recommendations

Here we have emphasised newly-emerging recommendations from this year's evaluation, though a number of recommendations from previous ECoC may well still be relevant. This is especially the case for the recommendations to continue the ECoC as a high-profile and symbolic initiative of the EU, to develop stronger links between delivering the commitments at the selection phase and awarding the Melina Mercouri Prize, to consider ways for further dissemination of good practice among past, present and future cities hosting the title, and to consider further research into long-term impacts of the ECoC.

1 The transparency of selection procedures at national level has been addressed in the 2006 Decision with the establishment of two-stage national competitions involving a European selection panel, starting from the 2013 ECoC. However, it is important when implementing a national competition to ensure processes that are fair and transparent (and seen as such by cities, partners and stakeholders), if the potential advantages of pre-selection are to be realised.

2 ECoC continue to struggle to establish their institutional arrangements in good time, and while both 2012 cities managed to develop strong cultural programmes this reduced the time available for critical complementary activities. If the potential wider economic benefits of ECoC are to be maximised, future ECoC need to be able to begin international marketing and commercial revenue generation strategies at a much earlier point.

3 The need for regular and recognised progress in the development phase (in order to pre-empt some of the problems documented in this evaluation) means that it may be desirable to consider annual implementation plans or more regular reporting milestones than those set out under the strengthened monitoring procedures within the proposed new legal basis for ECoC.

4 The demand for clearer commitments from a range of partners (e.g. from other national ministries and managing authorities of EU funding programmes) is a recurring issue for ECoC. Though it is impractical to expecting binding financial commitments of Member States and municipalities (both under the current legal basis and in the present economic environment), applicants should be encouraged to clearly state what funding is committed and what is 'hoped for' in their applications.

[10] European Commission (2012), Proposal for a Decision of the European Parliament and of the Council Establishing a Union Action for the European Capitals of Culture for the Years 2020 to 2033. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/culture/our-programmes-and-actions/doc/ecoc/ec-proposal-post-2019.pdf

5 Ways should be explored to provide more detailed guidance to successful applicants (and stakeholders at national and European level) on the potential for ECoC to make use of other EU programmes and funds as well as public funding from a variety of sources at national level. This should be informed by the practical experiences of Guimarães in obtaining ERDF funding, but also the problems experienced by Maribor in obtaining additional public funding.

6 Given ECoC's considerable potential to support synergies with a wide diversity of themes and issues, ensure that best practice guidance includes case study examples of successful interdisciplinary projects showing how a variety of themes (e.g. social inclusion, intercultural dialogue, ecology, local economic development) can be addressed without negatively affecting artistic and cultural quality.

7 To reinforce the requirement for each city to increase their links with ECoC of the same year in cases where there is a significant geographical distance or few cultural and historical links between the cities. In such cases links with previous and future ECoC may be more feasible and valuable, though any new relationships should always be additional to existing working relationships.

8 Reinforce to cities the need to develop more concrete legacy structures and arrangements, as set out in the proposed new legal basis for ECoC. While it is legitimate to use ECoC in order to symbolise a new start (e.g. the "Turning Point" in Maribor), without a renewed focus there is a clear danger that momentum will be lost and citizens and cultural partners will be disappointed.

9 Cities should be encouraged to undertake their own research and to develop evidence of the achievement of ECoC objectives. The core research tasks should include resident and visitor surveys before, during and after the title year and providing evidence that is useful to demonstrate success at national and European levels, including in terms of the European dimension and citizen engagement. The European Commission should also consider developing guidance and key requirements for such evaluations.

Introduction

1.0 Introduction

Ecorys is pleased to present this final report for the *Ex-post Evaluation of the 2012 European Capitals of Culture* (ECoC). The content of this document is subject to the approval of the project steering group before being finalised.

Whilst this evaluation is primarily designed to satisfy the standard requirement of the legal basis for an "external and independent evaluation of the results of the European Capital of Culture event of the previous year"[11], it also includes consideration of a number of significant additional aspects.

Although Guimarães (Portugal) and Maribor (Slovenia) were selected under the 1999 Decision[12], there was a need to explore the effectiveness of the monitoring procedures introduced by the subsequent 2006 Decision[13], given that the 2012 title-holders are only the second round of cities to have been subject to the revised procedures.

Similarly, the 2012 ECoC were only the third round of cities to have received the Melina Mercouri Prize also introduced by the 2006 Decision. The evaluation is also designed to assist political decision-making process as the Council and the Parliament consider the Commission's proposal for a new Decision.[14]

[11] Decision 1622/2006/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 24 October 2006 establishing a Community action for the European Capital of Culture event for the years 2007 to 2019.
[12] Decision 1419/1999/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 May 1999 establishing a Community Action for the European Capital of Culture Event for the years 2005 to 2019
[13] Decision 1622/2006/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 24 October 2006 establishing a Community action for the European Capital of Culture event for the years 2007 to 2019.
[14] European Commission (2012), *Proposal for a Decision of the European Parliament and of the Council Establishing a Union Action for the European Capitals of Culture for the Years 2020 to 2033*. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/culture/our-programmes-and-actions/doc/ecoc/ec-proposal-post-2019.pdf

Evaluating European capitals of culture

2.0 Evaluating European Capitals of Culture

2.1 The European Capitals of Culture Action

2.1.1 Origins and context

The special role that cities play in culture was recognised by a 1985 Resolution[15] that introduced the "European City of Culture" concept – a year-long event during which a city would operate a programme of events to highlight its contribution to common cultural heritage and welcome people and performers from other Member States. The event went on to have "a positive impact in terms of media resonance, the development of culture and tourism and the recognition by inhabitants of the importance of their city having been chosen".[16] In recognition of this success, a 1999 Decision of the Parliament and of the Council transformed the concept into the European Capital of Culture (ECoC) and sought to create a more predictable, consistent and transparent rotational system for the designation of the title. This Decision took as its legal base, Article 151 of the Treaty (now Article 167), which calls on the EU to "contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States, while respecting their national and regional diversity and at the same time bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore". The 1999 Decision was later amended in 2005 in order to integrate the ten Member States that acceded to the EU in 2004, including Slovenia.[17]

A further Decision was made in 2006, which introduced new processes for selection, co-financing and monitoring for ECoC for the years 2013-19 (with the 2010-12 ECoC also subject to the new processes for co-financing and monitoring).[18] Calls for submission of applications at national level and a European selection panel (comprising thirteen independent experts, of whom seven are nominated by the European institutions and six by the Member State concerned) have been organised for the 2013-17 titles. The selection process is on-going for cities hosting the title in 2018 and 2019.

The new monitoring process (which was applied to the 2012 ECoC) requires the designated cities to submit two monitoring reports (respectively 27 months and 11 months in advance of the title year). Submission of the reports is followed by formal monitoring meetings with the panel (respectively 24 months and 8 months in advance of the title year). The 2006 Decision also introduced the "Melina Mercouri Prize": a conditional prize of €1.5m to be awarded to designated cities before the start of the year, on the basis of a recommendation delivered by the monitoring panel. This prize has been awarded for the 2010, 2011 and 2012 titles.

The selection, monitoring and EU co-financing procedures introduced by Decision 1622/2006/EC have recently been the subject of a specific evaluation undertaken by Ecorys[19]. That evaluation concluded that the current procedures represent a considerable improvement on those operating within the context of the 1999 Decision, which the 2009 ex-post evaluation had found to be insufficient to identify problems systematically and prescribe remedial action.

[15] European Commission (1985) Resolution of the Ministers Responsible for Cultural Affairs Concerning the Annual Event European City of Culture (7081/84).
[16] Decision 1419/1999/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 May 1999 establishing a Community action for the European Capital of Culture event for the years 2005 to 2019.
[17] Decision 649/2005/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 13 April 2005 amending Decision No 1419/1999/EC establishing a Community action for the European Capital of Culture event for the years 2005 to 2019.
[18] Decision 1622/2006/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 24 October 2006 establishing a Community action for the European Capital of Culture event for the years 2007 to 2019.
[19] Ecorys (2011), *Interim Evaluation of Selection and Monitoring Procedures of European Capitals of Culture (ECoC) 2010-2016.* Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/culture/our-programmes-and-actions/doc/ecoc/ecoc_assignment_final_report_en.pdf

The open competition (within Member States listed in the order of entitlement) has increased interest in the initiative, ensured an equitable distribution of ECoC across Member States and helped generate a high number of credible applications. The selection process is generally held to be fair and transparent and has enabled the selection of credible candidates in every Member State, in part due to the two-stage process which enables applicants to improve their applications on the basis of expert advice received from the panel. The ECoC criteria are clear in principle and have generally been understood by applicants and applied by the panel. The panel is mostly operating effectively and has been strengthened by the mixture of national and European appointees and by the fact that the European appointees hold a majority; its role has also been reinforced by virtue of the fact that it considers all applications. The monitoring process has also played a key part in strengthening the ECoC, in particular their focus on the European dimension. Providing EU funding in the form of a prize rather than a grant has reduced the administrative burden and increased flexibility in the use of the funding.

In addition to the formal activities mandated in the ECoC Decision, DG EAC implements a range of informal accompanying measures, including a guide for candidate cities[20], studies, progress meetings held between the panel and cities six months after designation, info days, and the opportunity for cities to contact and discuss with DG EAC any issues or questions they may have and receive assistance and advice. This support has generally been found by applicants and designated ECoC to be useful, as evidenced by the recent evaluation of application and selection procedures.

Whilst the current legal basis (the 2006 Decision) covers the titles up to and including 2019, the Commission has presented a proposal to the European Parliament and the Council for a new legal basis for ECoC action from 2020 to 2033. The proposal recognises the benefits that ECoC has on the host city and its culture sector and suggests that the key features of the Action would remain unchanged. At the same time, it identifies challenges that cities hosting the title face and proposes a number of changes: 1) more detailed selection criteria; 2) strengthened support measures for cities; 3) reinforced conditionality for payment of the Melina Mercouri Prize; 4) opening the possibility for cities in candidate and potential candidate countries to host the title every three years; 5) emphasizing that the European selection panel is not obliged to award the title if the quality of applications is not sufficient; and 6) strengthening cities' obligations to evaluate and monitor the implementation of the ECoC[21].

2.1.2 Objectives of the ECoC Action

The figure below presents the hierarchy of objectives against which the 2012 ECoC have been evaluated. Since the 2006 Decision provided the legal basis for the 2012 ECoC, the objectives of that Decision have been taken into account in this hierarchy. However, the proposed new legal basis for the ECoC offers revised objectives for the ECoC, which better reflect the EU's current policy intentions for ECoC, as well as contemporary trends in cultural policy more generally. For that reason, the evaluation has also taken into account these proposed new general and specific objectives in order to reflect those elements of the action that were not explicitly mentioned in the 2006 Decision but are expected from the cities hosting the title.

[20] European Commission: Guide for cities applying for the title of European Capital of Culture, http://ec.europa.eu/culture/pdf/doc633_en.pdf.

[21] European Commission (2012), *Proposal for a Decision of the European Parliament and of the Council Establishing a Union Action for the European Capitals of Culture for the Years 2020 to 2033*. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/culture/our-programmes-and-actions/doc/ecoc/ec-proposal-post-2019.pdf

Figure 2.1 ECoC hierarchy of objectives

General objective								
Safeguard and promote the diversity of European cultures, highlight the common features they share, and foster the contribution of culture to the long-term development of cities								
Specific objectives (SO)								
SO1: Enhance the range, diversity and European dimension of the cultural offer in cities, including through transnational co-operation		SO2: Widen access to and participation in culture		SO3: Strengthen the capacity of the cultural and creative sector and its connectivity with other sectors			SO4: Improve the international profile of cities through culture	
Operational objectives								
Stimulate extensive cultural programmes of high artistic quality	Ensure cultural programmes feature a strong a European dimension and transnational co-operation	Involve a wide range of citizens and stakeholders in preparing and implementing the cultural programme	Create new opportunities for a wide range of citizens to attend or participate in cultural events	Improve cultural infrastructure	Develop the skills, capacity and governance of the cultural sector	Stimulate partnership and co-operation with other sectors	Promote the city and its cultural programme	Improve the international outlook of residents

2.2 Evaluation framework

The Terms of Reference require us to use the same intervention logic and indicators as the 2007-11 evaluations. These are based on the standard European Commission evaluation model as set out in the guide for Commission services[22]. Under this model a hierarchy of objectives is used to establish the links between high-level global objectives (generally reflecting wider policy goals) and specific and operational objectives at the level of the intervention itself. The hierarchy of objectives presented in Figure 2.1 above. This is then directly linked to a typology of criteria and indicators, which are observed and measured wherever possible. The list of core indicators used for the evaluation is presented below.

Table 2.1 Core Result Indicators

Specific objective	Result indicators
SO1: Enhance the range, diversity and European dimension of the cultural offer in cities, including through transnational co-operation	Total number of events € value of ECoC cultural programmes No. of European cross-border co-operations within ECoC cultural programme Proportion of artists from abroad and from the host country featuring in the cultural programme
SO2: Widen access to and participation in culture	Attendance at ECoC events % of residents attending or participating in events, including young, disadvantaged or "culturally inactive" people Number of active volunteers
SO3: Strengthen the capacity of the cultural and creative sector and its connectivity with other sectors	€ value of investment in cultural infrastructure, sites and facilities[23] Sustained multi-sector partnership for cultural governance Strategy for long-term cultural development of the city
SO4: Improve the international profile of cities through culture	Increase in tourist visits Volume and % of positive media coverage of cities Awareness of the ECoC amongst residents

[22] European Commission, "Evaluating EU Activities. A practical guide for the Commission services", July 2004; http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/secretariat_general/evaluation/docs/eval_activities_en.pdf

[23] If possible annual data for each year from the date of nomination to the title year will be presented.

Table 2.2 Core Impact Indicators

General objective	Impact indicators
Safeguard and promote the diversity of European cultures, highlight the common features they share, and foster the contribution of culture to the long-term development of cities	Citizens' perceptions of being European and/or awareness of European culture
	National / international recognition of cities as being culturally-vibrant (e.g. peer reception, positive media coverage) and having improved image

The evaluation also considers a set of evaluation questions, which have informed evidence-gathering and contributed to the analysis across the standard evaluation headings of relevance, efficiency and effectiveness and sustainability. These are provided in annexe five to this document.

2.3 Methodology

The evaluation methodology was developed to address the fact that the evaluation should primarily consider the ECoC *discretely and in their own particular context* in the first instance, before going on to draw generalised conclusions (illustrated by reference to the cities) and that the evaluation will contribute to the debate about a new legal basis after 2019.

2.3.1 Data sources

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

- *Background literature at European level*; this included key EU policy and legislative documents relating to ECoC, which were essential in determining the evaluation questions and the criteria against which to evaluate the ECoC, notably the 1999 and 2006 Decisions; the reports of the selection panels; previous research into ECoC at European level, most notably, the Palmer/Rae Associates study produced in 2004 on behalf of the European Commission, as well as the evaluations of the 2007-2011 ECoC; academic literature relating to ECoC and the role of culture in cities more generally.
- *Background literature at ECoC-level;* this included the original applications, reports by the selection and monitoring panels at EU level, as well as studies and reports commissioned or produced by the ECoC, events programmes, promotional materials and websites.
- *ECoC quantitative data*: in both cases, data relating to number and type of cultural events, income and expenditure, visitor numbers and profile, etc. was recovered from the ECoC's own reports and co-ordination teams; surveys of audiences and/or residents, which provided valuable evidence; these were treated as key data sources and provided evidence to 'populate' our own evaluation model, for example, in terms of basic data on outputs and results, as well as on the views of visitors and residents, which we were not able to gather as primary data within the scope of this evaluation. In addition, statistical data was collected for each city in order to identify baseline position allowing to identify to what extent ECoC affected the culture and tourism sectors in each city. This evaluation has also seen more extensive use of web and social media statistics and tracking data
- *Interviews of managing teams*; the delivery agencies in both cities were still in operation at the time of the evaluation and we were able to interview the key individuals whilst still in post; in the vast majority of cases the individuals involved, once identified and contacted, proved co-operative and were keen to share openly their experiences of planning and implementing the cultural programmes.
- *Consultation of key stakeholders and cultural operators*; interviews with key stakeholders were essential in that they offered an alternative and in-depth perspective on the ECoC to that offered by the delivery agencies; they allowed us to explore particular issues in more depth, for example, relating to the

effectiveness of the governance structure, or the strength of artistic direction; key interviewees included municipalities, chambers of commerce, tourist offices, national ministries, cultural operators and representatives of national and local media.

- *Survey of projects*; the views of cultural organisations leading or participating in projects as part of both ECoC were collected as they provide valuable evidence on implementation from organisations directly involved in each ECoC cultural programme. Response rates were better for Maribor than Guimarães, with 100 responses for Maribor (56 reaching the end of the survey), but only 47 for Guimarães (29 reaching the end of the survey) from a sample of around 300 projects in both cases. Given these rather small sample sizes, the survey data for both ECoC is not used as a discrete source of information but rather as one part of the total evidence base, in conjunction with the other sources of information available to the evaluation.

2.3.2 Strengths and weaknesses of the method / evidence base

The evaluation provides a true and complete picture of the 2012 ECoC as far as was possible within the budget and to the extent that data was available. Whilst the evaluator was effective in gathering data, such data was necessarily limited by the fact that evaluation started towards the end of the title year itself and it was not possible to gather data or observe activities before or during the title years to any great extent. In addition, as mentioned above, the response rates for the project surveys were quite low (especially in the case of Guimarães), limiting the overall reliability of this information source and its ability to support the analysis.

The final report provides full and explicit coverage of the evaluation questions set out in the Terms of Reference for the evaluation. Robust conclusions are drawn and underpinned by sound evidence. The full list of data sources is presented as a bibliography in the annexes to this report. It is important to note that as part of the reporting stage Ecorys sent a list of data to each ECoC showing the data sources used (covering reports, data sets, interviewees etc.) asking for confirmation that the dataset was complete and/or for any remaining gaps to be filled. This ensures that all relevant data sources have been included in the evaluation.

Recommendations follow logically from the conclusions and will be of value to the future operation of the action, albeit within the limits set by commitments made to date (such as the designation of titles for 2014, 2015, etc. and the order of entitlement to 2019). The budget was appropriate to the scale and scope of the evaluation.

2.3.3 Key research tasks

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

- Inception and background research, including the refinement of the evaluation framework and methodology, as well as the review of policy documents and academic literature.
- Desk research on both ECoC; the purpose here was to gather basic factual information about the activity undertaken, in order for the research team to become familiar with the cultural programme in each city but also to serve as a source of evidence to inform the later analysis and underpin any conclusions.
- Online survey of projects: this involved drafting and making available an online survey of projects in both cities, working with both delivery agencies on to dissemination.
- Fieldwork in both cities; this stage of the evaluation took the form of telephone interviews, consultation of local, regional and national stakeholders and two visits to each city. Interview questions focused both on *what* activities took place (this information had been gathered by the desk research) and on the *results and impact* of that activity, in the view of the stakeholders. In short, the interviews aimed to answer key questions related to the relevance, efficiency and effectiveness of each city's programme.
- Consultations of EU level networks and international tour operators.
- Analysis and final reporting, including a comparative review and meta-evaluation, which considered the conclusions emerging from both ECoC, compared and contrasted approaches, and verified the quality of

our own research; both ECoC have been invited to comment on matters of factual accuracy before the report is finalised.

Having followed this methodology, we now present the findings of the research in the form of a discrete report for each ECoC, followed by conclusions and recommendations for the Action at EU level.

Guimarães

GUIMARÃES 2012
EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE

3.0 Guimarães

3.1 Background

3.1.1 The city

Guimarães is a historical city situated in the northern part of Portugal with a population of 53,000 (158,000 inhabitants in the region)[24]. It is often called the "cradle of Portugal" because its history is very closely linked with the development of Portuguese identity and language[25]. For example, Guimarães played an important role as the major municipality of Condado Portucalense (the Portuguese County) within the Kingdom of León (Spain) between the late 9th and early 12th centuries. Notably, one of the key events in the formation of Portuguese national identity took place just outside Guimarães in 1139 - the Battle of São Mamede. Following the Battle, Dom Afonso Henriques, the Portuguese sovereign fighting against the Kingdom of León, declared the independence of the Portuguese County from León. It is also believed that Dom Afonso Henriques, the first King of Portugal, was born in Guimarães[26].

The Convent in the valley, founded in the 10th century, together with a fort on the hill to protect it, were the two main drivers behind the early development of the city. The importance and prestige of the Convent grew significantly from the 12th century thanks to its links with the kings and nobility[27]. Moreover, the city became an important location on the route of the Santiago de Compostela pilgrimage, because of an image of the Madonna that was considered to be miraculous[28]. During the 15th and 16th centuries the city developed a number of commercial industries, such as the manufacture of cutlery and jewellery, and leather-working. The development of commercial activities was facilitated by the strategic location of Guimarães on the route between the coast and important inland centres[29].

Today, Guimarães is located in the most industrialised sub-region of the country, within the District of Braga. As a result of its strategic location, Guimarães and the surrounding area has become an important national export centre. The city has long been the country's largest textile-manufacturing hub, but more recently has experienced a significant decline in industrial production, leaving many factories vacant. In response to the industrial decline the local authority has initiated an ambitious urban regeneration policy, acquiring land and industrial, sites in affected areas and transforming some of them into cultural sites. The *Complexo Multifuncional de Couros* (Multipurpose Centre) is a successful example of such development and includes hotels, education facilities and a cultural centre. At the same time, together with the University of Minho, the local authority aims to transform Guimarães into a 'science and technology city', as manifested in the setting up of several innovation centres and a Science and Technology Park[30].

The city is also an important tourism destination. One of the key drivers for this is the inclusion of the historical centre of Guimarães in the list of UNESCO world heritage sites. Guimarães is also one of the youngest cities in Europe, with 50% of its inhabitants being less than 30 years old[31].

[24] University of Minho (2012), Guimarães 2012: European Capital of Culture – Economic and Social Impacts. Available at: http://www.guimaraes2012-impactos.pt/pdf/guimaraes_2012_RI_maio_2012.pdf
[25] Information available at University of Minho website. Available at: http://www.uminho.pt/en/live/guimaraes-guide
[26] Information provided at the Municipality of Guimarães website. Available at: http://www.cm-guimaraes.pt/PageGen.aspx?WMCM_PaginaId=6342
[27] Ibid.
[28] UNESCO (20012), *Guimarães (Portugal),* No. 1031, Advisory Body Evaluation prepared in relation to including Historic Centre of Guimarães in UNESCO World Heritage Sites list. Available at: http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1031/
[29] Ibid.
[30] OECD (2008), *OECD Territorial Reviews: Portugal.*
[31] Documentation Centre on European Capitals of Culture website. Available at: http://ecoc-doc-athens.eu/guimaraes-home.html

3.1.2 The cultural sector

Guimarães has a significant cultural sector, with a number of institutions and associations based in the city. Together with the surrounding area it hosts a number of traditional festivities, the two most famous of which are the Gualterianas Fest, taking place during the first weekend of August, and the student festivities, Nicolinas, celebrated in late November and early December. Guimarães' cuisine, traditional arts and crafts (embroidery, linen, wrought iron, pottery, etc.) are also important aspects of the city's cultural life[32].

Among the key cultural institutions the Vila Flor has been an important cultural facility for the city's cultural awakening, hosting a range of events from open-air Shakespeare productions to large-scale pop music concerts. It became one of the leading cultural institutions in contemporary performing and visual arts. The Alberto Sampaio Museum holds a sculpture collection dating back to medieval times, and the Martins Sarmento Archaeological Museum's Art Laboratory (Laboratório das Artes) provides exhibition, performance, music and art workshop spaces[33]. The Centre for Arts and Architectural Affairs, based in a former textiles factory, was opened in 2005. Guimarães' efforts in developing industrial sites into cultural venues have resulted in the city being considered the main centre for culture and the arts in the region. A Oficina is one of the key cultural operators in the city; initially established to promote traditional culture in Guimarães its scope has increased over the years and currently it promotes contemporary culture and organises a number of key cultural events and festivals.

The city is a home for hundreds of associations bringing together amateurs and professionals in a variety of different fields, including folklore and popular culture. The associations are of key importance for the identity of the city, civic participation and social dynamics. The oldest Cine Club in Portugal is based in Guimarães and has a relatively large and strong membership while many cine clubs in other parts of the country have seen a significant decline. Some other key associations at the centre of the cultural life of the city include Círculo de Arte e Recreio, Academia de Música Valentim Moreira de Sá, Associação Cultural Convívio and the Associação de Etnografia e Folclore de Guimarães.

Key events that are renowned nationally and internationally include Guimarães Jazz, the Gil Vicente Festivals for contemporary Portuguese drama, and the Encontros Internacionais de Música, which offers young musicians the opportunity to improve, make contact with internationally known artists and perform in public[34].

3.2 Cultural programme

3.2.1 Original aims and objectives

Portugal was given the right to nominate a city for hosting the ECoC title in 2012 by the Decision *establishing a Community Action for the European Capital of Culture Event for the Years 2005 to 2019* (1419/1999/EC), which set the selection procedures and chronological list of Member States to host the title. Guimarães and Maribor were the last cities selected according to the above decision. Unlike cities hosting the title after 2012, it was then the responsibility of the Member State to decide how to select the city or cities for nomination to the European panel. Although in recent years many Member States decided to nominate their European Capital of Culture after hosting a national competition, the Portuguese Government decided to recommend Guimarães as the Portuguese city for hosting ECoC title, without organising a national competition. This was announced during the Portuguese Presidency of the Council of the EU in 2007. The decision to choose Guimarães for hosting the title is also partially linked to the fact that other two metropolis Lisbon and Porto already hosted the title. The city administration welcomed this decision and understood it

[32] Fundação Cidade de Guimarães (2009), *Strategic Plan 2010-2012.* Available at: http://www.guimaraes2012.pt/index.php?cat=12&sup=7
[33] Information provided at the Municipality of Guimarães website. Available at: http://www.cm-guimaraes.pt/PageGen.aspx?WMCM_PaginaId=5264
[34] Fundação Cidade de Guimarães (2009), *Strategic Plan 2010-2012.* Available at: http://www.guimaraes2012.pt/index.php?cat=12&sup=7

as recognition of its efforts to develop the contemporary culture sector in the city, which started during the early 1990s.

The city administration clearly saw the ECoC title as an opportunity for the city to re-emphasise the importance of contemporary culture and traditional cultural festivities for the development of the city and the region. It was also seen as an important opportunity for strengthening the economic development and human capital of the region. Therefore, following the nomination of Guimarães by the national Government, a team of four was set up to prepare the application for the European Selection Panel. This team, consisting of two people nominated by the Ministry of Culture and two people nominated by the city administration, prepared the initial application and submitted it to the European Selection Panel in December 2007. The initial application was informed by a number of consultations, meetings and workshops involving local, regional and national stakeholders.

After its initial assessment of the application, the European Selection Panel suggested that Guimarães should develop its application further. The key areas here included development of a stronger focus on the expected long-term effects on the city and the region, provision of more detailed information on the budget (especially concerning culture projects) and development of a strong European dimension. A new team was invited to lead the preparation of the revised application. This was the result of the experience gained in drafting the first application, which showed that having ministry-designated experts and the city administration driving the application did not prove effective. The city administration therefore took the lead in preparing the revised application, with the Deputy Mayor playing a key role. The new team presented the revised application to the European Selection Panel at the end of 2008.

During this phase the city administration developed strong ownership of the project. The team that was involved in drafting the revised application remained at the core of the implementation of the title year, which helped to ensure continuation between the development and implementation phases. At this time the core of the approach for the cultural programme and the overall ECoC was developed further and clarified. This was an important moment for reinforcing the credibility of the project in the city and laid a solid basis for the further development of the title year.

Following its assessment of the revised application, the European Selection Panel recommended that the city should be designated as European Capital of Culture 2012. The Panel recognised the progress made when compared with the initial application. The key strengths of the revised application were the strong commitment of the team and culture sector to the project and the quality of the partnership, including the willingness of the University of Minho to contribute to the ECoC. The Panel also stressed the importance of maintaining the partnership and working methods for the success of ECoC, ensuring staff stability, and translating the vision and concept into concrete projects[35]. The Council of the EU then formally awarded the ECoC 2012 title to Guimarães in May 2009.

[35] Ibid.

3.2.2 Application

Guimarães' vision for hosting the ECoC title was strongly linked to existing and proposed initiatives for culture-led urban regeneration, bringing together economic regeneration and social engagement efforts. The vision was presented in the city's application: *Guimarães – a European pole of creativity, through the constant qualification, connectivity and promotion of a strong urban and cultural identity, constructed over time.*[36] In pursuit of this overall vision, Guimarães set out three key values intended to underpin every aspect of Guimarães 2012[37]:

- **City** dimension - devoted to urban development, leading to the city becoming a creative hub. It includes activities in 'unexpected' public spaces as well as more conventional areas, investments in public spaces, infrastructure projects and the development of mobile communication technologies.
- **Citizenship** dimension – a focus on encouraging entrepreneurship and participation, encompassing activities encouraging experiences of direct involvement in cultural experiences or entrepreneurial initiatives, to be achieved through volunteering and entrepreneurship programmes.
- **Europe** dimension – a focus on deepening citizens' knowledge and participation in the construction of Europe, bringing Guimarães and Maribor together through cultural exchanges, co-productions and exchanges with European artists and organisation and development of ICT tools to facilitate exchanges with other European cities and regions.

The vision of Guimarães was supported by the key objectives presented in the table below.

Table 3.1 Guimarães 2012 objectives

Objectives proposed in the original application
Develop Human Capital – Provide the local community (i.e. people, cultural agents and companies) with new resources and human and professional skills, encouraging their active involvement in the project.
Generate a Creative Economy – Transform the city's economy from a model of industrial economy into a creative economy that is internationally competitive.
Create a new Geography of Senses – Transform an area of passive preservation of memory into an area with a continuous offer of new and surprising cultural and creative experiences.

Source: Guimarães application to host the ECoC title.

A partnership with the University of Minho played a significant role in the Guimarães application. The university's involvement was envisaged to be focused around such areas as delivering training, developing new qualifications programmes, active involvement in the educational dimension of artistic projects, as well as being a key actor in some of the regeneration projects. For example, it was foreseen that the university would develop a new campus (CampUrbis) in the Guimarães neighbourhood known as Couros. In the application, cooperation with the university was seen as being instrumental in achieving the first and second objective in the table above related to the development of human capital and the creative economy. Such cooperation builds on a long standing partnership between the city administration and the University of Minho.

[36] Guimarães 2012 Application.
[37] Ibid.

To achieve the objectives, the application set key programming principles driving the development of the culture programme. These included[38]:

- *"A programme highly connected to the community, placing people in the centre of the storyline, in such a way that temporary or permanent inhabitants feel a fundamental part of it. This means that it will promote artistic residencies of national or foreign companies, which will work with local and national artists (amateur and professional) and with the local community;*
- *A programme which stimulates the feeling of belonging to Europe's development;*
- *A programme with strong educational and didactic concerns, which involves audiences of children and youngsters, favouring the creation of mediation elements, catalysts of artistic content reception;*
- *A programme that favours the artistic use of communication and information technologies;*
- *A programme that values the city's resources and has loud impacts on the social and economical life of the city and region, before, during and after 2012; and*
- *A programme that invades, uninstalls and clutters public space."*

The application envisaged that the 2012 cultural programme would be supplemented by a number of infrastructure projects valued at €70m. These included refurbishment of public spaces (including the Monte Latito area where Guimarães Castle, Chapel of St. Michael and the Palace of the Dukes of Bragança are located, the main square Largo de Toural, development of the Veiga de Creixomil park and the municipal market); the renovation of existing cultural facilities (including the Alberto Sampaio Museum); and the development of new cultural facilities (including the Landscape Laboratory, CampUrbis, Couros Artistic Creativity Platform and establishment of the Memory House).

3.2.3 Changes to the objectives and themes

The overall vision for Guimarães 2012 did not change significantly between the application stage and implementation of the title year: developing the city through culture and social engagement remained the key drivers of the cultural programme. Similarly, the objectives and programming principles identified in the application remained unchanged during the development phase.

The key changes to the original application were related to the emphasis on some of the areas when compared with the original application, rather than changing the objectives in their entirety. For example, fostering artistic creation in Guimarães, although it was featuring in the original application, became more central to the cultural programme during the development phase. It aimed to build on existing and new facilities and strengthen the production of cultural content. This concept was not only at the core of cultural programme development, but was also reflected in communication activities, through such slogans as "*In Guimarães Everything Happens"* and "W*here Everything is Transformed".*

The evidence from the interviews and document review shows that the importance of the European dimension was less prominent when compared with the original application. Although some of the co-production projects with European artists were implemented (mainly through artistic residencies), less attention was given to cooperation with Maribor, and the development of ICT tools for exchanges with other European cities and regions.

[38] Ibid.

3.2.4 Activities during the development phase

During the months following the designation of the title, the Guimarães City Foundation (Fundação Cidade de Guimarães) was set up. Its role was to ensure management and implementation of Guimarães 2012, together with the existing cultural organisations such as A Oficina and a consortium of cultural associations. At this stage the key priorities were developing governance structures for the implementation of the title year, building the team, establishing funding agreements and developing the cultural programme.

The first report of the Monitoring and Advisory Panel recognised the progress Guimarães had made in preparing to host the title, especially regarding the development of governance arrangements and securing funding. However, the Panel also expressed concerns regarding slow progress in preparing the cultural programme, and loss of continuity between the team that prepared the application and the implementation team. It also highlighted that it had expected to receive much more detailed information on preparations to host the title, programming, communication activities and cooperation with European and international partners[39].

In order to build a cultural programme, it was decided to have a team of nine people responsible for conceiving and implementing the cultural content for each programme area (an overview of the Guimarães 2012 cultural programme is presented in the section below). Each programme team leader was asked to address the programming principles mentioned above, but was free to decide on the structure, content, working methods and projects as well as to select the cultural organisations delivering the activities. This resulted in a variety of approaches, ranging from direct commissions to open calls for proposals. This ensured that the programme encompassed many themes, perspectives and approaches and the stakeholders interviewed generally agreed that this worked well. However, the interviews with the programme team identified that less cooperation between different programme areas occurred than expected, and some overlaps between different programme areas (including in terms of scheduling) could not always be avoided.

The second report of the monitoring and advisory panel praised Guimarães for the progress achieved in developing the ECoC programme, especially for providing more detailed information on the cultural programme and on the aspirations of the City Council to increase funding for culture after 2012, addressing previous recommendations made by the panel, and for commissioning an evaluation of the ECoC. Looking ahead, the panel also suggested that Guimarães should focus on the involvement of artists and contributors from other European countries, reflect on different ways to attract European tourists, maximise the involvement of citizens and develop plans for the long-term sustainability of the effects of the ECoC[40].

3.2.5 Key Features of the cultural programme

The overall aim of Guimarães 2012 was to link cultural, social, urban and economic processes as part of the same regeneration effort, linking the historical dimension and recent developments. The cultural programme itself was organised into the following themes[41]:

- *City* dimension encompassing activities enabling Guimarães to facilitate social, economic and urban change; in particular, emphasising the role of culture and creativity in improving confidence, diversifying the economy, connecting communities, and positively enhancing public spaces. The city dimension included three groups of projects: Landscape, Exchange and Knowledge.
- *Community* dimension focusing on activities engaging with the community and facilitating active participation in the cultural programme. It focused on activities enhancing a sense of history and

[39] The Monitoring and Advisory Panel for the European Capital of Culture (ECoC) 2012, (2009) *Report for the First Monitoring and Advisory Meeting for the European Capitals of Culture 2012.* Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/culture/documents/report_1_monitor_guimaraes_maribor.pdf
[40] The Monitoring and Advisory Panel for the European Capital of Culture (ECoC) 2012, (2011) *Report for the First Monitoring and Advisory Meeting for the European Capitals of Culture 2012.* Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/culture/our-programmes-and-actions/doc/ecoc/2012_panel2_monitoring_report.pdf
[41] Ibid.

memories, as well as development of new forms of identity and expression for citizens. The projects were divided into three groups: Re-empowering Guimarães, Community Involvement and Volunteering.

- *Thought* dimension aimed at highlighting reflections and discussions on such themes as the role of historical and prospective analysis, enhancing the contribution made by cities' intellectual heritage to European re-construction and the search for innovation in social and political systems as a current imperative. The projects in this dimension were grouped into: Identities, Founders, Modern Times and Europe/Destinations.
- *Public Space* programme area aimed at providing wide offer of activities and experiences that break barriers between the public space and citizens. It was important to reach a wide range of audiences and provide the culture programme complementary to other programme areas.
- *Music* was one of four arts dimensions represented in the culture programme. The key focus of this part of the programme was on establishing a city orchestra (Fundação Orquestra Estúdio).
- *Performing Arts* programme focused on theatre and dance projects that brought together Portuguese and international artists to take part in artistic residencies.
- *Arts and Architecture* programme included four pillars entitled On Audiences, Means of Production, Scales and Territories, and New Languages and Public Space.
- *Cinema and Audiovisual* programme focusing on cinema projections and new productions including over 50 new films produced.
- *Intersecting Times* represented a group of projects initiated by local associations. The programme was co-ordinated by three local associations, namely the Círculo de Arte e Recreio; the Associação Cultural Recreativa Convívio; and the Associação de Etnografia e Folclore de Guimarães, which includes 25 musical and dance groups.
- *Special Projects* included projects such as a volunteering programme, evaluation and monitoring of Guimarães 2012, international mobility programmes, opening, closing and other major events in public spaces and development of new spaces for artistic creation, production and dissemination, particularly the regeneration and adaptation of old industrial spaces.

In addition to the cultural programme, eight significant infrastructure projects aimed at the development of heritage sites and the improvement of urban areas were implemented within ECoC: Campurbis, Public Space, Platform for Arts and Creativity, House of Memory, Creixomil Fields, Landscape Laboratory, Extension of the Alberto Sampaio Museum and Artists Residence[42].

3.2.6 Financing

At the time of the application, the overall budget for ECoC was envisaged to be of €111m, including €41m for developing, managing and implementing the cultural programme and €70m for infrastructure projects. As mentioned above, setting up the funding agreements was one of the key priorities at the development stage following the establishment of the Guimarães City Foundation. At an early stage during the development process it was agreed among the key funders that the total value of the cultural programme would be €25m, to be provided mainly by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) through the North Region Operational Programme with co-funding provided by the national Government. The other key funders were the Guimarães city administration and the National Tourism Board. An overview of actual funding and expenditures compared with the planned budget at the application phase is presented in the table below.

[42] Ibid.

Table 3.2 Income of Guimarães 2012

Financing sources	Budget at the development phase[43]		Actual income	
	€ ('000s)	%	€ ('000s)	%
Ministry of Culture	11,000	26.8%	10,450	25.0%
City of Guimarães Municipality	4,000	9.8%	4,000	9.6%
Other public bodies				
Instituto de Turismo de Portugal	8,000	19.5%	4,508	10.8%
Instituto de Emprego e Formação Profissional			35	0.1%
Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian			20	0.1%
Rádio Televisão Portuguesa (RTP)			307	0.7%
Embaixada Países Baixos			3	0.1%
Corporate sponsorship			25	0.1%
European Union[44]	18,000	43.9%	21,946	52.8%
Ticket sales			350	0.8%
Merchandise			116	0.3%
Sale of rights, assets, etc.			14	0.1%
Total	**41,000**		**41,550**	
In-kind income			216	

Source: Fundação Cidade de Guimarães, A Oficina and Circulo de Arte e Recreio

Table 3.3 Expenditure, Guimarães 2012

Expenditure	Budget at application phase		Actual expenditure	
	€ ('000s)	%	€ ('000s)	%
Cultural Programme	25,000	60%	27,217	66%
Marketing	8,000	20%	7,300	18%
Management and operations	8,000	20%	7033	17%
Total	**41,000**		**41,550**	

Source: Fundação Cidade de Guimarães, A Oficina and Circulo de Arte e Recreio

The funding data shows that the budget planned for the cultural programme during the application phase was delivered in practice. The establishment of funding protocols with the main funders and having all funding sources identified during the early phases helped to ensure that the estimated budget was allocated. Nevertheless, there were some changes in the composition of the budget. Firstly, there was a reduction of about €1m in national funding for management expenditure which was related to the financial constrains in the country and the commitments at national level could not be fulfilled. Secondly, funding from the National Tourism Board was reduced by about €3.5m. It was partly due to the fact that funding for the city orchestra was expected to come from this source but it later appeared this would not be possible. However, this shortfall was compensated by an increased funding from ERDF, the Melina Mercouri Prize, sponsorship and in-kind support.

[43] The application presented the funding sources for both the cultural programme and infrastructure projects. Therefore, the data presented in the table represents the data included in initial agreements with funders.
[44] Includes funding from the Melina Mercouri Prize (€1.5m).

The key funding source for the cultural programme was provided by the ERDF through the North Region Operational Programme constituting around 70% of the budget for this component. Unlike most of the other cities hosting the ECoC title, ERDF financed the entire cultural programme and national funding provided the necessary co-funding amounting to 30% of the budget for the programme itself. In addition, national and regional funding was allocated to the marketing, management and operational costs related to delivery of the ECoC. Some of the key factors that facilitated the use of the ERDF for the cultural programme are presented below:

- Firstly, ECoC contributed to the achievement of the key priorities identified in the North Region Operational Programme (OP) - one of the core objectives was to support development of cultural and creative industries and to invest in the economic development of the region. As mentioned above the original application emphasised the development of the cultural and creative industries, facilitating economic and social development through culture.
- Secondly, ECoC was seen as a strategic initiative by key regional and city authorities, which enabled the mobilisation of funding for regional development. In addition, at an early stage in the development of the OP it was decided to dedicate one of the funding priorities for so-called “immaterial projects” aiming to promote the region internationally. ECoC was seen as one of the most important initiatives contributing to this objective and the majority of the funding from this priority was dedicated to ECoC.
- Thirdly, initial funding agreements and strong cooperation with the ERDF managing authority, the North Regional Coordination and Development Commission (CCDR-N) was established early on during the development phase of Guimarães 2012.
- Fourthly, the development of the regulations for the North Region OP and Guimarães 2012 were taking place largely at the same time. This not only allowed some of the funding to be earmarked for the cultural programme but the processes and procedures for ERDF were already in place at the time of the ECoC. In addition, infrastructure projects also funded by the same OP were already being implemented, in time for 2012.

Overall, the funding allocated through the ERDF provided financial stability and clarity in terms of the amount of budget allocated and mechanism for accessing funding. However, the use of the ERDF for the cultural programme was not without its difficulties. The key challenge identified by a large majority of interviewees was related to delays in accessing the funding that subsequently led to significant cash flow difficulties for all of the organisations involved in managing Guimarães 2012 and leading to delays in payments for cultural organisations.

The reasons for this were delays in submitting project applications to CCDR-N; the slow and administratively heavy process for approving applications and releasing funding; and the national review of all ERDF spending which resulted in a Government freeze on signing any new contracts. CCDR-N and the Guimarães 2012 managing authorities (Guimarães 2012 Foundation, A Oficina and the consortium of associations) agreed the overall strategy/action plan including 50 projects, the amount of funding allocated to each of them and which of the three managing organisations would be responsible for each project. In addition, specific project applications had to be submitted to CCDR-N and the ERDF regulations for managing each project had to be followed. The process for evaluating the applications, contracting, monitoring and releasing the funding was relatively slow and involved a number of administrative requirements resulting in some delays when releasing the funding. In addition, the preparation of the Guimarães cultural programme and specific projects experienced some delays, partly linked to management and governance related challenges during the development phase and indeed the majority of the project applications were not submitted to CCDR-N before the start of the title year. Furthermore, the situation became more challenging when the Government launched a ERDF spending review nationally and stopped any new contracting for the duration of the review.

The evidence gathered from interviews with managing teams highlights the significant effort made to address the situation described above by all parties involved, including the Mayor of Guimarães, delivery agencies and the CCDR-N. It was agreed with the national Government to make an exception for Guimarães 2012 projects and it was then possible to approve new applications before the national spending review was completed. A dedicated team was set up in the CCDR-N to work on ECoC 2012 projects only. However, despite these measures, delays of around six months were still experienced in terms of project reimbursements.

Although most of the culture projects that were planned could be delivered despite the funding issues, significant challenges were caused for a large proportion of the organisations involved in delivery of the cultural programme. This was especially the case for those organisations where cultural activities are at the core of their work.

At €41.7m the funding available for infrastructure projects was smaller then envisaged in the original application. Nevertheless, a number of important infrastructure developments were implemented. Further information about the cultural and general infrastructure projects implemented in the framework of ECoC is presented in the section 3.4.1 below.

3.3 Relevance

This section highlights the extent to which the objectives of and activities implemented by Guimarães 2012 were relevant to the main objectives set at EU-level for the ECoC Action.

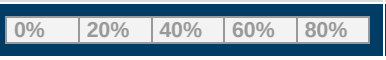
3.3.1 Developing cultural activities

Guimarães already had a strong cultural offer before hosting the ECoC title. A Oficina was already well established and delivering cultural programmes, and a number of cultural associations were based in the city. However, the interviews identified a concern that most of the existing cultural offer in the city focused on presenting artwork developed elsewhere. Therefore, one of the most important aspects of the Guimarães 2012 cultural programme was to strengthen facilities, capacity and opportunities for the creation of artistic content in Guimarães itself.

The original application explicitly mentioned that one of the key objectives of the title year was the development of a continuous offer of new cultural and creative experiences. This remained of key importance during the development phase and underpinned the development of the cultural programme. Interviews with the management team highlighted that the focus of the cultural programme was to develop cultural projects that are unique, new and offer different experiences for citizens and visitors.

Increasing cooperation within the culture sector, as well as with other organisations, was also an important aspect of the cultural activities in Guimarães. As the project survey indicates, a majority of those who responded established new collaborations in Portugal (see table below). This was confirmed in interviews with the management team, who indicated that collaboration with organisations locally and/or nationally was an important criterion in the project selection process.

Table 3.4 Did your organisation establish new collaboration with organisations and/or artists in Portugal? Please mark all the relevant answers.

Response	Total	% of responses	%
1 Yes – with cultural organisations/artists in the field of my core activities	22		69 %
2 Yes – with cultural organisations/artists in different culture fields	15		47 %
3 Yes – with organisations/people outside of culture sector	13		41 %
4 No	3		9 %
5 Don't know	2		6 %
Total respondents: 32			

Source: Ecorys survey

3.3.2 Promoting the European dimension of and through culture

Guimarães's application explicitly mentioned the European dimension as one of three values guiding the development of ECoC 2012. It envisaged that Guimarães would approach this objective through: deepening citizens' knowledge of European issues and emphasising the role of Guimarães in the construction of Europe; cooperation with Maribor; and the development of co-productions and exchanges with European artists, organisations, cities and regions. The other important aspect of the European dimension present in the original objectives was the need to increase the visibility of the city, both within and outside Europe and increase the number of international visitors.

The latter remained of key importance throughout the development and implementation of ECoC. Similarly, supporting co-productions with artists from European countries and outside Europe continued to be of key relevance for the cultural programme. However, cooperation with Maribor and deepening citizens' knowledge of European issues appear to have been less prominent during the title year.

3.3.3 Supporting social and economic development

This objective was the key driver for hosting the title and remained so during the implementation phase. The region was traditionally very industrial, with textile production playing a key role. With the decline of industry there is a strong need for the city to find new ways to enhance economic development. Development of the tourism sector and cultural and creative industries are seen as some of the key opportunities for the development of the city and the region. Hosting the ECoC title was thus seen as an important opportunity to reinforce this process, through increasing the visibility of the city abroad and enhancing tourism development as well as through the development of infrastructure and capacity for developing new economic sectors. The role of some of Guimarães's new cultural infrastructure (such as the Platform for Arts and Creativity, Asa Factory and the Design Institute) are strongly connected with the ECoC mission to contribute to the structural transformation of the local economy.

The development of human capital and the creative economy were two out of the three objectives mentioned in the Guimarães application. Similarly, most of the programming criteria were strongly linked to these objectives, including the involvement of the local population, using local resources and exploring new ways to boost creative production in the city. The consultative interviews identified that developing the programme '*for the city based in the city*' was particularly important to stakeholders; and the involvement of residents, exploring the complexities of the city and inspiring the city remained of key importance throughout the process.

3.4 Efficiency

3.4.1 Capacity to deliver

The city administration supported the Guimarães 2012 process and showed strong political will for its successful implementation, from the initial nomination by the Government to the title year itself. It was achieved through establishing strong working relationships with the Guimarães management team, commitment to the development of infrastructure projects and support for the implementation of cultural activities. The city administration saw ECoC both in terms of recognition of past and current regeneration efforts in the city and as a major opportunity for boosting economic and social development. Continuous and consistent support for ECoC was facilitated by the fact that the political party and key decision makers within the city administration did not change throughout the process.

Guimarães is a relatively small city, especially compared with other cities hosting the ECoC title. Significant attention was given to developing cultural infrastructure and city regeneration in advance of the title year itself. The culture centre Vila Flor and the organisation managing the city's municipal cultural offer, A Oficina, were established in 2005 and according to some interviews, became known nationally as good practice examples of how to manage the cultural offer in the city.

Moreover, significant infrastructure projects were developed to increase the city's capacity to host the title. Some of these projects were already planned separately from ECoC, but the title year benefited from these investments and the capacity of the city to host the title was consequently strengthened. The key projects completed during or before the title year included the Platform for Arts and Creativity (based in an old market area and hosting a culture and business incubation centre, the biggest infrastructure project of Guimarães 2012 with total budget of €15m), the Casa da Memória (House of Memory) with a budget of over €4m, and renovation of a number of key public spaces including the Praça do Toural; Veiga de Creixomil, and the City Park together accounting for over €13m. A number of investment projects were implemented in partnership with the University of Minho, including the Design Institute, the Centro Avançado de Formação Pós-graduada (Advanced Port-graduate Training Centre) and Centro de Ciência Viva (Living Science Centre), which together represented a total investment of almost €7m[45]. Although the overall budget available for infrastructure projects was smaller then foreseen in the application, it is important to acknowledge that a large number of projects was implemented, even during the severe economic crisis that the country is going through.

In addition to public infrastructure investments, some private initiatives were implemented to open new cultural venues in preparation for the title year. These included such projects as the Centro para os Assuntos da Arte e da Arquitetura (Centre for the Subjects of Art and Architecture, CAAA) and the Fábrica ASA (ASA Factory).

[45] University of Minho (2013), *Economic and Social Impacts.* Available at: http://www.guimaraes2012-impactos.pt/pdf/relatorio_final.pdf

3.4.2 Governance and management

During the early preparatory phases the key stakeholders involved in the development of Guimarães' application decided that the key cultural organisations in the city that would remain in place after the title year should be involved in the governance and management structures of the ECoC. However, it was also identified that there was a need to set up a new organisation and bring in new people who would be more suited to respond to the needs of the programme, namely to be open to and bring forward new ideas not necessarily linked to existing structures. In response, the Guimarães City Foundation or *Fundação Cidade de Guimarães* was established by the Ministry of Culture and Guimarães Municipal Council in 2009. The Foundation was one of key bodies responsible for the development and implementation of the ECoC cultural programme. Its main aims were[46]:

- The formation, planning, promotion, execution and development of the cultural programme for the Guimarães 2012 European Capital of Culture.
- At the end of the event, Fundação Cidade de Guimarães may take over the management of the cultural legacy and its associated facilities, owned by the municipality of Guimarães and by others connected to the event, with a view to promoting culture, creative development and its dissemination in all forms, as well as supporting relevant cultural training schemes thereby promoting the specialised technical expertise of agents and professionals in this area or in similar domains.

The Foundation's Board of Directors was responsible for the overall management of the work of the Foundation, including managing programmes and projects. The Board had significant involvement in the work of the Foundation and included executive and non-executive members. In addition, the General Council, involving a wide range of stakeholders, was responsible for the general direction of key policies. On a day-to-day basis the Foundation was managed by an Executive Director.

Together with the Foundation, A Oficina was the other key organisation involved in the management of the ECoC cultural programme. As an existing organisation (set up in 2005) it already had significant experience in cultural programming in the city and was responsible for the implementation of most of the Guimarães 2012 cultural programme. In this way the governance and management of ECoC was shared by two key organisations with the Foundation responsible for developing the overall vision, communication and management and A Oficina responsible for implementation of the cultural programme itself. In addition, one element of the cultural programme, Intersecting Times, was also managed and produced independently by a consortium of local associations including the Círculo de Arte e Recreio, the Associação Cultural Recreativa Convívio, and the Associação de Etnografia e Folclore de Guimarães. It was decided not to have one Artistic Director in the team, but to bring together a number of professionals in the city, nationally and internationally to develop different programming areas. A team of nine professionals was therefore set up to develop each of the programming areas presented above.

Although the management and governance structures worked relatively well during the title year, some difficulties were experienced during the development phase. The results of the interviews suggest that the initial management team did not relate sufficiently to the local community and did not work together with local institutions. This created tensions and lack of confidence in the team and how the programme would ultimately look. There was also a perceived lack of clarity in terms of the division of roles and responsibilities between the different organisations involved. This tension, and information presented in the media concerning the salaries of key people in the administration, seems to have contributed to the change to the Foundation's Board and executive team during the summer of 2011.

[46] Fundação Cidade de Guimarães website: http://www.guimaraes2012.pt/index.php?cat=7&sup=7

Although the new team started working in August 2011 only a few months before the start of the title year, it appears to have managed to quickly develop strong working relationships with the city administration, A Oficina and other stakeholders. The interview evidence also suggests that the team and its programme were also accepted more readily by citizens and this helped to change the negative attitudes towards ECoC just before the start of the title year. Similarly, many respondents to the online survey respondents of projects indicate that the Guimarães City Foundation was effective in managing ECoC, as presented below.

Table 3.5 Overall, how effective was the Delivery Agency in managing the European Capital of Culture?

Response	Total	% of responses	%
1 Very effective	8		25 %
2 Effective	15		47 %
3 Slightly effective	5		16 %
4 Not effective at all	1		3 %
5 Don't know	1		3 %
6 Other, please specify	2		6 %
Total respondents: 32		0% 20% 40% 60% 80%	

Source: Ecorys survey

3.4.3 Marketing and communication

Increasing the visibility of Guimarães nationally and internationally, to increase the numbers of domestic and international visitors, as well as gaining for support for the ECoC project amongst residents of the city were key communications objectives. At national level it was important to emphasise that Guimarães is a contemporary European city with a contemporary lifestyle and to challenge existing tourism patterns where large numbers of visitors come to the city for a day trip only. Internationally, it was important to ensure that Guimarães is better known and attracts the attention of visitors as a place of interest.

During the development phase, the communication of the cultural programme to citizens and gaining their support was considered to be of key importance, especially in the context of the management and governance issues already highlighted. However, this task also proved challenging. The first two communication campaigns with slogans "*In Guimarães (where) everything happens*" and *"where everything is transformed*" were not readily accepted by the local population and nationally. Moreover, the evidence from consultative interviews suggests that it was not clear to many people how the programme would look and what developments were underway. This was accompanied by increasing negative coverage related to the work of the Foundation, as outlined above.

However, the situation improved just before the opening ceremony. The communication style of the management team changed significantly and most of the interviewees agreed that this had a significant positive effect in changing the attitudes of citizens towards Guimarães 2012. The new communication campaign, with the slogan *"You are part of it*", was very well received by the local population. All the interviewees emphasised that Guimarães's citizens have a keen sense of belonging and people are very proud of the city. This campaign managed to tap into this and as a result people wanted to be involved and felt that it was 'their' event, as well as the major event for the city.

A logo for Guimarães 2012 was also developed and it was reportedly well received among the citizens and organisations, especially businesses in the city centre. The logo encompassed the values of the city very well and provided a shape and structure that could be adapted and decorated in various different ways. The team encouraged everyone to develop their own adaptations of the logo. Large numbers of shapes were distributed throughout the city and workshops were held on how to put it together. This proved a huge success: businesses and citizens took ownership of the brand, they personalised it and displayed it in shop and restaurant windows throughout the city centre.

The opening event for Guimarães 2012 attracted around 150,000 visitors, and significant media attention. After the opening ceremony, each quarterly programme phase had an opening, when the media were presented with the key events scheduled to take place during the next three months. The consultation evidence indicates that the key events that attracted media attention, apart from the opening ceremony, included the music programme and the orchestra bringing together young musicians from different parts of Europe and Portugal to live and work in Guimarães for a year.

The key media outputs, as presented by the Guimarães City Foundation during the press conference on 5 February 2013 included:

- 17,200 messages about Guimarães published;
- 85 hours of TV coverage;
- 1,158 messages online;
- 110 press trips organised;
- 500 international journalists visited Guimarães;
- 600 printed advertisements;
- 16,000 posters;
- 850,000 flyers; and
- €40,355,000 in equivalent advertising value.

Respondents to the online survey of projects tend to agree that communication and marketing activities were well organised and effective, as shown in the following tables. A large proportion of respondents emphasised that ECoC was very visible in local media, an observation which was also confirmed in the stakeholder interviews. Similarly, many respondents felt that Guimarães 2012 was visible in the national media. The survey results show that respondents agree to a lesser extent regarding the visibility of Guimarães 2012 in international media. The results of the evaluation undertaken by the University of Minho show that businesses in the city centre were more sceptical about the communication and marketing activities of the ECoC[47].

[47] University of Minho (2013), *Economic and Social Impacts.* Available at: http://www.guimaraes2012-impactos.pt/pdf/relatorio_final.pdf

Table 3.6 How effective was the marketing and communications of the Delivery Agency?

(Each respondent could choose only ONE of the following responses.)

Response	Total	% of responses	%
1 Very effective	3		9 %
2 Effective	17		53 %
3 Slightly effective	8		25 %
4 Ineffective	3		9 %
5 Don't know	1		3 %
Total respondents: 32		0% 20% 40% 60% 80%	

Source: Ecorys survey

Table 3.7 How visible was the European Capital of Culture with local/regional media?

(Each respondent could choose only ONE of the following responses.)

Response	Total	% of responses	%
1 Very visible	21		66 %
2 Visible	5		16 %
3 Slightly visible	2		6 %
4 Not visible at all	0		0 %
5 Don't know	4		12 %
Total respondents: 32		0% 20% 40% 60% 80%	

Source: Ecorys survey

Table 3.8 How visible was the European Capital of Culture with national media?

(Each respondent could choose only ONE of the following responses.)

Response	Total	% of responses	%
1 Very visible	8		25 %
2 Visible	13		41 %
3 Slightly visible	7		22 %
4 Not visible at all	1		3 %
5 Don't know	3		9 %
Total respondents: 32		0% 20% 40% 60% 80%	

Source: Ecorys survey

Table 3.9 How visible was the European Capital of Culture with international media?

(Each respondent could choose only ONE of the following responses.)

Response	Total	% of responses	%
1 Very visible	2		7 %
2 Visible	10		33 %
3 Slightly visible	7		23 %
4 Not visible at all	3		10 %
5 Don't know	8		27 %
Total respondents: 30		0% 20% 40% 60% 80%	

Source: Ecorys survey

3.5 Effectiveness

3.5.1 Cultural and artistic content

The focus of the cultural programme was on artistic creation in Guimarães. From the very beginning, the key stakeholders involved were very conscious that they did not want to simply create a programme of festivals: the team made the decision that they would not try to invite the best artists and projects created elsewhere, but would focus on strengthening artistic creation in Guimarães itself, and on contributing to the development of the artistic and creative capacity and potential in the city. The team aimed to present a cultural programme that delivered something genuinely new. The involvement of citizens was also at the core of the development of the cultural programme. Summary data for the cultural programme is presented below:

- 1,300 events were included in the cultural programme[48];
- 25,000 artists and professionals were involved in delivery of the culture programme;
- 15,000 citizens contributed to the cultural events;
- 300 organisations involved;
- 1,000 new creations included in the culture programme;
- 700 artists residencies;
- 40 films produced;
- 60 new publications; and
- 100 international premiers.

The music and cinema programme areas generated the largest number of the events for the cultural programme, with 353 and 189 events respectively. Some of the above mentioned 1,300 events included a number of smaller activities. For example, the Noc-Noc project included around 500 activities[49]. This project provided opportunities for artists to present their work in non-conventional and non-institutional spaces such as streets, shops, private homes, ateliers and offices. It aimed to encourage innovation, collaboration among artists and trans-disciplinary arts.

The programme aimed to explore the city through artistic interpretations of different aspects of its past and present. For example, the cinematic and audiovisual programme included *Reimagining Guimarães,* designed to rediscover the city's audiovisual heritage and *Cinema in the City* was dedicated to screening films produced as part of the Guimarães 2012 programme. There were 40 new films produced as part of this

[48] University of Minho (2013), *Economic and Social Impacts.* Available at: http://www.guimaraes2012-impactos.pt/pdf/relatorio_final.pdf

[49] Ibid.

programming area and most of them have been filmed in Guimarães about Guimarães. Similarly, the performing arts programme included a sub-programme, *Starting from the City,* where dance and theatre professionals were invited to take part in residencies to research, create and innovate in Guimarães. Around 80% of the Performing Arts creations were based on artistic residencies in the city. In addition, the Art and Architecture programme exhibitions addressed local identity and key historical moments that are central to the city's identity, especially connected to the industrial heritage, social, economic and cultural dimensions.

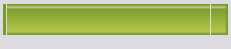
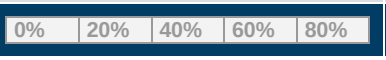
Involving citizens in 'unexpected and new cultural experiences' was also an important element of the cultural programme. Citizen involvement was central to programming areas such as Public Space, Community and Education Programme. This included projects such as a story-telling project where people were invited to host the story-telling evening in their own houses for neighbours and the local community. A number of consultations highlighted that these projects attracted significant interest from the local community. It also allowed the engagement of people living in rural communities outside the city centre. The closing event of the year brought together a large number of volunteers who came together to take part in the final performance. The city orchestra was set up as part of the music programme and it performed in number of non-traditional spaces including private homes, churches, schools and others. The consultation evidence emphasised that this orchestra was a significant part of the programme and citizens took ownership of it.

New productions and artistic residencies also played a very important role in the cultural programme. For example, the Cinema and Audiovisual programme included a significant proportion of new productions and over 40 new films were produced including a large number of short films. The artists' residencies were one of several examples where artists and professionals were invited to spend some time in the city, experience it and create. In total, more then 700 artists took part in the artistic residencies during the title year.

Overall, the interviewees tend to agree that the focus on creation and the involvement of citizens were strong aspects of the programme. As mentioned above, the programme was conceived and developed by a team of programme developers working on different programme areas. This allowed the bringing together of different visions together and enabled the development of a multi-layered programme, including a number of different perspectives. Overall, this approach worked well though it also posed challenges in terms of developing a coherent and complementary programme. Significant attention was given to bringing programme stakeholders together at weekly meetings and through developing common projects. However the effects of this appear to have been limited and some interviewees identified that each programming area had its own dynamics and character, in some cases leading to overlaps. When asked about the quality of the cultural programme, more than half of project representatives taking part in the online survey indicated that Guimarães presented a programme of high artistic quality.

Table 3.10 Overall, did the European Capital of Culture present a cultural programme of high artistic quality?

(Each respondent could choose only ONE of the following responses.)

Response	Total	% of responses	%
1 High artistic quality	18		56 %
2 Reasonable artistic quality	9		28 %
3 Low artistic quality	2		6 %
4 Don't know	3		9 %
Total respondents: 32			

Source: Ecorys survey

3.5.2 European dimension

To date, the online survey has generated a very low response rate. However, a large majority of organisations which responded identified that they included organisations or artworks from other countries in their projects. This suggests that the European dimension in Guimarães was largely addressed through international exchanges and cooperation projects. To date, the survey indicates that organisations from Italy and the UK were represented most frequently in the cultural programme. The survey results show that organisations felt that the European dimension was very prominent or prominent in the cultural programme, as presented in the figure below.

Table 3.11 How prominent was the European dimension of the European Capital of Culture?

(Each respondent could choose only ONE of the following responses.)

Response	Total	% of responses	%
1 Very prominent	9		30 %
2 Prominent	10		33 %
3 Slightly prominent	7		23 %
4 Not prominent at all	0		0 %
5 Don't know	4		13 %
Total respondents: 30		0% 20% 40% 60% 80%	

Source: Ecorys survey

Significant attention was given to organising artists' residencies and co-productions with European artists and organisations. It was considered important to ensure that artists and professionals from other European countries and outside Europe would not come to the city to present their projects, but would work together with the artists, cultural organisations and citizens to develop new projects that could not happen anywhere else. One of the most visible projects was the orchestra bringing together 55 young musicians from different European countries and Portugal. However, European themes, and cooperation with Maribor were less prominent in the cultural programme. Interviews identified that it was understood that Guimarães is part of Europe and the programme therefore is European by nature and therefore developing the programme that is dedicated to European themes was not seen as a priority. The extent to which European themes were present in the cultural programme depended also on each programme area. For example, one focus of the audiovisual programme was to demonstrate key characteristics of European cinema and how it looked 50 years ago with some feature films being shown during the title year.

3.5.3 City and citizens / outreach

It was of key importance for ECoC to invest in the capacity of the city, in order to contribute to economic and social development. Firstly, infrastructure investment was aimed at increasing the capacity of the city. Secondly, the programme focused on increasing the capacity of the local culture sector. Thirdly, a significant part of the cultural programme was dedicated to audience development, community engagement and bringing different cultural experiences to citizens.

The Intersecting Times, Community, Education and Public Space programme areas focused specifically on citizen involvement. The Intersecting Times programme was run by a consortium of associative organisations based in the city. They were encouraged to work together in order to develop a common programme. The interviews identified that the organisations involved did not have experience of working together and this experience is likely to influence increased cooperation in the future. In addition, it was reported that this experience contributed significantly in terms of increasing the capacity of the organisations to deliver large scale projects, but also in terms of being able to access different funding sources.

The Education programme focused more on in-depth exploration of artistic experiences and artistic creation. It targeted not only young people, but also families and adults. The story-telling project mentioned above, where citizens in remote areas were asked to host storytelling evening in their houses, proved to be of significant success. Here it was particularly important to ensure that the programme would maintain the identity of the existing education department, which will also remain in the city after the title year. It included the type of work that has already been part of the education programme in the city, but also allowed experimentation and the introduction of new initiatives that otherwise would not have been possible. The other important aspect of the programme was to ensure that it was not only complementary, but also included in the programme in its own right.

Citizen involvement was also the focus of the "You are part of it" initiative. The key aim here was to provide an opportunity for exploring the city and the European Capital of Culture. Some of initiatives included "Find Your Guimarães", providing an opportunity for exploring the city through using innovative signposting system (it also included tourism information centres, guided tours and behind the scenes of the European Capital of Culture initiative). In addition, citizens contributed to Guimarães 2012 through participation in the volunteering programme. The interviews identified that there was significant interest from volunteers to contribute and be part of Guimarães 2012 (during the summer 2012, around 300 volunteers contributed to the programme).

Respondents to the online survey of projects were also asked for their views on the engagement of citizens in ECoC. As shown below, a clear majority felt that ECoC created a much improved image of the city amongst local residents.

Table 3.12 To what extent has the European Capital of Culture improved the image of the city amongst local residents?

(Each respondent could choose only ONE of the following responses.)

Response	Total	% of responses	%
1 Much better image	21		66 %
2 Slightly better image	5		16 %
3 About the same	2		6 %
4 Worse image	0		0 %
5 Don't know	4		12 %
Total respondents: 32		0% 20% 40% 60% 80%	

Source: Ecorys survey

In terms of economic development, one of the most important effects of ECoC was the increasing numbers of tourist visits. According to Guimarães City Foundation data there were over two million visitors in the city in 2012, representing a 106% increase compared with the previous year. This data, together with the views expressed in stakeholder interviews, suggests that ECoC had a clear impact on increasing the number of visitors to the city. The data concerning the tourism sector during 2012 is presented below[50]:

- The number of all visitors to tourist information offices was 121,435, which represents an increase of 107% compared to the previous year.
- The number of foreign visitors to tourist information offices increased from 42,384 in 2011 to 70,509 in 2012. Just over half (56%) of foreign visitors came from the EU.
- The number of Portuguese visitors to tourist information offices increased from 12,819[51] in 2011 to 50,926 in 2012.

[50] University of Minho (2013), Guimarães 2012: European Capital of Culture – Economic and Social Impacts

[51] Turismo Guimarães, Síntese Resultados Estatísticos 2011.

- The average room occupancy rate was 64.4% representing an increase of 14 percentage points compared with 2011. This proved to be especially important in the context of falls in occupancy at national and regional level.
- The total hotel revenue in 2012 was €8.8m which is €2.3m higher when compared to 2011[52].
- Accommodation capacity in the city also increased, with a 154% increase in the overall number of beds including the opening of 10 new guesthouses[53].

According to the visitor survey a large majority of those who responded were satisfied with their visit (75%) and intended to recommend it to others (69%). Nevertheless, only 10% of respondents indicated that they are likely to visit the city again[54]. In addition, more than half of respondent to the online survey of projects stated that the international image of the city improved. This is likely to be linked at least in part to the increased numbers of international visitors during the title year.

Table 3.13 To what extent has the European Capital of Culture improved the international image of the city?

(Each respondent could choose only ONE of the following responses.)

Response	Total	% of responses	%
1 Much better image	18		56 %
2 Slightly better image	8		25 %
3 About the same	1		3 %
4 Worse image	0		0 %
5 Don't know	5		16 %
Total respondents: 32		0% 20% 40% 60% 80%	

Source: Ecorys survey

The interviews indicated that the ECoC had an effect on business development in the city, especially related to the service sector in the city centre. This is confirmed by the evaluation by the University of Minho, which included a survey of businesses in the city centre. This showed that turnover increased for around half of the businesses when compared with 2011 data. The increase in turnover was reported to be 12% on average, with restaurants and bars seeing the highest increase and clothing and footwear experiencing the lowest increase[55]. Moreover, the interviews indicated that some new businesses were opened and existing ones posted moderate profits, which is seen as a significant success at a time when the country is in economic crisis. The data from the City Council supports this view and indicates that when compared with the first semester of 2011 and 2012 there was a 21% increase in opening-hour licences issued for commercial establishments and services, and a 6% increase in licences for food and beverages.

As mentioned above, the development of creative industries was one of the objectives of Guimarães 2012. The key initiatives in this field were related to such areas as cinema and design. The audio-visual production platform was established in Guimarães, allowing cinema production in the city. This facility was used for the majority of film productions that took place in 2012. Design is very strongly related to the local industrial sectors and was addressed through such projects as Fashion platform and the Contextile 2012[56]. In

[52] University of Minho (2013), *Economic and Social Impacts.* Available at: http://www.guimaraes2012-impactos.pt/pdf/relatorio_final.pdf
[53] Guimarães City Administration data.
[54] University of Minho (2013), *Economic and Social Impacts.* Available at: http://www.guimaraes2012-impactos.pt/pdf/relatorio_final.pdf
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.

addition, the Platform for Arts and Creativity included business incubation spaces that specifically targeted the creative sector.

3.6 Sustainability

3.6.1 Cultural activities

Some of the official Guimarães 2012 projects are still continuing in 2013, including projects that were part of the Intersecting times, Education, Cinema and Audiovisual, Arts and Architecture and Thought programmes. This is linked partly to the funding issues that Guimarães was facing during 2012 (where it was difficult for some smaller organisations to deliver all project activity during the title year). Other programmes were always designed to take place during the first half of 2013, allowing for continuity of cultural activities after the end of the title year. Just under half of the survey respondents envisaged that all of their project activities will continue after the end of the title year. However, almost a third indicated that they did not know if the project activities will continue. The evaluation has identified some signs of sustainability of cultural activities with increasing funding for culture from the City Council, and a national Government allocation of €400,000 for a performing arts programme which is planned for the next four years. Importantly, one theatre company moved to Guimarães during the title year and is likely to stay in the city afterwards.

Overall, the evidence from the interviews indicates that the cultural infrastructure developed during the run-up to the ECoC is likely to increase city's cultural offer on a permanent basis. However, the economic crisis that the country is facing is likely to result in significant uncertainties in terms of the funding available for cultural activities. Moreover, some interviewees expressed concern that a significant proportion of the funding that was traditionally dedicated to a wide range of cultural activities in the city were likely to be dedicated to sustaining new developments. This is likely to cause significant financial challenges to some traditional cultural activities in the city. A number of factors are likely to affect the sustainability of cultural activities after 2012 and it remains to be seen to what extent Guimarães will maintain some components of the cultural offer developed during the title year.

The online survey of projects shows that more than half of respondents felt that the activities developed during the title year will continue at least in part, though a large number were unsure about it. Subsequent tables show that respondents tend to be more positive about the continuation of partnerships that were developed during the title year.

Table 3.14 Will the activities of your project continue after 2012?

(Each respondent could choose only ONE of the following responses.)

Response	Total	% of responses	%
1 Yes – all activities will continue	7		21 %
2 Yes – some activities will continue	13		38 %
3 No	5		15 %
4 Don't know	9		26 %
Total respondents: 34		0% 20% 40% 60% 80%	

Source: Ecorys survey

Table 3.15 Will this new cooperation continue after the end of 2012?

(Each respondent could choose only ONE of the following responses.)

Response	Total	% of responses	%
1 Yes – more co-operation in future	13		48 %
2 Yes –same level of co-operation	3		11 %
3 Yes – less co-operation	6		22 %
4 No further co-operation	0		0 %
5 Don't know	5		19 %
Total respondents: 27		0% 20% 40% 60% 80%	

Source: Ecorys survey

Table 3.16 To what extent will the cultural life of the city be more vibrant after 2012 as a result of the European Capital of Culture?

(Each respondent could choose only ONE of the following responses.)

Response	Total	% of responses	%
1 A lot more vibrant	9		28 %
2 Slightly more vibrant	14		44 %
3 About the same as before	2		6 %
4 Less vibrant	1		3 %
5 Don't know	6		19 %
Total respondents: 32		0% 20% 40% 60% 80%	

Source: Ecorys survey

3.6.2 Cultural governance

During the planning phase for ECoC 2012 it was expected that the Guimarães City Foundation would remain operational until 2016 and take on the management of the new cultural infrastructures, as well as ensuring the legacy of the title year. However, the national Government reviewed the situation of all similar Foundations in the country and it was decided that those which are not self-sustaining will be closed. This includes the Guimarães City Foundation, which will therefore close at the end of 2013. A new strategy for the sustainability of ECoC was being developed at the time of the evaluation. The interviews indicated that negotiations are taking place between the local authority, national Government and university on setting up a cooperative framework for ensuring the sustainability of governance structures.

It is expected that the local authority, together with A Oficina, will be responsible for the continuation of creative production in the areas of performing arts, contemporary arts (especially through the Platform of Arts and Creativity), music (on the basis of the activities of the orchestra) and cinema (this was a very strong area during the title year and it is seen as an area for the future development of the city). The university is leading the work related to creative production - three new courses are being opened, which is seen as a major development by a number of the stakeholders interviewed. The Design Institute is expected to continue its activities related to the fashion and design. The national Government plays a crucial role in supporting the performing arts programme mentioned above and will be of key importance in developing the strategy for the new round of Structural Funds negotiations. These three key stakeholders have strong potential to ensure the sustainability of the ECoC in the city, but how it will work in practice remains to be seen. As presented in the table below, around half of those who responded to the survey agreed that cultural governance in the city is likely to improve due to the experience of hosting ECoC title.

Table 3.17 To what extent will the governance of culture be better in the city after 2012 as a result of the European Capital of Culture?

(Each respondent could choose only ONE of the following responses.)

Response	Total	% of responses	%
1 To a great extent	7		23 %
2 To a modest extent	9		30 %
3 About the same	6		20 %
4 Worse	1		3 %
5 Don't know	7		23 %
Total respondents: 30		0% 20% 40% 60% 80%	

Source: Ecorys survey

Some interview evidence suggested that ECoC allowed cultural organisations to implement much bigger projects than they were traditionally used to, and also provided significant opportunities to gain experience and acquire new skills. Culture organisations were also encouraged to work in cooperation with other organisations - this was especially true in the case of cultural associations in the city and this is likely to continue after the title year. As mentioned above, a number of stakeholders identified that ECoC provided them with experience of accessing different sources of funding, including European and national funds, which is likely to strengthen and increase capacity of such organisations in the future. Therefore, it is likely that the governance of the cultural organisations is strengthened, at least partly as a result of their experience of ECoC. This is confirmed by results of the online survey, the table below showing that a majority of respondents agreed that ECoC had contributed to increasing the capacity of their organisations.

Table 3.18 To what extent has your European Capital of Culture project(s) strengthened the capacity of your organisation to undertake future cultural events?

(Each respondent could choose only ONE of the following responses.)

Response	Total	% of responses	%
1 To a great extent	13		41 %
2 To a modest extent	11		34 %
3 Not at all	1		3 %
4 It was not important to strengthen our capacity	5		16 %
5 Don’t know	2		6 %
Total respondents: 32		0% 20% 40% 60% 80%	

Source: Ecorys survey

As mentioned above, significant attention was given to the development of cultural and general infrastructure in Guimarães in time for 2012. The results of the online survey of projects show that a majority of respondents agreed that both the cultural and general infrastructure improved, as highlighted below. The infrastructure developments are likely to contribute to the sustainability of ECoC and to improved cultural governance in the city in the longer term.

Table 3.19 To what extent has the cultural infrastructure of the city improved as a result of the European Capital of Culture?

(Each respondent could choose only ONE of the following responses.)

Response	Total	% of responses	%
1 To a great extent	22		69 %
2 To a modest extent	5		16 %
3 About the same	0		0 %
4 Not at all	0		0 %
5 The cultural infrastructure would have improved anyway	0		0 %
6 Don't know	5		16 %
Total respondents: 32		0% 20% 40% 60% 80%	

Source: Ecorys survey

Table 3.20 To what extent has the general infrastructure of the city improved as a result of the European Capital of Culture?

(Each respondent could choose only ONE of the following responses.)

Response	Total	% of responses	%
1 To a great extent	15		47 %
2 To a modest extent	10		31 %
3 About the same	1		3 %
4 Not at all	0		0 %
5 The general infrastructure would have improved anyway	0		0 %
6 Don't know	6		19 %
Total respondents: 32		0% 20% 40% 60% 80%	

Source: Ecorys survey

3.6.3 Long-term strategy

In the preparatory phase of the ECoC, the strategy for hosting the ECoC served as the overall strategy for the long-term development of culture in the city. However, with the completion of the title-year, it appears that no successor strategy has yet been developed for the years beyond 2012. There was, however, a broad consensus amongst the interviews that the importance of culture for city development had been understood and reinforced during the title year. Moreover, all the major political parties agree on the need to continue the work that has been done and that culture needs to remain at the core of the city's development strategy. However, new municipal elections are planned for October 2013 and it is likely that the governance of the city will change and the extent to which the long-term strategy for culture development will be put in place depends strongly on the results of these elections.

3.7 Conclusions

3.7.1 Success of the ECoC

Guimarães was successful in delivering a cultural programme incorporating new and innovative cultural activities. It was successful in engaging city residents, attracting national and international visitors as well as increasing the offer of cultural experiences produced in the city.

One of the key success factors for Guimarães hosting the ECoC was related to the engagement and participation of citizens in the cultural activities developed during the title year. ECoC received significant support, energy and active involvement from city residents, who saw the title year as one of the key milestones reinvigorating the city, enhancing its role nationally as well as increasing its visibility internationally. Some of the factors contributing to this were related to the communication style and some key communication initiatives introduced during the title year. For example, the slogan "*You are Part of it"* proved to be very successful and reflected the interest from the citizens to play an active role in the delivery of ECoC. The logo was also of significant importance in gaining the support of citizens and businesses especially in the city centre. In particular, its references to the historic city walls and to the first king of Portugal in the shape of a heart, as well as the possibility to adopt and tailor it were very well received. Indeed, it was widely displayed in shop windows, hotels, restaurants as well as private houses throughout the city centre, creating a strong sense of belonging and celebration.

The other factor contributing to success in engaging citizens was the participatory nature of the cultural programme. This was reflected through such projects as creating a city orchestra that brought together young musicians from Portugal and other European countries to live and work in the city for one year. The orchestra was seen by citizens as their own and received significant attention especially for performances that were held in a variety of areas and spaces including schools and private homes, as well as more remote or rural areas of the region. The education programme delivered a number of projects providing opportunities to get directly involved in artistic experiences, such as the story-telling in private houses project. Importantly, community involvement was not related to one particular programme area, but was a transversal aspect reflected in all aspects of the programme.

The strong political support that Guimarães 2012 received from the city administration also contributed significantly to its success. The ECoC received wide political support from the original application stage through to implementation. This was reflected in the commitment to the development of cultural infrastructure projects, support and close cooperation for the management team and significant support for the delivery of the culture projects. The ECoC was seen as a strategic project by the city administration and significant effort was devoted to ensuring its successful implementation.

The focus on developing conditions for artistic creation in the city was a strong aspect of the cultural programme. This included development of facilities, capacity and projects for creating cultural content. Development of the platform for film production and establishment of the design institute were some key examples of the investments that are likely to continue this work beyond the title year itself.

The use of ERDF to finance the ECoC's cultural programme provided a number of benefits in particular through providing substantial resources for the programme and clarity of both funding sources and amounts. This ensured complementarity between the objectives set for ECoC and regional development objectives set for ERDF spending. In addition, this European funding was not affected by the economic crisis at national level and therefore the funding that was originally committed was delivered. However, it is important to find ways to mitigate the negative effects that often stem from the rigid and time-consuming administrative procedures associated with ERDF funding.

The table below illustrate the extent to which Guimarães performed against core indicators developed during previous evaluations.

Table 3.21 Core Result Indicators

Specific objective	Result indicators
SO1: Enhance the range, diversity and European dimension of the cultural offer in cities, including through transnational co-operation	Total number of events: The data varied significantly between different information sources ranging from **1,300** according to the University evaluation to **2,000** reported by Guimarães City Foundation. € value of ECoC cultural programmes: **€27.2m** No. of European cross-border co-operations within ECoC cultural programme: data not available Proportion of artists from abroad and from the host country featuring in the cultural programme: data not available. Total number of artists: **25,000**
SO2: Widen access to and participation in culture	Attendance at ECoC events: **2 million** % of residents attending or participating in events, including young, disadvantaged or "culturally inactive" people: **15,000 residents participating actively; 12.7% of pupils participated in ECoC cultural projects** Number of active volunteers: **300**
SO3: Strengthen the capacity of the cultural and creative sector and its connectivity with other sectors	Value of investment in cultural infrastructure, sites and facilities: **€41.7m**[57] Sustained multi-sector partnership for cultural governance: data not available Strategy for long-term cultural development of the city: No strategy for long-term cultural development post 2012
SO4: Improve the international profile of cities through culture	Increase in tourist visits: **121,435 tourist visits (approximately 70,000 domestic and 50,000 foreign nationals) up by more than 107% overall, 66% domestic and 297% for foreign nationals; 60% increase in international visitors to tourist information centres; 27% increase in average room occupancy rates.** Volume and % of positive media coverage of cities: **Average score was 3.95** for last six months of 2012 where 1 is very negative article and 5 is very positive article. Awareness of the ECoC amongst residents: **99% of primary and secondary school pupils are aware of the ECoC; 90% residents surveyed think ECoC has improved the city; 96% of business representatives believe the ECoC had a positive or very positive impact on the city**

Source: Guimarães City Foundation and University of Minho evaluation reports

[57] University of Minho (2013), *Economic and Social Impacts.* Available at: http://www.guimaraes2012-impactos.pt/pdf/relatorio_final.pdf

Table 3.22 Core Impact Indicators

General objective	Impact indicators
Safeguard and promote the diversity of European cultures, highlight the common features they share, and foster the contribution of culture to the long-term development of cities	Citizens' perceptions of being European and/or awareness of European culture The city did not collect this information, therefore data is not available.
	National / international recognition of cities as being culturally-vibrant (e.g. peer reception, positive media coverage) and having improved image The city did not collect this information, therefore data is not available.

Source: Guimarães City Foundation and University of Minho evaluation reports

3.7.2 Lessons learned

Guimarães delivered a successful ECoC, but there are number of lessons that could be learned from its experience. These are presented below:

- There is a need to establish funding mechanisms that reflect the nature of the culture sector and the ECoC itself. Although the clarity and stability of funding commitments are of key importance, the process for accessing funding should also reflect the needs of the sector. Many of those involved in the cultural programme are individuals or small organisations and do not have the capacity and resources to fund the projects themselves if there are delays in reimbursement.

- The use of ERDF funding to support ECoC culture programme could be facilitated by linking ECoC vision and objectives to the key priorities of ERDF operational programmes during the early phases of programme development. This should include the involvement of regional ERDF managing authorities in early discussions on the budget for ECoC.

- There is a critical need to establish governance structures that are flexible and tailored to addressing the challenges that ECoC face. Having a number of organisations involved in the management of the title year brings some benefits as it allows bringing new and existing perspectives in the implementation of ECoC. However, this model also carries some risks, including lack of clarity in terms of roles and responsibilities, the need to reconcile the different dynamics of the organisations and some lack of flexibility.

- A large programme development team offers a significant number of advantages in the implementation of the ECoC. However, it is important to ensure strong links between different programme areas in terms of the content and practical implementation.

- Increasing the international visibility of the city during the title year was a key ambition of Guimarães 2012. However, the necessary effort and resources were perhaps not committed at an early enough stage in the process for this ambition to be fully realised.

Maribor

MARIBOR2012
European Capital of Culture

4.0 Maribor

4.1 Background

4.1.1 The city

The ECoC title was held by Maribor, which involved five partner cities in Eastern Slovenia: Murska Sobota, Novo Mesto, Ptuj, Slovenj Gradec and Velenje. With a population of about 119,071 the city of Maribor is the second largest city in Slovenia and the capital of Štajerska (Slovenian Styria)[58]. Situated under the Pohorje Hills, the city spreads out over both banks of the Drava River. Its development has been determined by its geographical position at the juncture of roads connecting Central, Southern Europe and Western Europe with the Pannonian plain. The city prides itself on its chequered history, rich wine tradition and diverse social and cultural life[59].

The development of the city has included significant periods of both growth and decline. After many centuries as a provincial trading town, the first industrial revolution in the 19th century transformed Maribor into a regional commercial centre. This development was made possible by using the River Drava as a water and energy source and good road and rail connections with other parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The city was significantly affected by the two World Wars and resulting population movements. Following the First World War Maribor became one of the leading industrial centres in the former Yugoslavia. However, when Slovenia became independent in 1991, the city experienced significant industrial decline as it lost markets in the former Yugoslavia. This created many abandoned buildings and spaces, and also meant that Maribor lost its function and identity as a major industrial and commercial centre[60].

Furthermore, Maribor and Eastern Slovenia have been negatively affected by the recent global financial and economic crisis, with unemployment rising in recent years. Maribor does have a number of potential economic advantages because of its location, its role as a centre for higher education, together with a developing tourism industry focussing traditionally on winter sports but also boosted by an unspoilt natural environment and the large numbers of spas and castles in this part of Slovenia.

The five partner cities range in size from Slovenj Gradec (7,000 inhabitants) to Novo Mesto (40,000 inhabitants), and have their own specific contexts. For example, Ptuj is the oldest Slovenian city with roots in the 2nd Century and a strong cultural heritage sector focussed on the castle, monasteries and ancient city walls.

4.1.2 The cultural sector

Maribor's location has exposed the city to diverse cultural influences from across Central Europe and the Balkans, and the city has seen periods of great artistic creativity (several of those consulted highlighted the 1980s as a key period of cultural expression). The city has a strong cultural infrastructure (considering its size) and hosts both publicly funded cultural institutions as well as small and independent cultural operators. Among the most significant institutions are the Slovenian National Theatre (SNG) of Maribor, Maribor Art Gallery (UGM), Regional Museum Maribor, Maribor Public Library, Regional Archive Maribor and Maribor Puppet Theatre[61]. The Slovenian National Theatre is one of three state-owned theatres in Slovenia and was established as a professional theatre in 1919. It hosts performances of drama, opera, ballet and the symphony orchestra throughout the year, and also runs the annual Borštnik Theatre Festival. The city is

[58] Information provided on the website of local authority in Maribor. Available at: http://www.maribor.si/povezava.aspx?pid=3791

[59] http://www.slovenia.info/pictures/town/atachments_2/2012/Maribor_2012_UK_DE_13899.pdf

[60] Ibid.

[61] Maribor Puppet Theatre moved into new premises in the reconstructed former Minorite convent on the banks of the River Drava in 2010.

home to a range of cultural operators and NGOs, including KIBLA Multimedia Centre, Narodni Dom and the Pekarna Cultural Centre. Narodni Dom is responsible for producing the international Lent Festival, which attracts more than 500,000 visitors, and the Folkart International Folklore Festival.

The five partner cities all have their own cultural strengths and development priorities. For example, although Velenje is known mainly for its industrial heritage, it also hosts the annual Pika (Pippi Longstocking) children's festival and Kunigunda Festival of Young Cultures; so has placed great emphasis on supporting arts for young people. Amongst the most significant cultural institutions in the partner cities are the Koroška Gallery in Slovenj Gradec, the Ptuj City Theatre and the Anton Podbevšek Theatre in Novo Mesto.

4.2 Cultural programme

4.2.1 Original aims and objectives

Slovenia was given the right to host the ECoC title during 2012, in line with the chronological list set out in Decision 1419/1999/EC. The Government of Slovenia decided to run a national competition to select the host city, based on an open call for applications held in 2006. As well as Maribor, three other cities took part in this process: Celje, Koper and Ljubljana. Maribor's application was developed in collaboration with the wider "Eastern Cohesion" region[62], built around Maribor and five partner towns – Murska Sobota, Novo Mesto, Ptuj, Slovenj Gradec and Velenje – which were included because of the significance of the project and the resources required to stage it successfully. This 'regional concept' was considered by a number of stakeholders as a key factor in the success of Maribor bid.

The review of documentation and local consultations highlighted an extremely diverse set of motivations behind the decision to apply for ECoC status amongst the various stakeholders and partners. The evidence suggests that the leaders of the original application were primarily driven by the opportunity presented by ECoC (as a high profile EU initiative) to support the local cultural offer and develop the cities' cultural infrastructure, but importantly also to use the title as a tool to promote urban and regional development in the less-developed Eastern part of Slovenia. While the cities had a heritage of technological and industrial development, culture and creativity were seen as the best opportunity to promote connections between the cities (and further afield), with ECoC providing evidence of culture's ability to act as a bridge to other sectors and support social, environmental and economic development.

4.2.2 Application

Maribor's application was constructed around the key concept of "Pure Energy", referring to the region's role in power generation and the building up of energy towards a "cultural explosion" in 2012. Originally, the application set out a broad set of cultural activities under sixteen individual strands, together with planned investments in infrastructure, cultural heritage and the promotion of cultural tourism. In addition, all partner cities had their own thematic priorities, for example multiculturalism in Murska Sobota and the 'global culture of peace' in Slovenj Gradec.

The application included a range of objectives and activities under the main EU criteria and a detailed set of 'medium term' objectives as follows (listed as its 'purpose' in the programme documentation):

- The integrated approach (creativity + heritage + education + research + digital literacy + cultural tourism + economy + ecology = pure energy);
- the sustainable development of the region (new jobs, long-term urban development of cities and hinterland, economic growth, competitive advantage for the region);
- creative use of modern information and communication technologies, renewable sources of energy and balanced action);

[62] This is not an administrative region, but part of the NUTS geographical hierarchy corresponding to the entire Eastern half of Slovenia.

- inter-regional and polycentric functioning (cooperation within and outside the region, cross-border and inter-states cooperation);
- the enhancement of local identities (self-confidence of citizens, access to cultural goods for local people, development of local cre(art)ives, cooperation among politicians, establishment of information society);
- the promotion of European cultural cooperation, international recognition of Maribor, its partner cities, regions, the Eastern cohesion region of Slovenia, and of Slovenia itself;
- the cooperation of the non-profit and commercial sectors (public-private partnerships, development of public and non-governmental sectors);
- the establishment of conditions for the creation, re-creation and presentation of artistic creativity (cultural infrastructure, international programming and business cooperation);
- the renovation of cultural and industrial heritage, and provision of permanent assets;
- the upgrading of the existing and building of a new tourism, recreational and transport infrastructure,
- the digitalisation of culture (networking, presenting new virtual contents);
- the stimulation of inter-cultural dialogue (encompassing ethnic minorities, religious communities, national cultural space);
- the setting-up of educational programmes and institutions; and
- the integration of all social groups, especially the vulnerable ones (the elderly, children, youth, disabled people, the unemployed and the homeless).

Compared with the overarching EU-level objectives for ECoC it can be argued that the Maribor bid placed relatively less emphasis on promoting high quality cultural activities per se, or highlighting European cultural diversity, than on developing cultural infrastructure, improving Maribor's national and international profile and, through that, supporting wider socio-economic development. The application included an extensive list of potential new additions and improvements to the regional cultural and urban infrastructure, such as a new multi-purpose gallery and production centre as well as creative industry hub and improvements to various cultural and heritage venues.

Widening participation in culture and the promotion of integration and dialogue were incorporated into the original application through activities focussing on children and older people, those with special needs as well as socially marginalised and minority groups (especially the Roma community). Taken together this represents an extremely diverse set of activities and ambitious objectives for an individual ECoC.

The early preparatory work was led by the KIBLA Multimedia Centre, which convened meetings with local municipalities and a variety of cultural operators and NGOs in order to develop the ECoC concept, although any evidence gathered by this process (e.g. on the needs of the culture sector) did not feature prominently in the application. KIBLA was then contracted to prepare and submit the formal application on behalf of the municipality of Maribor and partner towns.

At national level the four applications were evaluated by an expert panel, using a scoring system with both EU and national criteria for the ECoC project. Maribor's application was successful on the grounds that it represented the best developed concept, at least partly because of its regional approach[63]. However, there is evidently a lack of consensus amongst the stakeholders consulted over whether the national selection process was conducted in the most appropriate or transparent way. A number of doubts were expressed over both the composition of the expert panel (since only one international cultural expert was included), as well as over the system used for assessing the relative merits of each application.

[63] The Municipality of Maribor and Temporary Secretariat for the project of the European Capital of Culture 2012 (2009), *The European Capital of Culture 2012 Maribor and the Partner Cities: Activities and Programme Highlights.* Available at: http://ecoc-doc-athens.eu/attachments/388_Maribor,%20Slovenia%20candidate%20for%20European%20Capital%20of%20Culrure%202012.pdf

4.2.3 Changes to the objectives and themes

While it is true that most ECoC experience changes in objectives, themes and activities as the programme is developed, in the case of Maribor the final programme differs from the application in terms of the overall vision as well as its structure. There were two main milestones in this process. First, the provisional secretariat established in 2008 organised the original concept into 16 separate actions. Then, following the eventual establishment of the Maribor 2012 public institute in 2010 and subsequent recruitment of key staff, a new concept - and slogan - was developed for the programme, namely "the Turning Point" created in the summer of 2011. This process revised the cultural programme and organised activities around four programme strands and three separate entities. This process was clearly much more than a rationalisation or reorganisation of the original concept, but was in any case necessary, given the very broad range of activities set out during the initial stages of the application.

The programme teams took some project ideas from the original application and results from previous open calls for projects, but the main body of activities stemmed from a series of open door days held at the delivery agency's main office in Maribor and in the partner towns. All of these involved a wide range of cultural operators, individual producers and artists and civil society groups, from the region, Slovenia and further afield.

The final programme retained a strong (visual and performing) arts component and the original focus on ICT and multimedia, but was based around a broader concept of culture, exploring ways in which creativity can contribute to daily life and culture can be connected to a range of other fields (some of the examples given include education, social care and inclusion, science and technology, ecology and sustainability). Key elements of the final programme were efforts to engage residents in contributing to re-animate Maribor city centre and the addition of an environmental and social strand.

4.2.4 Activities during the development phase

Maribor's application was approved by the European Selection Panel, although the bid leaders were also invited to further improve it. While impressed by the enthusiasm of the team and appreciative that the revised application took into account suggestions by the panel, areas for concern included the large number of projects. The panel emphasised the need to be selective and prioritise and also suggested that the city should involve an external expert advisor in the development of the programme, to provide support in developing a set of activities of high artistic quality[64].

At EU level, the official record of the first meeting of the EU monitoring and advisory panel expresses general satisfaction with Maribor's progress in preparing for ECoC. However, the panel was concerned about the uncertainty and complexity of the proposed governance structures and the large number of themes in the culture programme (despite the previous efforts at rationalisation and re-focussing described above), emphasising the need to develop projects specifically designed for ECoC and stronger incorporation of the European dimension[65]. Our consultations suggest that the reaction of the EU panel was seen much more negatively at the local level, with the result that a new management team was implemented at the provisional secretariat.

The second meeting of the monitoring and advisory panel was broadly positive, expressing satisfaction with the Maribor presentation and the progress made, and offering particular praise for the strong focus on youth projects. The panel considered that significant changes in the team should improve organisational effectiveness. However, the panel also suggested that the stability of the team needed to be safeguarded

[64] The Selection Panel for the European Capital of Culture (ECoC) 2012, (2008), *Report of the Selection Meeting for the European Capitals of Culture 2012.* Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/culture/our-programmes-and-actions/doc/2012ecoc_panel_report.pdf

[65] The Monitoring and Advisory Panel for the European Capital of Culture (ECoC) 2012, (2009) *Report for the First Monitoring and Advisory Meeting for the European Capitals of Culture 2012.* Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/culture/documents/report_1_monitor_guimaraes_maribor.pdf

and that the implementation team should focus on developing the current programme, the marketing strategy and preparing a long-term legacy strategy.

Turning to the local level, a Provisional Secretariat to implement the ECoC was set up by the Municipality of Maribor in July 2008, with extensive discussions and consultations on the most suitable legal and organisational form of the delivery agency taking place throughout this period. Based on our consultations it would appear that tensions between partners over the most appropriate institutional form for ECoC and responsibility for the associated infrastructure investments, served to further delay the establishment of a formal delivery agency and led to numerous changes in personnel. Some of these tensions were rooted in the division between the two principal components of the ECoC, the infrastructure investments on one hand and the cultural programme on the other, including where the balance of the effort should be placed. These debates were not resolved until relatively late on in the process.

Preparations did not begin in earnest until 2009, with an ordinance adopted by the city council in early 2010 and establishment of the Public Institute Maribor 2012 in mid-2010. This organisation was responsible only for the delivery of ECoC with responsibility for infrastructure investments remaining with the Municipality of Maribor. From late 2010 to early 2011 new team members were recruited to begin the work of finalising the cultural programme and making all necessary arrangements for the title year. The final programme was presented to the public and media only in October 2011, with very little additional cultural activity or publicity to introduce and raise awareness of ECoC in advance of the title year[66]. Some activity under the *Town Keys* (approx. 90 projects) and *Urban Furrows* strands did begin before 2012, but these were small projects more aimed at involving and bringing local residents together than publicising ECoC to national and international audiences.

4.2.5 Key Features of the cultural programme

The final programme was organised into four programme strands and three separate “entities”:

- **Terminal 12** was the most explicitly arts-based strand, incorporating film, theatre, literature, architecture and visual arts with a significant focus on new and future approaches. This included established philharmonic orchestras and internationally-acclaimed theatre productions, popular and club music, as well as architectural projects, European art exhibitions and visits from foreign intellectuals and writers. Highlights included: Twelve, which invited leading personalities to present their visions of the future of the city; Wow Industry, an umbrella for six independent exhibitions representing different manufacturing companies; and The Stage between the Sky and the Earth, presenting various theatrical genres (such as circus, cabaret, burlesque, acrobatics, traditional forms from other countries and equestrianism).

- **Town Keys** included a wide variety of projects aimed at reinvigorating the city centres using culture and new forms of creative expression and most events were free of charge. Highlights included: The Germans and Maribor, which presented an exhibition highlighting the role of Germans in Maribor; Sound of the River, which taped the sound of the river and transmitted it from the loudspeakers on bridges; City Confessional, which filmed the video contributions of residents and visitors as well as Ice Storage; and Table Poetry.

- **Urban Furrows** worked on the fringes of culture and the city, through research and practical exploration of social and ecological topics emphasising the importance of co-existence, and tangible ways towards developing a more creative and tolerant society. This included projects such as the Centre for Alternative and Autonomous Production, Sustainable Local Supply, Seed Bank and Urban Gardening as well as projects aimed specifically at the Roma community.

[66] In some cases it was not clear where events would take place, given the fact that the municipality retained sole responsibility for infrastructure projects and there was uncertainty about whether these projects would be completed.

- **Lifetouch** aimed at presenting the whole programme of Maribor 2012 to audiences across the region and internationally through a dedicated internet page but also 'traditional' media. This included Perspectives and Reflections on the issues addressed by the cultural programme, as well as wider cultural and geopolitical issues, plus support for a variety of new media and interactive projects.

The three programme entities were: Cultural Embassies built around collaborations with foreign cultural institutions; RAZ:UM, a suite of activities hosted by the University of Maribor exploring cross-disciplinary interactions between art and research in the areas of science, technology, and urban living; and Opportunities for All focussing on reaching and involving those with special needs.

4.2.6 Financing

The funding foreseen in the original Maribor application was around €200m, of which €57m was allocated to the development and implementation of the cultural programme and €143m for infrastructure investments[67]. During the preparatory phase (and the title year itself) these figures were continually revised downwards, meaning that based on currently available data (not including 2013), the final programme budget was around half the level of that set out in the original application. This is broken down by source of funding in the table below.

Table 4.1 Funding for Cultural Programme

Source of funding	Original budget		2012	Total 2010-2012	
	€	%	€	€	%
National contribution	€ 22,000,000	38%	€ 10,212,864	€ 15,212,864	54%
Municipal contributions[68]	€ 23,473,000	41%	€ 7,605,365	€ 11,281,880	40%
European Union	€ 1,500,000	3%	€ 326,000	€ 838,000[69]	3%
Other public bodies	€ 3,950,000	7%	€ 79,413	€ 79,413	0%
Other revenue (sponsorship, sales, donations)	€ 6,500,000	11%	€ 964,511	€ 987,485	3%
Total	**57,423,000**	**100%**	**19,188,153**	**28,399,642**	**100%**

Source: Maribor 2012. This does not include ECoC-related spending before the establishment of the delivery agency in 2010, as this cannot be disaggregated from general budgets, or profiled spend for 2013

While there has clearly been a significant reduction in the contributions made by municipal and national Governments, the biggest proportional reductions were in the amounts of funding derived from other public bodies (EU or other national sources) and commercial revenue from sponsorship, sales and donations. The €1.5m Melina Mercouri Prize was utilised as an integral part of the operational budget for the delivery agency, contributing to administration of the public institute and projects, including collaborations, networked projects and co-productions with partner towns.

However it should be noted that Maribor 2012 undertook large numbers of co-productions, requiring significant co-financing contributions from external partners (in some cases as much as €200,000) and arranged for a variety of other non-financial contributions from public institutions and cultural foundations (mainly under the Cultural Embassies strand). This information could provide valuable supplementary evidence of the amounts of additional funding leveraged but was not consistently provided by all partners.

Amongst those consulted there are diverging views concerning where primary responsibility lies for the budgets being significantly lower than expected, and there were clearly disagreements between national and

[67] The Selection Panel for the European Capital of Culture (ECoC) 2012, (2008), *Report of the Selection Meeting for the European Capitals of Culture 2012.* Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/culture/our-programmes-and-actions/doc/2012ecoc_panel_report.pdf

[68] Over the period 2010-2012 Maribor provided €9.6m and the other partner cities €1.7m

[69] The final tranche of funding under the Melina Mercouri Prize has been included in figures for 2013, which are not available at the time of writing.

municipal structures over commitments and expectations. It is worth noting that the national selection process included no clear indication of the financial contribution to be made by the State, with the application highlighting the lack of binding financial agreements between the State and municipalities as well as the intensive negotiations underway between partners.

This situation created major challenges for both the provisional secretariat and the Maribor 2012 public institute, and was a major contributory factor in the resignations of key staff (including the chairman of the supervisory board in late 2011). Some consultees commented that the original budgets were unrealistic, but noted that even if they were feasible at the time of the application, the lack of binding agreements and delays in agreeing budgets and structures meant that the worsening financial situation had an even greater negative impact on the final budgets and severely affected programme development.

In addition there were delays in making payments, especially at municipal level, which had a major impact on the delivery agency, since both national and municipal funds were channelled through the municipality of Maribor. Although ECoC clearly made significant demands on the Maribor municipality's capacity and resources, resources were made available at critical moments, and at the time of writing all outstanding financial commitments have been settled by the delivery agency.

Expenditure can also be broken down further, as highlighted below. This shows that while programme budgets did fall as a result of the reductions in funding, much greater reductions were seen for personnel, operating and marketing budgets, compared with the amounts originally foreseen.

Table 4.2 Programme expenditure

Cost category	Original budget, 2008-2012		2012	Total 2010-2012	
	€	%	€	€	%
Programme costs	€ 24,643,000	43%	€ 15,066,024	€ 21,880,938	77%
Operating costs (materials and services)	€ 9,625,000	17%	€ 1,149,735	€ 2,012,157	7%
Personnel and organisational costs	€ 15,250,000	27%	€ 1,000,787	€ 1,839,303	6%
Marketing and communication	€ 7,905,000	14%	€ 1,928,231	€ 2,592,255	9%
Other	€0	0%	€ 42,627	€ 73,819	0%
Total	**57,423,000**	**100%**	**19,187,404**	**28,398,514**	**100%**

Source: Maribor 2012.

A key factor in the development of a cultural programme of sufficient scale and reach was resourcefulness on the part of the delivery agency team, especially through their decision to focus on co-productions. Even then, the fact that ECoC took place over a wide geographical area served to disperse outputs (and make the achievement of a 'critical mass' of impacts more problematic). While the eventual percentages for personnel and operations seem much more reasonable than the original budgets, it is also safe to say that the marketing and communication budget was too small (9% of the total operational budget). In addition, there was no budget allocated to support additional cultural activities before the title year, or activities and structures after 2012.

The major difference between the application and final implementation relates to the planned investments in urban and cultural infrastructure. Although we do not have detailed figures on the final investment expenditure by the municipality and its ZIM unit (Zavod za izgradnjo Maribora), we know that none of the planned investment projects in Maribor took place and only a small number were completed in the partner towns. A number of factors are likely to have played a role here, such as disagreements over the correct process for tendering and commissioning such large projects, an apparent lack of support from national ministries over wider urban planning projects (transport, roads, bridges, utilities etc.) and a shortage of experience and capacity at the local level. In some cases this meant that earmarked funds remained unspent (e.g. for the Maribor City Library) and even projects that had been planned before ECoC such as the Art

Gallery Maribor could not be implemented. It should also be noted that the municipality did make parts of its property portfolio available to the delivery agency free of charge.

4.3 Relevance

This section highlights the extent to which the objectives of and activities implemented by Maribor 2012 were relevant to the three EU-level objectives for ECoC.

4.3.1 Developing cultural activities

As highlighted above, the delivery agency developed and implemented an extensive and, in many ways, innovative cultural programme. In order to be selected, activities had to be in line with the concept, programme strands and overarching EU criteria (high quality cultural content, reflecting the European dimension and involving the city and citizens), and overall responsibility for selection rested with a programme collegium composed of external advisers in every field, programme directors and relevant staff. The main considerations were related to content, the relationship between finance and activities / outputs, and feasibility of implementation considering the overall dynamic of the cultural programme.

Given the time and budgetary pressures, most of the activities were co-productions (accounting for 74% of programme-specific costs) rather than in-house productions, involving collaborations with organisations in the cultural and other fields. This is reflected in the results of the survey of project promoters and partners:

Table 4.3 Did your organisation establish new cooperation with organisations and/or artists in Slovenia? (Each respondent could choose MULTIPLE responses.)

Response	Total	% of responses	%
1 Yes – with cultural organisations/artists in the field of my core activities	34		54 %
2 Yes – with cultural organisations/artists in different culture fields	30		48 %
3 Yes – with organisations/people outside of culture sector	19		30 %
4 No	14		22 %
5 Don't know	0		0 %
Total respondents: 64 Skipped question: 0		0% 20% 40% 60% 80%	

Source: Ecorys survey

4.3.2 Promoting the European dimension of and through culture

The European dimension was perhaps most strongly represented in Cultural Embassies, which involved collaborations with cultural institutes and embassies. These were invited to Maribor to discuss their ideas and in the end 80 organisations from 31 countries took part, including from 16 EU Member States. The activities were all designed to showcase each country's cultural heritage, involving co-curation and co-production with local institutions with the delivery agency acting as coordinator and providing guidance on developing content that was relevant to the programme and local context (for example an exhibition on 'socialist' architecture featured a Slovenian photographer). The concept was to establish month-long cultural embassies for each EU Member State, though in practice some lasted much longer (e.g. activities by the Goethe Institut ran all year) or shorter (e.g. Macedonia for a few days). Venues included cultural producers and education providers such as schools and the university as well as the delivery agency headquarters. All events were free of charge, to allow local residents to learn more about foreign countries and cultures.

At the same time, the cultural programme also sought to develop activities that addressed a variety of issues with European and global significance and the sharing of knowledge and experience with people in other countries. Examples include events and conferences under both *Urban Furrows* and those produced by the University of Maribor (facilitated by existing international networks and contacts). Further specific examples include:

- The incorporation of the theme “Mirroring Continents” in addition to international folk music performers in the programme for the Lent Festival 2012;
- “Perspectives and reflections” under *Lifetouch* which gathered and published articles from international commentators; and
- The Germans and Maribor exhibition, exploring the historic presence of a large German and Austrian community in Maribor.

It appears that there was less extensive cooperation with Guimarães than anticipated, as the relationship was complicated by the distance between the cities, although co-operation did take place in the context of Cultural Embassies and through activities such as the Aduela street theatre productions and the film project Five Pieces of Heart. There was more extensive collaboration with Graz (ECoC 2003), given its geographical proximity and close cultural heritage, while our consultations also highlighted contacts with Mons (2015) and Kosice (2013).

To the disappointment of a small number of stakeholders, the final cultural programme put less emphasis on large international events or performances by high-profile international artists, though there were some (e.g. the Chick Corea Trio). The main international elements of the programme were *Terminal 12* and Cultural Embassies, though there were examples of international working under many individual strands. This was not limited to Maribor, as smaller towns like Ptuj and Velenje also had big, international names working with local artists.

It could also be argued that the final programme was focussed less on activities likely to attract a broad European cultural audience, than bringing visitors from neighbouring countries, mainly from Austria, but also Croatia and Italy. This was partly a result of the lack of time and resources required for a concerted and targeted international marketing campaign.

4.3.3 Supporting social and economic development

The original application placed great emphasis on ECoC’s ability to support urban, social and economic development and despite the failure of many of the ‘concrete’ investment schemes these wider issues were successfully incorporated in programme content, with the core objective of using culture to give a new impulse to the city, build new confidence among residents and create new connections to spur wider social and economic development. For example, the desire to foster urban development was successfully converted into plans to ‘re-animate’ the city centres, principally via the *Town Keys* strand. This focussed mainly on the participation of residents, by bringing a wide variety of folk art performances and cultural heritage projects to non-traditional venues across the city. In addition, the Opportunities for All entity included accessibility assessments of venues and information provision on events for people with special needs, but also promoted a range of projects specifically aimed at or dealing with issues faced by hearing and visually impaired people, as well as those with (sometimes severe) physical disabilities.

Development of the tourism offer was the main means of achieving immediate economic impacts, with the core target audiences being the population of Maribor and partner cities; cultural tourists from across Slovenia; and tourists from neighbouring countries (especially Austria, Croatia and Italy). The main elements of the strategy included partnership working with the Slovenian Tourist Board and municipalities, as well as commercial partners including tour and bus operators, appearances at a range of trade fairs, exhibitions and workshops and the establishment and staffing of info points in Maribor and Ljubljana.

The programme also included a range of activities exploring connections between culture, creativity and other fields, for example in the work of the University of Maribor linking research in different university faculties to arts and culture. A further important example is the work of *Urban Furrows*, which included good practice examples in the field of social ecology, designed to raise awareness of and address issues of sustainable food supply, biodiversity, energy and transport, but also social inclusion by involving young people, older people and those from marginalised communities.

4.4 Efficiency

4.4.1 Capacity to deliver

Although some of the consultation evidence suggests that the ECoC was (at least at the application stage) strongly associated with one political grouping at national and municipal level, there appears to have been a degree of cross-party support for Maribor 2012. Nevertheless the absence of a formal partnership or strong local leadership (in the context of multiple changes of Government) created a problematic situation throughout the development and implementation phases. Several commented that the (final) delivery agency received little practical support from either the municipality or national Government.

Most of the planned infrastructure improvements did not take place, which severely limited the range of venues available to the programme teams and sometimes meant that planned activities could not be implemented. For example the main concept behind *Terminal 12* was the fostering of connections between international and Slovenian artists and performers. The fact that this strand had to be implemented without the building of an international-standard exhibition space is likely to have limited Maribor's potential to attract some international events (for example a planned exhibition by Tate Liverpool could not go ahead). Dealing with this situation required further resourcefulness on the part of programme teams, since they often had to find alternative venues at short notice. Although this situation is not conducive to effective project management, this did have the beneficial (albeit unintended) effect of bringing more cultural events to new, unusual venues (for example the Hippodrome horse racing track hosting The Stage Between The Earth and Sky theatre events).

4.4.2 Governance and management

As highlighted above, there were extensive discussions on the appropriate institutional form for ECoC. This meant that the development phase was managed by a provisional secretariat set up by the municipality, which had only advisory powers and no functional competences (e.g. for marketing and communications). Eventually, the decision was taken to set up a public institute, regulated by statute, after interventions by the Slovenian Ministry of Culture and Legislative Office.

There is a lack of consensus amongst partners as to whether this decision was motivated by purely legislative concerns, was designed to provide a more stable financial and operational environment, or related to fears over the management of public funds by a private body. It certainly had the effect of creating a rather unwieldy delivery body, subject to complex procedural requirements and without many of the advantages of more arms-length or NGO-led approaches to delivery in terms of leanness, speed and flexibility.

The composition of the Board (usually referred to as the Council) of Maribor 2012 also changed in the lead-up to the title year. The current chair is a Member of Parliament and chair of the Council of the Maribor Slovene National Theatre. The Board also included representatives of the national Government, municipality, cultural sector stakeholders and operators, academic and legal experts and one of the sponsors (Slovenian Post Office).

After several changes in personnel, Mitja Čander was recruited to the position of Programme Director in late 2010 with Suzana Žilič Fišer joining as General Director in early 2011. Mr Čander is a well-respected writer and publisher (originally from Maribor, but based in Ljubljana), while Ms Žilič Fišer was Lecturer and Head of Faculty at the University of Maribor (though she had been a member of both the provisional secretariat and

board of the Maribor 2012 public institute). As a result, the final management team had less experience of running international cultural events than many others who have held similar positions in previous ECoCs, though they had the advantage of not being associated with problems in the development phase as well as a degree of independence from municipal structures and key cultural operators.

This new team took the decision to redefine the programme and objectives, informed by intensive consultations with colleagues, external cultural operators and NGOs. In general terms, the process of artistic direction was informed by the desire to combine elements of an international arts festival and exposition of the local cultural offer, but with much broader aspirations around the role of culture in daily life and its ability to enable discussion of complex themes around economy, society and the city.

The Programme Director and his team made proposals on the cultural programme and activities to the General Director and a Programme Collegium established to supervise the processes of programme design, project selection and monitoring. All subsequent changes in project funding and timetables were subject to sign-off by the Board of the delivery agency.

Once the final delivery infrastructure was in place, a team was recruited relatively quickly which had to 'hit the ground running'. The decision was taken to recruit a young (and relatively inexperienced) team, who were subsequently put under huge pressure to deliver a successful ECoC, working long hours with obvious dedication. Operations and personnel accounted for €1.8m, or 6% of the total budget, covering the costs of 40 full-time employees, comprising: 23 programme, nine operations and eight marketing staff (30 fixed term and 10 public employees).

As a public institute the staff were subject to strict procedures governing the management and disbursement of public funds, although the shortage of time meant that they had to work in a creative and resourceful way. The programme teams under the supervision of the artistic director and programme collegium developed a clear programme vision and were supported in management by a general director recruited from the university rather than a local cultural player. Many of the staff were from outside the existing local cultural infrastructure, though they had varied professional experience and will certainly have developed valuable additional skills in the course of this project that will be an asset to Maribor and Slovenia in future. However, staff from the delivery agency are almost unanimous in their opinion that this organisational form made their jobs more difficult, compounding the lack of time they had available and requiring frequent problem-solving that often resembled crisis management.

Our consultations have highlighted a number of key success factors in the delivery agency's approach to implementation. These included the development of a strong and coherent concept for the programme, extensive consultation with partners, operators and artists, but also the way that the Board and general management supported the staff and were able to protect their autonomy from external political and cultural sector interference. Results from the survey of project promoters and partners show that they rated the effectiveness of the delivery agency in generally positive terms, though comparatively few felt that the agency was 'very effective' in its management of ECoC.

Table 4.4 Overall, how effective was the Public Institute Maribor 2012 in managing the European Capital of Culture? (Each respondent could choose only ONE of the following responses.)

Response	Total	% of responses	%
1 Very effective	9		16 %
2 Effective	18		31 %
3 Slightly effective	20		34 %
4 Not effective at all	8		14 %
5 Don't know	3		5 %
6 Other, please specify	0		0 %
Total respondents: 58 Skipped question: 0		0% 20% 40% 60% 80%	

Source: Ecorys survey

4.4.3 Marketing and communication

Maribor 2012 did not have a large marketing budget at their disposal compared with many other ECoC (around 9% of the total operational budget), with the final budget around one-third of that contained in the original application. Nevertheless, the delivery agency put significant effort and time into marketing and communications. The final marketing team also joined in 2011, developing a marketing and tourism promotion strategy, as well as a new logo and design framework, shortly before the start of the title year. The main elements of the strategy included:

- Identification of 25-30 media partners (across national and local newspapers, magazines, radio and television stations, city magazines);
- Regular press conferences (115), press releases (624) and newsletters (53, sent to 4343 email addresses),
- Facilitating visits by national and foreign journalists, with approximately 400 visits by foreign media, from 28 countries;
- Advertising campaigns including 'jumbo' ad campaigns and billboards at a range of locations around Maribor and across Slovenia;
- Small advertising campaigns for specific events (25) and 30,000 programme leaflets;
- Internet presence, supported by Google advertising (60,000 click-throughs) and online event pages hosted on cultural and tourism sites. This generated 819,000 unique visits (211,000 from outside Slovenia) and 2.8m page views;
- 1,415 web posts and 427 project or event 'galleries'; and
- An extensive new media campaign including mobile app (3,350 downloads), Facebook (10,028 likes), twitter (1,219 followers) instagram (1,000 photos uploaded and 10,000 clicks) plus foursquare.

In total there were 12,260 items (13,907 including trailers) in print, digital and online media, 83% of which were assessed as positive, 15% neutral and 2% negative. Communications activity (as well as efforts at raising commercial sponsorship) needs to be seen in the context of very negative media coverage in the development phase and at the start of the title year, often linked to the delayed implementation of the delivery agency and failure of infrastructure projects (one newspaper even published an obituary of ECoC at the start of the title year). There was an extensive domestic media campaign, building on partnerships with media at local and national level, and although this was regularly described as contributing to successfully turning around the image of Maribor 2012, we do not have access to the results this generated in terms of scale or favourability of coverage.

On the international level, there was arguably not enough time or resources to develop a comprehensive and targeted strategy. This had to be based around making most use of the infrastructure, support and networks of partners such as the municipalities and national tourist board, attending the tourism fairs and events that had already been scheduled and providing hospitality for foreign journalists (sharing the cost of this with the national tourist board).

This was complicated by the fact that the programme was established late, so marketing staff had little advance information about programme highlights they could provide to media partners and tour operators, meaning they had to use existing fairs and festivals for promotion and had difficulties in promoting Maribor at large international tourist fairs. There was little selection of activities having most potential for dissemination and likely to attract interest internationally, with marketing staff focussing instead on developing a "story of small projects". Many of the events that took place before the start of the year were small and had limited potential for promotion purposes.

This picture is reflected in the results generated by the survey of project promoters and partners. While marketing and communications is rated generally positively overall, it is clear that ECoC was much more visible with local and national media than with international media:

Table 4.5 How effective was the marketing and communications of the Public Institute Maribor 2012? (Each respondent could choose only ONE of the following responses.)

Response	Total	% of responses	%
1 Very effective	10		17 %
2 Effective	15		26 %
3 Slightly effective	21		36 %
4 Ineffective	12		21 %
5 Don't know	0		0 %
Total respondents: 58 Skipped question: 0		0% 20% 40% 60% 80%	

Source: Ecorys survey

Table 4.6 How visible was the European Capital of Culture with local/regional media? (Each respondent could choose only ONE of the following responses.)

Response	Total	% of responses	%
1 Very visible	23		40 %
2 Visible	29		51 %
3 Slightly visible	3		5 %
4 Not visible at all	1		2 %
5 Don't know	1		2 %
Total respondents: 57 Skipped question: 0		0% 20% 40% 60% 80%	

Source: Ecorys survey

Table 4.7 How visible was the European Capital of Culture with national media? (Each respondent could choose only ONE of the following responses.)

Response	Total	% of responses	%
1 Very visible	12		21 %
2 Visible	36		63 %
3 Slightly visible	7		12 %
4 Not visible at all	1		2 %
5 Don't know	1		2 %
Total respondents: 57 Skipped question: 0		0% 20% 40% 60% 80%	

Source: Ecorys survey

Table 4.8 How visible was the European Capital of Culture with international media? (Each respondent could choose only ONE of the following responses.)

Response	Total	% of responses	%
1 Very visible	2		4 %
2 Visible	14		25 %
3 Slightly visible	18		32 %
4 Not visible at all	6		11 %
5 Don't know	17		30 %
Total respondents: 57 Skipped question: 0		0% 20% 40% 60% 80%	

Source: Ecorys survey

4.5 Effectiveness

4.5.1 Cultural and artistic content

Using comparatively limited resources, Maribor 2012 produced an extensive and diverse programme of activities, the majority of which was built around co-productions and collaborations, including large numbers with an international or European element. The overall outputs related to the ECoC programme provided by the delivery agency are as follows:

- 405 projects, including 308 in Maribor, 97 in partner cities and 38 common/networked projects;
- 5,624 events and
- Estimated total audience of 3.1m in 2012 and 4.5m overall.

Town Keys alone accounted for 233 individual projects, while *Town Keys* and *Terminal 12* together accounted for most (three-quarters) of the programme spend. Taken together, the programme of activities represents a significant increase in both the scale and the type of activities that are usually available to citizens of Maribor and partner towns. According to the delivery agency there were approximately 800 cultural events in Maribor and partner cities in 2010, 1,100 in 2011 rising to 5,900 in 2012. The leading events in terms of audience figures were:

- Lent Festival - 700,000;
- Festival of the Arts and Heritage - 100,000;
- Europe in the Museum / a Museum in Europe - 24,746;
- Art Stays 2012 / 10th International Festival of Contemporary Art – 17,000;
- Club 2012 - 16,581;
- Staging Post – 15,230;
- Germans and Maribor Exhibition – 14,474;
- Pika Festival – 14,060;
- Rock Otočec -13,500; and
- Stage between Heaven and Earth – 9,035.

Most of the cultural activities under ECoC were built around completely new productions, exhibitions and residencies, although we do not have definitive information across the programme on the proportion of activities involving new cultural creations. Many stakeholders commented that the programme included a satisfactory balance between high and popular culture, including sufficient numbers of 'prestigious' events, but also a strong focus on participatory approaches and innovative content, including activities that combined artistic disciplines and experimental approaches, including frequent use of new media. Project promoters and partners were also likely to believe that the cultural programme was of high artistic quality:

Table 4.9 Overall, did the European Capital of Culture present a cultural programme of high artistic quality? (Each respondent could choose only ONE of the following responses.)

Response	Total	% of responses	%
1 High artistic quality	26		45 %
2 Reasonable artistic quality	28		48 %
3 Low artistic quality	2		3 %
4 Don't know	2		3 %
Total respondents: 58 Skipped question: 0		0% 20% 40% 60% 80%	

Source: Ecorys survey

4.5.2 European dimension

As highlighted in previous sections, the cultural programme included large numbers of events based around international co-operation, involving European artists and performers, or exploring themes of European significance such as cultural diversity and common aspects of European cultures. The delivery agency estimate that 128 projects involved European partners, 71 as co-producers, while 35 institutions in Maribor and partner towns were involved in international collaborations.

Many stakeholders and partners commented that the European dimension was integral to the programme, and this is reflected in the results of the survey of project promoters and partners:

Table 4.10 How prominent was the European dimension of the European Capital of Culture? (Each respondent could choose only ONE of the following responses.)

Response	Total	% of responses	%
1 Very prominent	7		12 %
2 Prominent	30		53 %
3 Slightly prominent	13		23 %
4 Not prominent at all	0		0 %
5 Don't know	7		12 %
Total respondents: 57 Skipped question: 0		0% 20% 40% 60% 80%	

Source: Ecorys survey

At the time of writing we do not have evidence of the likely effect of this on citizens' feelings of being European or their general level of awareness of European cultures. However, elements of the programme such as *Terminal 12* and Cultural Embassies were explicitly European and international in focus, for example, the 200 events under Cultural Embassies can only have had a positive effect on levels of awareness of foreign cultural heritage amongst local residents.

4.5.3 City and Citizens /outreach

The application included a number of expected economic and social effects for ECoC, specifically aiming at exerting a positive influence on the economic and cultural growth of Eastern Slovenia, and support efforts to bring the region up to the national average level of development. The relevant targets set were:

- 3,800,000 visitors of cultural events;
- 900,000 more foreign tourists and 700,000 more overnight stays in 2012;
- 1,000,000 EUR of estimated net benefits from marketing;
- 600 new job positions at the end of the project; and
- 95% digital literacy and accessibility to the WWW.

The delivery agency estimated that the 5,624 events across Maribor and partner towns reached a total audience of 4.5m, plus 2.8m visitors to the web site. This represents high levels of interest and attendance, and this view is also held by the majority of stakeholders consulted, many of whom commented that the programme reached new cultural audiences, including those with special needs or from more marginal communities. This includes 11 programmes and projects under *Urban Furrows*, 7 of which were targeted specifically at disadvantaged neighbourhoods or communities.

Civil society groups and NGOs were involved from an early stage in planning and designing the programme, which is likely to have made a contribution to the diverse range of activities available, most of which were free of charge and many held in non-traditional venues including schools, empty shops and on the street. Some 300 schools and educational institutions took part in programme activities, with all Slovenian schools (from kindergarten to secondary) taking part at least twice.

Although volunteers were involved in specific events (e.g. under *Town Keys* and *Urban Furrows*) and in general promotional activities, the delivery agency did not implement a large-scale volunteer programme, with the final data showing 87 volunteers and 21 tutors and mentors. This may be linked to local employment legislation, or the fact that volunteering was not well-developed generally in Maribor before the title year, but it is likely that time and a lack of capacity also played a role.

Official tourism data, highlighted below, shows that ECoC has had a positive impact on tourism figures, with total increase of 26,462 foreign arrivals and 73,328 foreign overnight stays across all six partner cities between 2008 and 2012. The total number of overnight stays in the six partner cities increased by 59,238 between 2008 and 2012, with the greatest positive impacts seen in Maribor and Slovenj Gradec.

Table 4.11 Tourism data

	Arrivals			Overnight Stays		
	Domestic	Foreign	Total	Domestic	Foreign	Total
Maribor 2012	20226	102124	122350	46797	219532	266329
% change vs 2011	-5%	49%	36%	-18%	50%	30%
% change vs 2008	3%	27%	23%	-6%	28%	20%
Murska Sobota 2012	6527	6266	12793	12464	13846	26310
% change vs 2011	-25%	-4%	-16%	-25%	-5%	-16%
% change vs 2008	-18%	-18%	-18%	-19%	-4%	-12%
Novo Mesto 2012	7169	21542	28711	14688	49405	64093
% change vs 2011	-11%	-4%	-6%	-1%	0%	-1%
% change vs 2008	-28%	-1%	-10%	-25%	7%	-3%
Ptuj 2012	23935	31291	55226	69980	77531	146711
% change vs 2011	-7%	4%	-1%	-8%	14%	2%
% change vs 2008	-5%	5%	0%	-6%	7%	0%
Slovenj Gradec 2012	3201	3785	6986	7611	13487	21098
% change vs 2011	45%	18%	29%	57%	13%	26%
% change vs 2008	26%	18%	21%	27%	14%	19%
Velenje 2012	1675	5823	7498	3144	14014	17158
% change vs 2011	-31%	-26%	-27%	-30%	-20%	-22%
% change vs 2008	-6%	0%	-1%	2%	12%	10%
TOTAL - 6 CITIES	**62733**	**170831**	**233564**	**154684**	**387815**	**541699**
% change vs 2011	**-8%**	**23%**	**13%**	**-11%**	**26%**	**12%**
% change vs 2008	**-7%**	**15%**	**8%**	**-8%**	**18%**	**9%**

Source: Slovenian National Tourist Board

The delivery agency's own data records a 163% increase in daily visitors and an increase of 20% in the number of overnight stays, creating an estimated additional spend of €40m. Taken together it would appear that an on-going fall in the numbers of domestic visitors linked to the continuing economic crisis (corroborated by consultations with tourism agencies and businesses) has been mitigated by significant increases in foreign tourism.

The market research conducted by the delivery agency during 2012 contains the following quantitative information:

- 39% of visits to Maribor and partner cities in 2012 were solely due to ECoC (30% of all visits to Maribor were the sole result of ECoC, suggesting that this figure is higher in some of the partner cities).
- 11% of Slovenian citizens and 53% of Maribor residents attended at least 1 ECoC event (28% attended five or more, with residents of partner cities attending an average of 3.2 events (3.5 amongst Maribor residents).
- Only 7% of respondents were not aware of ECoC and more than 71% of citizens recognised the ECoC as a major cultural event.

There is however, little data available to support an assessment of the extent to which the other targets set in the original application (financial benefits from marketing, net jobs created and improvements in ICT literacy) have been achieved, although given the changes in programme scope and problems linked to finances, marketing and infrastructure it would appear that this is extremely unlikely.

A University of Ljubljana study exploring the preliminary economic effects of Maribor 2012[70] estimated that ECoC had a positive impact on the regional economy, though this was lower than originally foreseen. They estimate between €42m and €51m of added value and a return on investment of around 4:1 for each Euro of additional public investment in ECoC. The impact on employment is much less clear, while this investment should have created additional employment this is not supported by analysis of complementary data sources.

The most frequently mentioned effects of ECoC relate to softer impacts, such as the way Maribor city centre has been reinvigorated, but also the likely impact on the confidence and engagement of local residents, that they now have much greater demands and expectations for the cultural life of their city (and arguably also of local political structures).

The majority of respondents to the market research surveys agreed with the assessment that "Maribor can be proud that it was the European Capital of Culture" (4.5 on a scale of 1 to 5), and this is supported by our survey of project promoters and partners:

Table 4.12 To what extent has the European Capital of Culture improved the image of the city amongst local residents? (Each respondent could choose only ONE of the following responses.)

Response	Total	% of responses	%
1 Much better image	8		14 %
2 Slightly better image	28		49%
3 About the same	12		21 %
4 Worse image	4		7 %
5 Don't know	5		9%
Total respondents: 57 Skipped question: 0		0% 20% 40% 60% 80%	

Source: Ecorys survey

[70] Kovač and Srakar (2013) Effects of European Capital of Culture Maribor 2012 – Ex-Post Verification Study, University of Ljubljana Faculty of Economics

Table 4.13 To what extent has the European Capital of Culture improved the international image of the city? (Each respondent could choose only ONE of the following responses.)

Response	Total	% of responses	%
1 Much better image	5		9 %
2 Slightly better image	27		48 %
3 About the same	15		27 %
4 Worse image	2		4 %
5 Don't know	7		12 %
Total respondents: 56 Skipped question: 0		0% 20% 40% 60% 80%	

Source: Ecorys survey

4.6 Sustainability

4.6.1 Cultural activities

The primary focus of the delivery agency was on creating a sufficient body of activities during the title year itself. This would help to create a momentum or impulse for future development and it is certainly true that some of the cultural activities will continue after the title year. For example, the coordinators of *Urban Furrows* are continuing their work and have applied for funding to continue key parts of their programme, while the University of Maribor is continuing to fund some of the activities they developed for ECoC.

Many stakeholders commented that the most important legacy effects are related to the ideas and enthusiasm that were created by ECoC, as well as the networks and collaborations that were developed in the course of planning and implementation. In general, project promoters and partners are positive that aspects of their work and their co-operations will continue, which is likely to mean a more vibrant cultural life for Maribor and partner cities after 2012:

Table 4.14 Will the activities of your project continue after 2012? (Each respondent could choose only ONE of the following responses.)

Response	Total	% of responses	%
1 Yes – all activities will continue	23		36 %
2 Yes – some activities will continue	29		45 %
3 No	10		16 %
4 Don't know	2		3 %
Total respondents: 64 Skipped question: 0		0% 20% 40% 60% 80%	

Source: Ecorys survey

Table 4.15 Will new co-operations continue after the end of 2012? (Each respondent could choose only ONE of the following responses.)

Response	Total	% of responses	%
1 Yes – more co-operation in future	13		27 %
2 Yes –same level of co-operation	23		47 %
3 Yes – less co-operation	11		22 %
4 No further co-operation	1		2 %
5 Don't know	1		2 %
Total respondents: 49 Skipped question: 13		0% 20% 40% 60% 80%	

Source: Ecorys survey

Table 4.16 To what extent will the cultural life of the city be more vibrant after 2012 as a result of the European Capital of Culture? (Each respondent could choose only ONE of the following responses.)

Response	Total	% of responses	%
1 A lot more vibrant	5		9 %
2 Slightly more vibrant	31		54 %
3 About the same as before	12		21 %
4 Less vibrant	5		9 %
5 Don't know	4		7 %
Total respondents: 57 Skipped question: 0		0% 20% 40% 60% 80%	

Source: Ecorys survey

A major disappointment for many is that the high-profile urban infrastructure projects could not be implemented as planned including Maribor Art Gallery and MAKS Cultural Centre, Maribor City Library and refurbishment of the former Boris Kidrič factory as well as urban schemes such as upgrading the river embankment and building a new pedestrian bridge. There are however examples of new facilities created for future use, especially in the partner towns. This includes theatre developments in Novo Mesto and Murska Sobota, the Hugo Wolf museum in Slovenj Gradec and renovations of cultural facilities in Velenje. In Maribor itself there are some new small venues for art exhibitions and performances (mainly in venues provided by the municipality), the *Urban Furrows* team set up (and paid for) the CAAP centre, while the University is developing the RAZ:UM gallery as well as other physical schemes. The Info Point set up by Maribor 2012 will be used for the European Youth Capital in 2013. Nevertheless, given the fact that responsibility for infrastructure was retained by the municipalities, it is very difficult to disaggregate the total value of investment in cultural infrastructure, sites and facilities from budgetary data.

4.6.2 Cultural governance

The delivery agency is due to close at the end of June 2013 and at the time of writing there are no formal plans for legacy structures. Some of those consulted hope that another organisation will be able to continue the work of the Maribor 2012 public institute, which has published thoughts on how work developing culture in Eastern Slovenia should be continued. There is however no evidence of improved links or partnership working between culture and other social and economic sectors, outside the work of specific projects.

This general picture is reflected in the responses of project promoters and partners, who state that the governance of culture is either about the same or is likely to show only a modest improvement after the title year. Many also believe that the cultural and general infrastructure of Maribor and partner towns have not improved as a result of ECoC:

Table 4.17 To what extent will the governance of culture be better in the city after 2012 as a result of the European Capital of Culture? (Each respondent could choose only ONE of the following responses.)

Response	Total	% of responses	%
1 To a great extent	5		9 %
2 To a modest extent	16		29 %
3 About the same	20		36 %
4 Worse	7		12 %
5 Don't know	8		14%
Total respondents: 56 Skipped question: 0		0% 20% 40% 60% 80%	

Source: Ecorys survey

There is little evidence that ECoC strengthened the capacity of the cultural sector in Maribor and the partner towns significantly, outside the skills developed in applying for and administering project funding (and the monitoring requirements that go along with this) plus any new partnerships and networks that have been created in the course of carrying out activities. Project promoters and partners are most likely to state that ECoC projects have had a modest impact on their organisation's capacity:

Table 4.18 To what extent has your European Capital of Culture project(s) strengthened the capacity of your organisation to undertake future cultural events? (Each respondent could choose only ONE of the following responses.)

Response	Total	% of responses	%
1 To a great extent	14		23 %
2 To a modest extent	26		43 %
3 Not at all	9		15 %
4 It was not important to strengthen our capacity	11		18 %
5 Don't know	1		2 %
Total respondents: 61 Skipped question: 0		0% 20% 40% 60% 80%	

Source: Ecorys survey

Table 4.19 To what extent has the cultural infrastructure of the city improved as a result of the European Capital of Culture? (Each respondent could choose only ONE of the following responses.)

Response	Total	% of responses	%
1 To a great extent	1		2 %
2 To a modest extent	14		25 %
3 About the same	12		21 %
4 Not at all	25		45 %
5 The cultural infrastructure would have improved anyway	0		0 %
6 Don't know	4		7 %
Total respondents: 55 Skipped question: 0		0% 20% 40% 60% 80%	

Source: Ecorys survey

Table 4.20 To what extent has the general infrastructure of the city improved as a result of the European Capital of Culture? (Each respondent could choose only ONE of the following responses.)

Response	Total	% of responses	%
1 To a great extent	1		2 %
2 To a modest extent	11		20 %
3 About the same	14		25 %
4 Not at all	26		46 %
5 The general infrastructure would have improved anyway	1		2 %
6 Don't know	3		5 %
Total respondents: 55 Skipped question: 0		0% 20% 40% 60% 80%	

Source: Ecorys survey

4.6.3 Long-term strategy

ECoC had much less impact on urban, social and economic development than originally hoped, meaning that the long-term effects are likely to be modest. it is much too early to say conclusively what the longer-term effects of ECoC might be for Maribor and partner towns. After mass demonstrations in Maribor at the turn of the year and resulting collapse of the previous (local) Government, the political situation remains volatile and the economic outlook remains negative. With the expiry of the Cultural Development Programme for the city of Maribor in 2011, at the time of writing there are no formal long-term plans for cultural development in place (at least not in Maribor, where the cultural budget for 2013 is back to the level seen in 2010). The lack of long-term planning or a legacy body combined with reduced cultural budgets means that the recent increase in cultural activities may well not be sustained in coming years.

4.7 Conclusions

4.7.1 Success of the ECoC

Maribor 2012 implemented an extensive and innovative cultural programme, which represents a significant achievement by the management and staff of the delivery agency given the time, resources and infrastructure available. This included many completely new cultural activities with a strong emphasis on new forms of creative expression and interdisciplinary working, as well as a highly collaborative, participatory approach bringing international operators together with local organisations, artists and citizens.

Among the highlights were the *Town Keys* and *Urban Furrows* strands. *Town Keys* used multiple forms of creative expression to bring people back into the city centres, while a number of other elements of the programme brought cultural events to unconventional venues. *Urban Furrows* developed a number of template projects designed to explore complex social and ecological issues and test practical locally-based solutions.

While the programme retained a number of the elements contained in the original application, it represents a comprehensive reorganisation of the concept, branding and structure. It is however difficult to conclude that the final programme was inconsistent with the original application as the original application was so broad, including an extremely lengthy list of potential activities and regional cultural assets. The final programme certainly represented a much more coherent and structured cultural programme.

Maribor 2012's successful use of co-productions was partly a consequence of the lack of resources and time available to develop a comprehensive cultural programme in-house. However they managed to leverage the resources and expertise of external partners (especially in the context of the Cultural Embassies 'entity'), while ensuring that the activities implemented were consistent with their own and EU level objectives for ECoC.

Levels of awareness, participation and engagement with the project were high and the ECoC gradually built support from citizens, media partners and other stakeholders. This is considering a rather inauspicious start, characterised by negative publicity and widespread scepticism about the probability of its successful implementation.

At certain points there was a real danger that the entire project would be jeopardised by the conflicts over institutional structures, funding commitments and infrastructure problems. The programme was developed and implemented without strong local leadership or even support from municipal and national partners, but this also meant that the delivery agency had a considerable amount of autonomy to develop the project as they saw fit.

Although most of the infrastructure projects did not proceed, the programme teams retained the aspiration to use ECoC as a means of supporting urban and regional development. This resulted in the development of a diverse range of activities aimed at revitalising (if not rebuilding) city centres through culture.

Several of the partner cities were very positive about their involvement in ECoC. It clearly had a major positive impact for the smaller towns, some of which attracted large numbers of visitors and developed confidence in their cultural assets and ideas for new types of cultural and tourism development.

ICT and the creative economy were core elements of the original application, and the delivery agency made extensive use of online and social media in order to drive interest in ECoC as well as promoting new forms of engagement (for example under *Lifetouch*). This was given extra impetus by the lack of sufficient resources and time for a comprehensive international marketing strategy.

Maribor 2012 did not meet all its original social and economic goals, but these were in many ways over-ambitious. ECoC certainly made a positive contribution in key areas. For example, the increase in foreign visitors more than offset reductions in the domestic market, while we have anecdotal evidence from consultations of the benefits experienced by tourism and hospitality businesses in the town centres. The core result and impact indicators for Maribor 2012 are set out below.

Table 4.21 Core Result Indicators

Specific objective	Result indicators
SO1: Enhance the range, diversity and European dimension of the cultural offer in cities, including through transnational co-operation	Total number of events: **405 projects and 5,264 events** € value of ECoC cultural programmes: **€21.9m** No. of European cross-border co-operations within ECoC cultural programme: **128 projects involved European partners, 71 as co-producers** Proportion of artists from abroad and from the host country featuring in the cultural programme: **319 co-producers**[71] **Cultural Embassies involved 80 organisations from 31 countries plus 35 organisations from Maribor and partner towns**
SO2: Widen access to and participation in culture	Attendance at ECoC events: **Total audience of 4.5m (3.1m in 2012), plus 2.8m visitors to the web site.** % of residents attending or participating in events, including young, disadvantaged or "culturally inactive" people: **11% of Slovenian citizens and 53% of Maribor residents attended at least one event, 300 schools and educational institutions took part**[72] Number of active volunteers: **87 volunteers and 21 tutors / mentors**
SO3: Strengthen the capacity of the cultural and creative sector and its connectivity with other sectors	€ value of investment in cultural infrastructure, sites and facilities: **Complete data not available** Sustained multi-sector partnership for cultural governance: **No information** Strategy for long-term cultural development of the city: **No strategy for long-term cultural development post 2012**
SO4: Improve the international profile of cities through culture	Increase in tourist visits: **Official data records 233,564 tourist visits and 541,699 overnight stays across all six partner cities, an increase of 13% and 12% respectively over 2011**[73]**.** **Delivery agency's own data records 163% increase in daily visitors and an increase of 20% in the number of overnight stays, creating an estimated additional spend of €40m.** Volume and % of positive media coverage of cities: **12,260 items**

[71] Includes organisations , cultural operators and artists from Slovenia and further afield, not broken down by country
[72] All Slovenian schools (from kindergarten to secondary) took part twice
[73] Slovenian National Tourism Board (foreign tourism increased while domestic tourism decreased)

Specific objective	Result indicators
	(13,907 including trails) in print, digital and online media, 83% positive Awareness of the ECoC amongst residents: **According to survey, 93% aware of ECoC and 71% of citizens recognised the European Capital of Culture as a major cultural event. 39% of visits to Maribor and partner cities were solely due to ECoC.**

Source: Maribor 2012 (and partners such as National Tourist Board of Slovenia)

Table 4.22 Core Impact Indicators

General objective	Impact indicators
Safeguard and promote the diversity of European cultures, highlight the common features they share, and foster the contribution of culture to the long-term development of cities	Citizens' perceptions of being European and/or awareness of European culture The city did not collect this information, therefore data is not available.
	National / international recognition of cities as being culturally-vibrant (e.g. peer reception, positive media coverage) and having improved image **Majority of survey respondents agreed with the assessment that "Maribor can be proud that it was the European Capital of Culture', rating of 4.5 on a scale of 1 to 5. No information on international recognition**

Source: Maribor 2012

4.7.2 Lessons Learned

- While it is quite common for successful ECoC bidders to enter the development stage with a very broad set of activities and aspirations, this should be accompanied by a detailed timescale, setting out when more concrete details will need to be finalised and arrangements for the provision of more regular feedback on progress (perhaps in the context of an annual implementation plan). It appears likely that from the beginning there was insufficient shared understanding of ECoC's ambitions or how it would be delivered in practice. It is reasonable to ask bidders, at an earlier stage of the process, for a more concrete idea of the eventual institutional form for delivery.

- The wide variety of partners involved in the Maribor application clearly had very different aims and aspirations (some have suggested a different understanding of the ECoC project). The lack of a clear focus is likely to have been at least partly the result of Maribor 2012's regional approach, with the partner towns each having their own cultural assets and policy priorities. This had serious consequences during the development phase though it could arguably have been mitigated by stronger local leadership or more intensive approach to partnership building, such as more formal agreements setting out the commitments and contributions of all partners.

- The local political environment was clearly not conducive to the implementation of a successful ECoC, with disagreements over institutional forms, financial commitments and infrastructure investments delaying implementation. This condensed the period of programme development and limited curtain-raising events and other complementary activity such as international marketing and commercial sponsorship generation.

- Slovenia's decision to implement a selection panel at national level was motivated by the desire to ensure a fair and transparent nomination process. However, the competitive element may have magnified local rivalries, most frequently expressed as doubts about fairness and transparency. This appears to have acted as a distraction during the development process, particularly when progress in preparing for the title year was delayed.

- There was a lack of clear financial commitments and expectations at the start of the national selection process. A great deal of the budgetary information in the application was aspirational (and some have said unrealistic) rather than realistic or concrete commitments, which meant that the economic crisis and political instability would have a major impact on the resources available as well as the scope of the final project and prospects for longer-term sustainability of effects.

- Many previous ECoC have successfully obtained and managed additional EU funding and the fact that this was not done in Maribor represents a missed opportunity. The lack of expertise and capacity in obtaining and managing EU funds such as ERDF and ESF was compounded by tensions between national and municipal Governments over commitments and procedures. This experience highlights the necessity of enlisting the support of ERDF and ESF managing authorities at an early stage, subject to the applicable timetables.

- Each ECoC has to find its own balance between accountability and flexibility in line with the national and local context. In the case of Maribor 2012 it was felt that a public institute would provide a greater guarantee of accountability in the management of public funds. Staff of the delivery agency felt that this was not the most appropriate organisational form for delivering ECoC since it brought with it the need to follow complex and time-consuming procedures for the disbursement of public monies and management of contracts.

Conclusions and recommendations

5.0 Conclusions and recommendations

5.1 Conclusions

We offer here a set of conclusions and recommendations based on our considerations of the 2012 ECoC but which relate to the implementation of the ECoC Action as a whole.

5.1.1 Relevance

ECoC remains of key importance and thus of significant relevance for the EU Treaty, particularly Article 167, through contributing to the flowering of Member State cultures, highlighting common cultural heritage as well as cultural diversity and increasing cultural co-operation between Member States and internationally.

The ECoC concept continues to be of relevance to the objectives of the EU and a range of local stakeholders in the title cities. This relevance relates in particular to: promoting the European dimension of culture; developing the range and diversity of cities' cultural offerings; enhancing social development and citizenship; and promoting the international profile and economic development of cities (including through increased profile and increased visitor numbers for example).

The ECoC Action remains complementary to other EU culture initiatives, especially the Culture Programme 2007-2013 and the MEDIA Programme (and their successors under the proposed Creative Europe Programme). Importantly, it also contributes to achieving the objectives set for the European Agenda for Culture through promoting cultural diversity, developing international cultural links and increasing the role of culture in the long-term development of European cities.

The ECoC Action complements other European programmes especially in fields such as youth, citizenship, education and training and regional development. In particular, the experience of Guimarães in 2012 demonstrates the potential of ECoC to be reinforced by and add value to investments made by the ERDF. Many previous ECoC have used ERDF funding for infrastructure developments, but in the case of Guimarães 2012 as much as 70% of the total funding came from the ERDF. This was possible because local and regional decision-makers demonstrated the complementarity of ECoC with ERDF regional priorities; and at an early stage identified ECoCs's ability to support strategic investment in regional development. The experience of Guimarães shows that ERDF resources allowed stability of funding for ECoC during a time of severe economic crisis in Portugal. Bringing the two initiatives together was clearly not without its problems, so it is likely that valuable lessons have been learned in this area.

Maribor's bid was built around a regional concept, partly because of the need to ensure a large enough population base for ECoC. In general, representatives of the partner towns were very positive about their involvement in ECoC and made use of the opportunity to develop their cultural offer and infrastructure. However, the cultural programme differed in each town, with few examples of common projects and activities and spending distributed over a wide geographical area. This is likely to constrain the achievement of a 'critical mass' of impacts with the funding available, and the quantitative data suggests that Maribor benefitted most directly from the social and economic impacts of ECoC.

5.1.2 Efficiency

In 2012 one city was awarded the title through a national competition (Maribor) while the other (Guimarães) was appointed by the Portuguese Government. The experience of 2012 shows that hosting a national competition does not (certainly not alone) guarantee a more successful ECoC, with other factors such as strong local leadership, effective partnerships and continuity of funding in the development phase likely to be of critical importance.

In the case of Maribor the competitive element appears to have magnified local rivalries and raised doubts about fairness and transparency in some quarters, which may have acted as a distraction during the development process. The Portuguese Government decision to nominate Guimarães directly was generally well accepted by other cities and the wider public at least in part because Lisbon and Porto had already hosted the title.

Although the current monitoring arrangements are a significant improvement on those of previous years, they still do not ensure that cities fulfil all the commitments made at application, first monitoring and second monitoring stage (therefore also in respect to the award of the Melina Mercouri Prize). In retrospect, some of the expectations around eventual funding and performance targets for Maribor have been shown to have been unrealistic, or at the very least extremely ambitious, though this should have been reasonably clear and could have been identified at an earlier stage.

The experiences of 2012 once again highlight the significant challenges posed by the governance and management of ECoC and the role of political influences, organisational uncertainty and staff turnover. This is perhaps inevitable due to the nature and time-scale of ECoC; but 2012 also highlighted the importance of the city and other authorities providing consistent support and showing strong backing and commitment so that any difficulties can be quickly identified and addressed.

The funding necessary to achieve expected results continues to vary significantly between cities. Maribor originally planned to spend €57.4 million and actually spent about half of that amount (€28.4 million). For Guimarães the budget planned at application stage was delivered in practice with €41.5 million eventually spent. Compared with cities hosting the title in previous years both 2012 cities delivered below average budgets, though a number of previous ECoC have delivered the title for even less (e.g. Tallinn, Vilnius and Sibiu).

In Maribor's case, anticipated ERDF funding for infrastructure did not materialise, but there were also reductions in funding from other municipal and national sources, as well as from other public and private sources (especially commercial sponsorship). To a certain extent, this reflected difficult economic conditions, though the time available for revenue-generating was severely curtailed. Despite this, Maribor was able to deliver an effective cultural programme, principally through the extensive use of co-productions.

Guimarães was able to fund its ECoC largely through the Structural Funds (accounting for 70% of expenditure) since the priorities of the North Region Operational Programme coincided with ECoC objectives around supporting the development of cultural and creative industries and investing in the economic development of the region.

At European level, the ECoC Action continues to be very cost-effective when compared to other EU policy instruments and mechanisms, given the very modest EU funding available from the Melina Mercouri Prize. Although the Prize represents a relatively modest proportion of the overall ECoC budgets for both cities, the financial challenges facing each meant that it was highly appreciated in each case. In addition, the Prize has a strong symbolic value and recognises the progress made by the cities during the development phase. However, the experience from Maribor shows that the current arrangements do not prevent cities from reducing budgets after the Prize is awarded, so the Commission proposal to issue Prize funds during the title year itself is likely to make some contribution to cities honouring their commitments up to that point.

5.1.3 Effectiveness

The 2012 ECoC both succeeded in implementing cultural programmes that were more extensive, innovative and international (e.g. in terms of themes, artists/performers and audiences) than the usual cultural offering in each city. They explored new themes, highlighted the richness and diversity of each city's cultural offering, used new or unusual venues and reached out to citizens. This is a significant achievement when taking into account the size of each city, the extremely difficult financial situations they found themselves in and the political instability in Maribor.

Maribor 2012 implemented an extensive and innovative cultural programme, which represents a significant achievement given the time, resources and infrastructure available. This included many completely new cultural activities with a strong emphasis on new forms of creative expression and interdisciplinary working, as well as a highly collaborative, participatory approach bringing international operators together with local organisations, artists and citizens. Guimarães was successful in delivering a cultural programme incorporating many new and innovative cultural activities. It was successful in engaging city residents, attracting national and international visitors as well as increasing the offer of cultural experiences produced in the city.

One of the key success factors for both cities was engaging citizens. Guimarães 2012 received significant support, energy and active involvement from city residents, who saw the title year as one of the key milestones reinvigorating the city, enhancing its role nationally as well as increasing its visibility internationally. The communication style and logo were key success factors here. Maribor too eventually achieved high levels of awareness, participation and engagement and gradually built support from citizens, media partners and other stakeholders, to overcome early negative publicity and widespread scepticism.

The European dimension of the cultural programme in both cities was of mostly related to the efforts to support transnational cultural co-operation and to support some internationalisation of the cities' cultural sectors. Whilst European themes were present in both ECoC, these tended to relate to specific strands or individual projects rather than permeating the entire cultural programme. It is unrealistic to expect ECoC to have marked out Guimarães and Maribor as major European cultural destinations (at least not after the title year) and while ECoC had a positive impact on wider perceptions of both cities and tourism promotion, the lack of intensive international promotion represents something of a missed opportunity in both cities. Furthermore, there was less extensive cooperation between the two ECoC than hoped, though there is limited potential for extending linkages in cases such as this where distances are great or there are no historical or cultural links.

The strong political support that Guimarães 2012 received from the city administration contributed significantly to its success. This was reflected through the commitment to the development of cultural infrastructure projects, support and close cooperation for the management team and significant support for the delivery of the culture projects. The ECoC was seen as a strategic project by the city administration and significant effort was devoted to ensuring its successful implementation. In Maribor's case the same level of support was not so apparent and success was achieved largely by the delivery agency acting alone (albeit with the support of multiple co-producers).

Both cities were able to point to increases in visitor numbers, which contributed significantly to local economic activity. Some 39% of visits to Maribor and partner cities in 2012 were solely due to ECoC and in Maribor the increase in foreign visitors more than offset reductions in the domestic market, while businesses in the town centres experienced tangible benefits. There was a 120% increase in visitors to tourist information offices in Guimarães and over 25% of visitors reportedly indicated that ECoC was one of the reasons they visited the city.

5.1.4 Sustainability

In both cities, cultural operators have gained valuable skills and experience and there are likely to be moderate effects in terms of enhancing the cities' cultural offer. Continued impacts on cultural governance appear unlikely however, reinforcing the need for long-term strategy to be incorporated in selection and monitoring processes under the proposed new legal basis for ECoC[74].

[74] European Commission (2012), Proposal for a Decision of the European Parliament and of the Council Establishing a Union Action for the European Capitals of Culture for the Years 2020 to 2033. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/culture/our-programmes-and-actions/doc/ecoc/ec-proposal-post-2019.pdf

In both cases sustainability appears far from secure, not least because of the uncertain economic situation. In Maribor, the political situation remains volatile, the economic outlook remains negative and lack of long-term planning or a legacy body (after June 2013) combined with reduced cultural budgets means that it will be difficult to maintain the recent increase in cultural activities or the increased levels of public engagement with culture.

Guimarães has no long-term culture strategy in place, and the City Foundation that managed the ECoC will be disbanded at the end of 2013. However negotiations are taking place between the local authority, national Government and university on setting up a cooperative framework for ensuring the sustainability of governance structures. It is also likely that the local authority, together with A Oficina, will be able to ensure the continuation of certain key activities.

5.2 Recommendations

Here we have emphasised newly-emerging recommendations from this year's evaluation, though a number of recommendations from previous ECoC may well still be relevant. This is especially the case for the recommendations to continue the ECoC as a high-profile and symbolic initiative of the EU, to develop stronger links between delivering the commitments at the selection phase and awarding the Melina Mercouri Prize, to consider ways for further dissemination of good practice among past, present and future cities hosting the title, and to consider further research into long-term impacts of the ECoC.

1 The transparency of selection procedures at national level has been addressed in the 2006 Decision with the establishment of two-stage national competitions involving a European selection panel, starting from the 2013 ECoC. However, it is important when implementing a national competition to ensure processes that are fair and transparent (and seen as such by cities, partners and stakeholders), if the potential advantages of pre-selection are to be realised.

2 ECoC continue to struggle to establish their institutional arrangements in good time, and while both 2012 cities managed to develop strong cultural programmes this reduced the time available for critical complementary activities. If the potential wider economic benefits of ECoC are to be maximised, future ECoC need to be able to begin international marketing and commercial revenue generation strategies at a much earlier point.

3 The need for regular and recognised progress in the development phase (in order to pre-empt some of the problems documented in this evaluation) means that it may be desirable to consider annual implementation plans or more regular reporting milestones than those set out under the strengthened monitoring procedures within the proposed new legal basis for ECoC.

4 The demand for clearer commitments from a range of partners (e.g. from other national ministries and managing authorities of EU funding programmes) is a recurring issue for ECoC. Though it is impractical to expecting binding financial commitments of Member States and municipalities (both under the current legal basis and in the present economic environment), applicants should be encouraged to clearly state what funding is committed and what is 'hoped for' in their applications.

5 Ways should be explored to provide more detailed guidance to successful applicants (and stakeholders at national and European level) on the potential for ECoC to make use of other EU programmes and funds as well as public funding from a variety of sources at national level. This should be informed by the practical experiences of Guimarães in obtaining ERDF funding, but also the problems experienced by Maribor in obtaining additional public funding.

6 Given ECoC's considerable potential to support synergies with a wide diversity of themes and issues, ensure that best practice guidance includes case study examples of successful interdisciplinary projects showing how a variety of themes (e.g. social inclusion, intercultural dialogue, ecology, local economic development) can be addressed without negatively affecting artistic and cultural quality.

7 To reinforce the requirement for each city to increase their links with ECoC of the same year in cases where there is a significant geographical distance or few cultural and historical links between the cities. In such cases links with previous and future ECoC may be more feasible and valuable, though any new relationships should always be additional to existing working relationships.

8 Reinforce to cities the need to develop more concrete legacy structures and arrangements, as set out in the proposed new legal basis for ECoC. While it is legitimate to use ECoC in order to symbolise a new start (e.g. the "Turning Point" in Maribor), without a renewed focus there is a clear danger that momentum will be lost and citizens and cultural partners will be disappointed.

9 Cities should be encouraged to undertake their own research and to develop evidence of the achievement of ECoC objectives. The core research tasks should include resident and visitor surveys before, during and after the title year and providing evidence that is useful to demonstrate success at national and European levels, including in terms of the European dimension and citizen engagement. The European Commission should also consider developing guidance and key requirements for such evaluations.

Post-script: measuring impacts

6.0 Post-Script: measuring impacts

6.1 Introduction

A requirement of the Terms of Reference for this evaluation was to assess the impact of the two ECoC for 2012 and learn lessons from their experience. In addition to the findings relating specifically to 2012, there are, however, a set of lessons that emerge from the experience of ECoC across the years. Previous evaluations of the ECoC have captured some of these lessons in a series of post-scripts covering "lessons in delivery", "the European dimension", "leaving a legacy" and "fostering the participation of citizens". Together, these post-scripts constitute a rich resource for future applicants and title-holders as well as for those responsible for the future development of the initiative at European level.

To complement this resource, we now present a set of reflections on lessons learnt with respect to measurement and evaluation at the local level. This draws mainly on the experience of cities covered by this evaluation and those holding the title between 2007 and 2011, as well as other relevant studies[75] and information, including the work of the European Capitals of Culture Policy Group[76].

6.2 Why is measuring impact important?

The proposed new legal basis for ECoC[77] introduces new evaluation obligations for the cities themselves, which are designed to provide a more comprehensive perspective on the impacts of the title and also to provide comparable data. Evaluation of the results of each ECoC will be the responsibility of the city concerned (i.e. the responsible authority at municipal level, though in some cases this could be done at regional level). Evaluation reports are to be submitted to the European Commission by 31 October of the year following the ECoC and will be published. The Commission will develop guidelines and indicators for individual ECoC, and this post-script aims to contribute to that process by highlighting observations from previous evaluations and studies, as well as areas requiring further discussion.

The proposed new legal basis suggests there is an absence of measurement mechanisms implemented by cities themselves and thus a lack of primary data to inform a comprehensive and comparable view of the impact of individual ECoC and the initiative overall. This is not to say that ECoC are failing to have sufficient impact, but rather that there is a shortage of evidence, and that there is potential to bolster the strong qualitative evidence that has been collected in the course of the evaluations with quantitative data in key areas.

In general terms ECoC cities are most likely to collect output data (number of projects, events, participants, spend etc.) and to provide descriptive information on their cultural programme. This is often complemented by different types of research dealing with aspects of impact, most frequently in terms of the economy, tourism, marketing and infrastructure effects, with less focus on cultural impacts and support for the European dimension.

[75] i.e. Ecorys (2011) Consultancy services in support of the Staff Working Paper for the European Capitals of Culture post-2019 and the Interim evaluation of selection and monitoring procedures of European Capitals of Culture (ECoC) 2010-2016

[76] ECOC Policy Group (2009-2010) An international framework of good practice in research and delivery of the European Capital of Culture programme

[77] European Commission (2012), Proposal for a Decision of the European Parliament and of the Council Establishing a Union Action for the European Capitals of Culture for the Years 2020 to 2033. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/culture/our-programmes-and-actions/doc/ecoc/ec-proposal-post-2019.pdf

Any future guidance on evaluation will need to make sure that in demonstrating impact both national interests as well as the need for evaluation at European level are addressed. At the local level, a more consistent approach to evaluation should enable cities to demonstrate impact and the ways in which they have optimised cultural, social and economic benefits. This is of key important in demonstrating the effect the title has for the development of the city. It will be important to foster local ownership of targets, assisting cities in planning and negotiation with partners and providing an incentive for future ECoC to set meaningful and achievable targets.

At European level, there is a need to understand how individual ECoC contribute to the objectives of the action, whether they have broadly achieved their objectives, whether implementation has proceeded in line with the original application and how the programme could be improved at European level. More consistent data should also enable comparisons between cities and the identification of strong performance, further encouraging knowledge transfer between cities. It would also contribute to the existing evidence base on the ability of ECoC and cultural initiatives to support the EU's wider goals especially those identified in the Europe 2020 strategy and European Agenda for Culture.

Although cities that have recently hosted the title did not have a formal obligation to evaluate the programme, many launched their own research projects to assess the impact that the title had on their cities. For example, Liverpool, Turku and Essen for the Ruhr implemented extensive evaluation projects aiming to capture not only immediate effects but also longer-term impacts. In addition, many ECoC (including cities that hosted the title in 2012) put in place monitoring processes allowing assessment of the shorter-term effects of the title year. The experience of previous cities, the ECoC evaluations undertaken by Ecorys and the work of the European Capitals of Culture Policy Groupprovides some valuable insights in terms of the key issues that need to be taken into account when developing an effective evaluation strategy.

6.3 Planning an evaluation

It is important to ensure that planning for the evaluation starts early on during the process. In this context, cities need to take a number of organisational parameters into account, including the duration of the evaluation, how much funding should be allocated to it, and allocating responsibility for undertaking it. Crucially, a decision needs to be made about what kind of evaluation is needed. Cities that have hosted the title previously have approached this in different ways. For example, Liverpool's 2008 research programme started in 2005, Stavanger 2008 started its evaluation programme in 2006 and Luxembourg 2007 started undertaking research in 2005. Some cities start their evaluation programme about a year before the start of their cultural programme e.g. Essen for the Ruhr 2010 and Turku 2011. Guimarães 2012 started implementing an evaluation programme just before the start of the title year. Timely implementation of the evaluation helps to ensure that appropriate organisational arrangements are put in place, the funding is planned and allocated and it also allows time to establish data collection and analysis frameworks as well as the baseline position.

Deciding how long the evaluation process should last is also an important aspect of the planning phase. While ECoC is aimed at creating long-term impacts for the city development, most of the time the research focus is on observing short-term effects. Only two ECoC, Liverpool 2008 and Turku 2011, have undertaken longitudinal research lasting several years after the end of the title year. In most of the cities, evaluation is completed around six to twelve months following the end of the title year and this, at least in part, reflects the need at local level to demonstrate the results of the year as early as possible. The balance between pressures to demonstrate quick results and the need to undertake thorough analysis and quality evaluation should therefore be weighed carefully and taken into account at the planning stage. The European Capitals of Culture Policy Group suggested that an evaluation programme should be in place for between one and

two years after the title year has finished to ensure a thorough assessment, while a three to four year evaluation would be needed in order to properly observe long-term impacts[78].

Securing the necessary funding for evaluative research is often a challenge in many cities, not least because of budgetary constraints linked in part to the economic crisis of recent years. However, in the long term, investing in research is likely to bring a number of benefits such as the ability to demonstrate the impact of the cultural offer in terms of attracting additional funding, justifying the value of public spending and understanding what initiatives and/or projects make a difference to the city. It is therefore important to identify and secure funding for the evaluation early in the development phase.

Establishing which organisation will undertake the evaluation is another crucial step that should be taken during the development phase. Independence, transparency and avoiding any conflict of interests are important criteria in this respect and it should therefore be considered good practice to commission an organisation not related to the delivery agency. Often, local universities undertake this role - this was the case in Liverpool 2008, Turku 2011 and Guimarães 2012. Other public or private research organisations undertook the evaluative research in Stavanger 2007, Luxembourg 2007, Essen for the Ruhr 2010 and Istanbul 2010. Similarly, defining clear roles and responsibilities between the organisation undertaking evaluation and delivery agency should be given due consideration, especially in relation to collecting output data, communication and other issues.

Decisions concerning the type of evaluation that should be undertaken will also be a significant consideration at this stage. Here, such pertinent questions will include: whether the evaluation should focus only on the city or cover a wider region; what thematic areas or issues the evaluation should cover; whether the evaluation should focus on quantitative or qualitative research or mixture of both; what indicators should be used to demonstrate effects.

While an evaluation brings significant benefits, efforts should also be made to avoid a number of potentially more negative aspects. Increasing the importance of the evaluation can have an impact where, in developing the cultural programme, tried and tested activities might be prioritised over more ambitious and experimental ones. Similarly, it is important to avoid a situation where the programme is developed to achieve 'easy wins' instead of addressing more challenging issues.

6.4 Choosing indicators

The indicators used for the evaluation should be developed taking into account the objectives that ECoC aims to achieve. A hierarchy of objectives is currently applied to the EU-level evaluations (see chapter two of this report). Similarly the objectives for ECoC post-2019 are presented in the Commission proposal for a new legal base[79]. A number of core indicators to assess achievement of objectives have also been suggested by Ecorys[80]. These have been used in the course of the 2012 evaluation to define indicators and collect useful quantitative evidence able to support an assessment of individual ECoC and the initiative overall. An overview of such indicators is presented below.

To assess the range of activities and diversity of the cultural offer, information on the **total number of events** and the **value of the ECoC cultural programme** is collected by all ECoC. In terms of the number of events, future evaluations should focus on the difference between the number of events in the title year (and ideally in the lead-in period), compared with a baseline period (e.g. an estimate of the total number of cultural

[78] ECOC Policy Group (2009-2010) An international framework of good practice in research and delivery of the European Capital of Culture programme

[79] European Commission (2012), Proposal for a Decision of the European Parliament and of the Council Establishing a Union Action for the European Capitals of Culture for the Years 2020 to 2033. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/culture/our-programmes-and-actions/doc/ecoc/ec-proposal-post-2019.pdf

[80] The core indicators were first presented in Ex-post Evaluation of 2010 European Capitals of Culture. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/culture/documents/pdf/ecoc/ecoc_2010_final_report.pdf

events available in the city at application stage). The value of the cultural programme is generally provided as an overall figure and as a proportion of total expenditure by the delivery agency. Again, this should be compared with the annual culture budget / public subsidy for culture at the application stage, to ensure that this is placed in its proper national and local context. Another key piece of evidence relating to impact would be aggregate information on the **additional financial contributions obtained from public, private and third sector partners**.

In terms of the European dimension, many recent ECoC[81] provide details of the number of events with a specific European theme or involving international collaborations. However, this information is generally only available for a specific European or transnational element of the programme rather then for all the projects of the cultural programme. Of greater value would be an estimate of the numbers of **new cross-border collaborations, co-productions and exchanges involving local and international operators** (artists, operators or organisations) across the entire programme. Other ECoC have reported on the numbers of local and international artists included in their cultural programme, but this is arguably of less significance than the number of new transnational partnerships.

Most ECoC[82] provide an estimate of the total audience size for events that took place during the title year (and often during the lead-in period). In this case it would be important to compare this with a baseline estimate of the total audience for cultural events at application stage. Several recent ECoC (e.g. Turku 2011, Essen for the Ruhr 2010) have undertaken surveys in order to calculate **the proportion of local residents actively participating in events**. If the research on attendance is undertaken at key stages (i.e. application, start and end of title year) this is arguably of greater relevance than aggregate attendance data. This could also be compared with national or international comparators. It is likely to be more problematic to collect information on the proportions of key target groups taking part, and it may be advisable for each ECoC to develop their own specific targets, informed by local priorities. Nevertheless, ECoC should be encouraged to collect data on numbers of schools taking part in the programme and numbers of people attending events targeted specifically at under-represented groups.

The **number of active volunteers** is a key measure of participation and is regularly provided by ECoC, through a range of different approaches, and measurement methods therefore vary. For example, most ECoC collect data on the number of registered persons in the volunteering programme of the delivery agency (Guimarães 2012), while others collect data for the proportion of active volunteers (Tallinn 2011). In addition, Turku 2011 collected data on both registered volunteers and those who contributed to individual projects. Any guidelines issued by the Commission would need to identify a standardised measure for 'active volunteers'.

Some of the most relevant measures to assess the extent to which the ECoC cultural programmes contribute towards increasing the capacity of the cultural and creative sector are qualitative in nature, especially the existence of a sustained multi-sector partnership for cultural governance and a strategy for long-term cultural development of the city. Many ECoC[83] collect information on the **value of investment in cultural infrastructure, sites and facilities.** This is a key indicator of longer-term sustainability and should be included in the guidance prepared by the Commission.

ECoC provide a variety of information on tourism impacts, although the key performance measure to assess improved international profile of the city would arguably be **the increase in all tourist visits** (day visits and overnight stays), both overall and broken down by domestic/international where possible. This should be collected at key stages of the process and contextualised against wider tourism trends.

[81] Some examples include: Maribor 2012, Tallinn 2011, Turku 2011, Essen for the Ruhr 2010.
[82] Some examples include: Guimarães 2012, Maribor 2012, Tallinn 2011, Turku 2011, Essen for the Ruhr 2010, Pécs 2010 and Istanbul 2010.
[83] Some examples include: Guimarães 2012, Tallinn 2011, Pécs 2010 and Istanbul 2010.

Most recent ECoC have collected information on both **the volume and tone** (% positive/neutral/negative) **of coverage across media channels** and these are key indicators of the effectiveness of awareness raising efforts. For example, such data have been collected in Maribor 2012.

As with attendance, many recent ECoC report on **levels of awareness of amongst local and national residents**. This could be done as part of the same resident survey mentioned above, at key stages of the process and ideally for both local and national audiences.

The general objective set out for ECoC to safeguard and promote the diversity of European cultures, highlight common features they share, and foster the contribution of culture to the long-term development of cities aims at longer-term impacts, seeking to contribute in areas where ECoC is only one of many activities and phenomena likely to exert an influence. Information on **citizens' perceptions of being European** and/or **awareness of European culture** has been collected in some ECoCs (e.g. Istanbul 2010). It is possible to ask local residents for their subjective views on feelings of "Europeanness" and awareness of European culture, comparing views at key stages (i.e. before and after the title year) or asking a question about the impact they felt ECoC had on their perceptions or level of awareness.

Another indicator in this area is the level of **national and international recognition of cities** as being culturally vibrant and having an improved image. A wide variety of data has been collected in this area, reflecting the varying objectives of individual ECoC (i.e. put the city on the European map, address a negative image, increase local pride). These are clearly not relevant to all ECoC, so it may be better for cities to nominate their own indicator(s) in this area, providing they meet SMART[84] criteria, subject to approval by the European monitoring panel during the development phase.

6.5 Principles relating to measurement and evaluation

In addition to the considerations presented above, the following principles should be taken into account when developing an evaluation approach by the cities:

- Avoid creating onerous requirements by defining a small number of common measurement indicators applicable to all ECoC.
- Cities should define a set of complementary indicators informed by their own priorities, activities and context. All indicators should be consistent with SMART principles.
- Approaches to evaluation and data gathering should be defined at the local level, though advice should be made available if needed.
- Cities should suggest performance targets, subject to the approval of monitoring panel.
- Quantitative data should take account of baselines (i.e. at application stage, start of title year, end of title year) and regional or national comparators where available.
- Data should be analysed and contextualised, to understand what contribution ECoC is likely to have made, and identify other factors and phenomena likely to have had an influence.
- Evaluation is not about highlighting areas of under-performance, but encouraging cities to take ownership of evaluation and build a more reliable and consistent picture of impact.

[84] SMART is an abbreviation for specific, measurable, achievable, relevant, time-oriented