INTEGRATION THROUGH CULTURE?

PARTICIPATORY GOVERNANCE IN THE EUROPEAN CAPITALS OF CULTURE PROGRAMME

By

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to address the framing of participation in the European Union's cultural policies based on the analysis of the policy documents of the European Capitals of Culture (ECOC) Programme. It intends to point out the strategic selectivities of the policies that are embedded under the veil of inclusivity. It claims that through performative practices these selective framings of participation can lead to the reproduction of existing power structures and divisions. To reveal their presence I apply critical frame analysis on the five policy documents of the European Capitals of Culture Programme to investigate the distinguishable categories of participants and participation. The key findings of the analysis suggest two conclusions. On the one hand, that there are recognisable performative practices outlined in the policy documents. On the other hand, that based on a participatory ladder, the participatory approach of these cultural policies only fulfils the scope of representative democracy. Therefore my conclusion is that the current frame of participation in the policy documents might lead to the instrumentalisation of participation instead of providing a base for participatory governance in the European Union.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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INTRODUCTION

As the notion of participation gains stronger and stronger presence in recent policy documents of the European Union, one could have the impression that the EU is aiming towards participatory governance. But is this really the case or is participation rather a 'veil' to soothe the symptoms of the democratic deficit?

In this paper I analyse this 'participatory turn' in the European Union's policies. Participation in general is discussed as an important element of democracy and its most general form means an open approach: it means that the planning process or the given programme should involve those actors that are affected by them (Turnhout, Van Bommel and Aarts 2010). The concept of participation as a form of community involvement in public decisions requires transparency and involvement in decision-making through dialogue (Banyan 2007: 660). If we understand the framework of participation in the European Union's policies as a step towards participatory governance, they should also fulfil the above-introduced requirements for participation. In my analysis I will discuss the fulfilment of these requirements in relation to Schaap and Edwards's participation ladder.

Although participatory governance would be a very appealing approach for the European Union, nevertheless when it comes to policies its presence is not so clear. On the one hand, in relation to the application of the term 'participation' in policies, we have to acknowledge that it does not have the same meaning for every citizen or actor. Therefore, there is a high chance that each actor will implement different measures depending on their own interpretation of the concept (Fischer 2012; Verloo 2005). On the other hand, in policy theory and policy analysis there are numerous voices over the instrumentalisation of the participatory approach (Fischer 2012; Turnhout, Van Bommel and Aarts 2010; Verloo 2005). In this paper I will introduce and connect two of these interlinked critical approaches, Jessop's theory of strategic

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selectivities and the 'veil of inclusivity' as it was conceptualised by Turnhout, Van Bommel and Aarts.

This paper assumes that policy making is not a rational process in the sense that I understand public problems and issues as social and political constructions. In policy design there are different actors involved and the policies and programmes are the results of struggles between these actors, reproducing the existing power-structures, instead of addressing the best solution for the given problem. Bustelo and Verloo approach these policy designs as 'assemblages' rather than as a rational set of interventions, as they are 'constructed in a context of existing and emerging dominant discourse frames' (Bustelo and Verloo 2006).

With the help of these theoretical lenses I aim to address the question whether the selective framing of participation in the policy documents of the European Union could lead to the reproduction of existing power structures and divisions. I assume that in these policies certain strategic selectivities are embedded under the veil of inclusivity. My hypothesis is that the recognisable presence of performative practices in the policy documents would mean that the strategic selectivities are present in these policies. To track these processes, I point out and analyse the performative practices interlinked with these mechanisms, as they create distinguishable categories of citizens and participants. Therefore the two questions I am intend to answer is the following:

(1) Are there recognisable performative practices outlined in the policy documents?

(2) How the presented participatory frame could be classified on Schaap and Edwards's participation ladder?

To narrow my research to a certain field, I have chosen to analyse the cultural policies in general and the policies of the European Capitals of Culture Programme (ECOC) in particular as my case study. This was a convenient choice, as my interest toward the inquiry of participation emerges from the research of the cultural field. The European Capitals of Culture Programme is a cultural programme of the European Union, where each year two cities are designated and funded for a period of one calendar year to organise cultural events with a strong European dimension. This programme is an ideal case for analysis, (1) as it is a smaller-scale well-defined programme; (2) as the participatory turn became a very apparent feature in the policies from the 2000s, it has a recognisable impact in these policies (3) as the cultural operators –named as the main stakeholders in the policy documents – were available for interviews and also (3) as the main policy documents are available in the European Union web-archives.

To analyse the presence of performative practices, I will apply a two-step analysis. First I analyse 27 guided-interviews conducted with local operators in seven European Capitals of Culture cities in Central and Eastern Europe and in the Baltic countries. The methodological toolkit of this part of the research is based on qualitative, structured interviews. The interviews were based on the same series of questions and I was using open-ended questions for the mapping of problematic fields of local operators. Here my aim is to outline the problems recorded in relation to participation. These recorded problems are the guidelines for my further analysis on policy documents. In the second part of my analysis I focus on the five main policy decisions, recommendations and conclusions of the European Capitals of Culture programme. Since the programme was established in 1985, the first policy document – a resolution – is dated to that year. Altogether I have included the five major documents in this case selection, all of them published either at a major turning point in the programme or when a new cycle was due. These policy documents are the main resolutions, conclusions and

decisions establishing the programme, published in year 1985; 1990; 1999; 2006 and 2014. For the analysis of participatory frameworks in the policy documents first I apply Critical Frame Analysis on the policy documents of the European Capitals of Culture (ECOC) Programme, than I discuss my findings in the framework of two theoretical approaches: on the one hand, based on the strategic-relational approach (SRA) of Jessop for the analysis of the institutional framework of multilevel governance and on the other hand, the 'veil of inclusivity' as it was conceptualised by Turnhout, Van Bommel and Aarts. With this analysis I aim to highlight the various frames of participation and the possible selectivities implemented in the policies under the veil of inclusivity (Turnhout, Van Bommel and Aarts 2010).

My analysis is interesting in the context of Fischer's call for a more focused analysis of political-cultural strategies in relation to deliberative empowerment in participatory governance. As he points out, there is a lack of analysis that goes further than the formal principles, especially in the realms of participatory frameworks from the point of view of discursive practices. These analyses should aim to outline the voices speaking behind the policies, the organisation of knowledge and the role of decision makers (Fischer 2012).

My thesis is divided into two parts, in part one I review the state of research on new governance theories with the focus on participation on the one hand, and critical policy analysis on the other. These two chapters contain my theoretical framework for the analysis. The third chapter is a methodological introduction. The part two is devoted to the analyses: in chapter four I discuss the cultural policies of the European Union, especially the European Capitals of Culture Programme and I contextualise the frame of participation in the policies, while chapter five contains the analysis and conclusion of the issue mapping. Chapter six is the discourse analysis of the ECOC policy documents. Chapter seven is the overall analysis of my study, followed by a conclusion.

Part I.

1. NEW GOVERNANCE, PARTICIPATION AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

Governance theories have recently become highly popular in disciplines of political science and international relations. Some scholars approach governance as the result of the decline of the state, while others as the new role of the state in increasing societal complexity (Bevir 2011a). These theories embark from the assumption that here is a visible transformation in the mode of governance in advanced democracies. This is labelled collectively as 'new governance' and it is generally characterised by the changing structures from hierarchical governance to collaborative arrangements between state-society relations, with advanced communication and information technologies, complex public policy and engaged civil society (Lynn 2011). One part of these theories frames new governance as either the outcome of some critical juncture – such as the 1980s public sector reforms, reactions to welfare state policies or the outcomes of neoliberal markets – or as the consequence of incremental changes, that are already encoded in the structure of European Union or governance (Bevir 2011). Nevertheless some theorists argue, that these changes in the technologies and approaches of governance instead of replacing the traditional democratic control reinforce interdependence in a counter-narrative manner through the new policies (Lynn 2011). Therefore these studies focus on the various elements, actors and models of these changes instead the timeframe and causation.

This is my point of embarkation for this study to discuss the question of participation in cultural policies. In this chapter I focus on the context that enabled and prompted the presence of the framework of participation in cultural policies. First I discuss the theories of new

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governance, particularly participatory governance than I focus on the new actors of cultural policies – the 'new citizens' – and finally I discuss the general political climate of the European Union in relation to establishment of cultural policies,

1.1 New Governance: collaborative governance and participatory governance

According to Bevir, on the most general level we can describe governance as 'theories and issues of social coordination' and practices of governing (Bevir 2011a). Governance draws attention to civil society and its interaction with the formal institutions of states. Bevir uses a definition as follows: *"Governance as theory, practice, and dilemma highlights phenomena that are hybrid and multijurisdictional with plural stakeholders who come together in networks"* (Bevir 2011a: 2). He highlights four distinctive features of governance: (1) governances are often hybrid practices, combinations of administrative systems, non-profit organisations and non-governmental organisations and market mechanisms; (2) they are multijurisdictional and established across different policy sectors and multiple levels – local, regional, national and international –; (3) they can be described with the plurality of stakeholders and (4) the networks have highlighted role in these structures (Bevir 2011a). As the outcome of these features governance appears in multiple forms and seemingly it is constantly in the change. These changing practices of governance establish new practices with the additional influence of the interests 'debates' mostly between the policymakers and the public sector.

Here I focus on two distinguished category of new governance, where the collaborative arrangements between state-society relations and the role of civil society especially relevant, collaborative governance and participatory governance. By most theorists collaborative governance is being used as a collective term or synonym for most or the attempts to enhance

collaboration, participation and inclusivity in new governance. Nevertheless it is important to highlight the distinctions between collaborative and participatory approaches.

1.1.1 Collaborative governance

Collaborative governance is generally described as an approach to tackle the questions related to public involvement in policy processes and as a mechanism that aims to move beyond democratic practices such as consultation or advice and attempt to involve citizens in decision-making (Bevir 2011; McLaverty 2011). According to Bingham, in new policy processes collaboration overlaps with deliberate and participatory democracy, engagement with civil society and with innovations deriving from the solutions of conflicts (Bingham 2005). As this approach sounds rather vague, and as there are recognisable differences between collaborative and participatory approaches, I introduce some theories where these alterations are clearly recognisable.

Ansell describes collaborative governance as *"a strategy used in planning, regulation, policy-making, and public management to coordinate, adjudicate, and integrate the goals and interests of multiple stakeholders"* (Ansell 2012: 498). Therefore as a technique it builds on the cooperation between citizens, interest groups, agencies and stakeholders. From a more critical perspective and in integration studies it is often described as a strategy in reaction to democratic deficit. Ansell and Gash also provided a more extended definition for collaborative governance:

"A governing arrangement where one or more public agencies directly engage non-state stakeholders in a collaborative decision-making process that is formal, consensus-oriented, and deliberative and that aims to make or implement public policy or manage public programs or assets." (Ansell and Gash, 2008: 544).

Ansell also provided four scope conditions for the analysis of collaborative governance. I will use this framework to compare the similarities and differences between collaborative and participatory approaches.

(1) Who collaborates? According to Ansell, 'public agencies directly engage non-state stakeholders'. In its scope this approach is open for many, but mainly 'official' actors. This definition also sets up the direction of collaboration as it mainly formulated as a top-down governmental approach.

(2) Who sponsors the collaboration? Based on the definition the public agencies are the initiators and sponsors as well.

(3) What does collaboration mean? The definition refers to public policy and programs to distinguish collaboration from consultation, to imply the citizens' actual decision-making role.

(4) How is collaboration organised? Following the definition it is stated as a collective decision-making process, but as we seen, the framework is set up by the official agencies (Ansell 2012).

Ansell also outlines a number of factors that measures whether the process is actually succeed at being collaborative. The first point he relates is the question of commitment, whether stakeholders and agencies are actually committed to the collaborative process. He theorises that the stakeholders' willingness to collaborate is highly depending on the power-relations: they can be weaker – and therefore fear instrumentalisation –, or in case they are more independent and strong actors they might prefer to follow their own path. On the other hand, the collaborating citizens are might not form a representative group. Also, in general groups with more resources, higher education and skills are more likely to be involved (Ansell 2012).

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The other guidelines for the evaluation of collaboration that I find very important to point out, is the criteria proposed by Gunton and Day. They evaluate the success of collaboration from the stakeholders' point of view and they name four criteria: (1) the success to reach agreement; (2) efficiency of the collaborative process compared to other approaches; (3) stakeholders satisfaction with the outcome and (4) added social capital benefits, such as knowledge production (Gunton and Day 2003). This approach implies a requirement for a more balanced and equal power structure between the public agencies and the non-state stakeholders.

Collaborative governance policies are often use social inclusion as the base of collaborative practices. Nevertheless, social inclusion in its general term means a rather small segment of society, the representation and integration of 'identifiable disadvantaged groups into the wider society' (Koikkalainen 2012). As Koikkalainen outlines, social inclusion emerged in the European discourse in the 1980s as the counter concept of social exclusion. In the European Union it first been addressed in the Community Action Programme to Foster the Economic and Social Integration of the Least Privileged Groups in 1989, and ever since social inclusion is associated with particular disadvantaged groups. Social exclusion framed some individuals and groups inability to take part in the mainstream functions of the society. Therefore social inclusion rose as a *"specific target-oriented policy that complements the services and incentives that are universally available for every citizen"* (Koikkalainen 2012: 455).

1.1.2 Participatory governance

Participation in general is discussed as an important element of democracy and as a requirement for legitimacy and accountability. Participation in its most general form means an open approach: it means that the planning process or the given programme should involve those actors that are affected by them (Turnhout, Van Bommel and Aarts 2010). The concept of participation according to Banyan *"implies involvement in public decisions, as*

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distinguished from other forms of community involvement" (Banyan 2007: 660). Participation requires transparency, equal access to decisions, openness, competence, and the respect of individual liberty. The role of the government in participatory democracy is described as to educate citizens and involve them in decision-making through dialogue (Banyan 2007).

According to Fischer, *"participatory governance is a variant or subset of governance theory that puts emphasis on democratic engagement, in particular through deliberative practices"*, a form of democratic engagement to deepen citizen participation in the governmental process (Fischer 2012: 457). In this approach governance refers to a new space for decision-making, while participatory governance offers a framework for public engagement through deliberative processes, especially to the empowerment of citizens.

Schaap and Edwards describes participatory democracy as *"democratic arrangements and practices that allow for direct individual and collective participation of citizens in public decision making"* where the key feature is the citizens' direct participation in the regulation of the key institutions of the society (Schaap and Edwards 2007). They also track back the origin of the concept to the 1970s, especially to the 'New left' model of democracy. They connect the current participatory turn with a global democratic deficit in the 1990s that was mainly indicated by decreasing electoral turnouts, the lack of trust in government and traditional politics and legitimacy crisis of local governments. Therefore on the one hand, new forms of political participation had to be offered to the citizens, on the other hand, the local knowledge what citizens possessed were re-evaluated and mobilized in this process (Schaap and Edwards 2007).

Schaap and Edward draw a participation ladder to distinguish the various scopes of participation from consultation to self-governance. While the first three modes of participation is the merit of participatory democracy model, the last two points are only the

scope of representative democracy. According to Schaap and Edwards, the most complete form of participatory democracy is self-governance: when citizens organize themselves and take the initiative. In this case the governments have a supporter role only. In the case of partnership they refer to cooperation based on equal involvement in planning and policy making. In delegated co-decision making citizens are no longer equal partners, they only taking their role within the previously set frameworks and government appear as the main policy maker. Citizens have even less significant role in the participatory form of open advice, they only invited to give opinion or fulfil smaller roles in policy implementation, while in consultation the set of questions they can consult is even more controlled (Schaap and Edwards 2007).

Participation Form	Citizens' Roles	Governments' Roles
1. Self-governance	Initiators, self-governance of communities or groups	Supporter (financially or offering facilities)
2. Partnership	Equal partners, coproducing plans and policies	Equal partners, coproducing plans and policies
3. Delegated co-decision making	Delegated co-decision makers, within policy lines previously set by governmental actors.	Main policy makers, leaving lesser abstract decisions to (groups of) citizens
4. Open advice	Advisors, all kinds of problem definitions and potential solutions may come to the fore during the policy-making process	Requesting advice by formulating open questions
5. Consultation	Consultant, advising on rather closed set of questions, formulated by governmental actors	Consulter, asking advice on limited and controlled questions

Figure 1 Participation ladder

Source: Schaap, L. and Edwards, A. (2007) 'Participatory Democracy'. In: Bevir, M. (eds.) *Encyclopedia of Governance.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. 659-663.

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To see the differences between collaborative and participatory governance, I apply the questions that Ansell provided in the case of collaborative governance:

(1) Who participates? The scope is wider in the case of participatory governance than in collaborative governance, as it is supposed to be open for all, not just agencies and stakeholders.

(2) Who sponsors the participation? Participation not only has a wider scope, but can also be equally top-down and bottom-up initiative. In this case the sponsor question only applicable to the given programmes.

(3) What does participation mean? According to Fischer, participatory governance means *"a more equal distribution of political power, a fairer distribution of resources, the decentralisation of decision-making processes, the development of a wide and transparent exchange of knowledge and information, the establishment of collaborative partnerships, an emphasis on inter-institutional dialogue, and greater accountability"* (Fischer 2012). Therefore participatory governance appears to offer even more than democratic participation: it promises the citizen empowerment and community capacity building through new opportunities of dialogue and social-capital building.

(4) How is participation organised? It can be rather similar to a collaboration, but in general it is more open to bottom-up initiatives.

1.2 New actors – new citizenship

To understand who are the stakeholders and actors of participatory governance, I briefly introduce the recent concepts of civil society. In general the emergence of a new citizenship and the third sector is related to new governance models (Fischer 2012).

Civil society – according to Armstrong – can be described as multiform, multilevel and multidimensional. The multiform refers to the pluralistic understandings of civil society forms, from individual actors through networks to organisational structures. By multilevel he means the inclusion of local, regional, sub-national, national, international and transnational actors. Finally when we speak of multidimensional, we mean the different roles played by the civil society actors. Armstrong outlines that the shifts in the understanding of civil society also signals shifts in the modes of governance (Armstrong 2002).

The post-Maastricht institutional changes provided opportunities for new actors in the field of culture, representing local, regional, private and third sector interests in cultural action (Staiger 2013). In this new, social citizenship the identity of the political community is activated and sustained through the citizens' active participation and by exercising responsibilities (Phillips 2012). Civil society as the main actor of participation is shaped in its acts by policy instruments. According to Phillips, policies can regulate the development and presence of certain types of organisations – through funding for example– therefore ensuring more conservative strategies of collective action (Phillips 2012).

One highlighted element of civil society – according to Phillips – "*refers to the constellations of voluntary associations, non-profits, charities, social movements, social enterprises, and advocacy organisations in a political community – (...) collectively called "civil society organisations"(CSOs)*" (Phillips 2012: 485). CSOs play key roles in citizenship to provide places for citizen participation, they have representative capacity and they act as "street-level bureaucrats", therefore in my analysis I will focus on their role in the frame of participation.

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1.3 Cultural policies: between supranationalism and intergovernmentalism and the democratic deficit of the European Union

There is a rumour in cultural policy circles that Jean Monnet stated once if he could commence the integration of European Community anew; he would begin with culture (Patel 2013; Shore 2000; Sassatelli 2009). Although Patel also points out the fictitious source of the quote, he connects its origin with several tensions at the root of European Union's cultural policies. On the one hand, culture is often approached as a common ground for European unity, on the other hand, the cultural sphere is rather sensitive for its central role in national identity building (Patel 2013). In this context European cultural policies are often framed as attempts to overcome the Union's lack of cultural legitimacy in particular and the democratic deficit in general (Patel 2013).

Before Maastricht Treaty entering into force (1993) Community action in the area of culture did not have legal base. Following the Rome Treaty cultural products and services were treated, as one of the many economic sectors in the Community and cultural policy was the exclusive competence of national authorities. The 1970s cultural policy development was influenced by the dualism of supranational law-making and intergovernmental policymaking (Staiger 2013; Scharpf 1996). According to Staiger, parallel to this dualism there was another, the dual interests of negative integration aimed at market-liberalisation and positive integration. Supranationalisation slowed down during the decade of Gaullist opposition, and additionally the collapse of the Bretton Woods system, the oil crises and slow economic growth further deepened the Eurosclerosis (Staiger 2013).

By the mid-1980s could the Commission openly argue that culture should be considered as the essential step in integration. In this period the cultural action started to develop in parallel, informal processes. The major turning point for the European Community was the Treaty on European Union (TEU) – also called Maastricht Treaty– in 1992. The Treaty paradoxically

was established in the peak of Euroscepticism, while it created a new political entity, the European Union with constitutional features (Staiger 2013). Article 128 in the Treaty authorised cultural cooperation, created a new body for consultation on cultural action – the Committee of Regions – but also introduced the subsidiarity principle as *"Article 128 also ensured that the Community could only supplement action taken at national or regional level"* (Staiger 2013: 26). As a direct outcome, cultural action after Maastricht was characterised by institutional competitions over jurisdiction.

Staiger identified two kinds of struggles that marked the development of cultural policies. On the one hand, the struggles over sovereignty and competences between the national authorities and the Community institutes, on the other hand, the competing policy traditions (Staiger 2013). Staiger also argues, that Article 128 could be explained on the one hand, as an *a posteriori* legitimisation of existing Community actions in culture, and on the other hand, it could be framed as an attempt by national governments to regain control over policies in the cultural field. Therefore Article 128 more concerned with establishing boundaries – what the Community cannot do – than opening up for democratic processes such as participation. According to Staiger, culture following the TEU functioned in four ways: (1) as an economic sector following the single market rules, (2) as a bases for these rules, (3) as a ground for market-correcting measures and direct interventions and (4) as a sphere for direct Community action (Staiger 2013).

By the mid-1990s and in the framework of Lisbon Strategy culture was seen as a source of employment, as a tool of urban regeneration and a programme of social cohesion. In the cultural policies these functions were framed in the model of cultural and creative industries, defined as the *"industries that have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation"* (Staiger 2013: 29). Following the Nice Treaty in 2000 – that has mainly focused on institutional reforms and the extension of the

European Union – the Community launched the first financing and programming tool in the area of culture, the Culture 2000. The programme highlighted participation, as an objective to provide *"access to participation in culture in the European Union for as many citizens as possible"* (Staiger 2013: 31). The programme was followed by Culture Programme (2007-2013), which directly encouraged the participation of European citizens in the integration process. According to Staiger, therefore *"civic participation was confirmed as the new secular myth-making narrative of European integration"* (Staiger 2013: 32). Within this political climate the European Capitals of Culture Programme was developed *"to promote a European dimension to cultural action and further the rationale for a cultural basis to integration"* (Staiger 2013: 26).

Parallel to the emergence of the frame of participation in the policies numerous voices also emerged in policy theory and policy analysis over the instrumentalisation of participatory approach. In the following chapter I will focus more on this critical policy analysis approach of participatory frameworks.

2. CRITICAL POLICY ANALYSIS: THEORIES AND TOOLS

The main theoretical framework of this paper is the interpretive theory. Interpretive approaches focus on the intentionality of actors in the actions and practices, but they do not assume that these actions and practices are conscious and rational as rational choice theorists. Instead they highlight the importance of understanding governance as a political contest of competing beliefs and traditions, and to approach changes in governance as the nature of action. According to Bevir, *"change occurs as individuals interpret their environment in ways that lead them constantly to alter their beliefs"* (Bevir 2011: 61). From an interpretive theory point of view governance can be understood as the system of *"contingent practices that emerge from competing actions and beliefs of different people responding to various dilemmas against the background of conflicting traditions"* (Bevir 2011a: 5). Bevir discusses various schools within interpretation theory, such as governmentality, post-marxism and social humanism. In this framework he recalled one of Laclau and Mouffe's important implications: the constitutive role of relations of difference between and within discourses. This is what they see as a binary structure, and according to them *"in any given discourse a binary structure governs identities, and all discourses are defined by opposition to an excluded other"*. This structure and the related discourses also define what actors can say or do (Bevir 2011: 56). Another important but similar notion originates from the social humanist school, as according to Bevir, they focus on the conflicting traditions and ideologies of modern governance (Bevir 2011). In my approach these two positions merged in the question of strategic selectivities: opposing interests and different political and participatory traditions manifest in binary structures and lead to power struggles or being formulated in policies as strategic selectivities.

Fischer embarks from the presumption that although participation is an ideal aim as it could lead to more equitable outcome, investigation shows that it is a difficult achievement in

inequitable social contexts (Fischer 2012). In general, participation is easier to reach when it occurs in combination with other factors that ensure the facilitation of the process or provide motivations for participants. If these requirements are just partially fulfilled, participation can easily lead to selectivities of interest and institutionalised framework to support the preferences of certain elites instead of the local interests (Fischer 2012). Fischer approaches participatory governance as a response to the power gap problem in representation. As he formulates *"A function of the asymmetrical power relations inherent to modern societies (...) poses a difficult barrier to meaningful participation. When inequalities are embedded in powerful patriarchies such projects are prone to be captured and manipulated by elites"* (Fischer 2012).

One way to face the selectivities encoded in participation is the 'empowered participatory governance', based on the pre-requirements that empowered citizens can engage in 'reason-based action-oriented decision-making' to establish a more democratic society (Fischer 2012). The new type of participatory knowledge according to Fischer requires new types of agency too, and especially the above mentioned civil society organisations (CSOs) play an important role (Fischer 2012).

McLaverty frames participation as a supplement for the representative institutions and as an experimental answer for decline of public participation in historic forms of politics alongside with the rise of governance (McLaverty 2011). In this framework he highlights three mechanisms of participation that partly overlaps with Schaap and Edward's participation ladder: deliberate mechanisms, co-governance initiatives and consultation exercises. He argues that most of the participation mechanisms of the last quarter century served consultative nature as the outcomes of the mechanisms were not directed to the implementation of policies, instead they appeared as supplements to the traditional forms of political representation (McLaverty 2011). Consultation innovations' role is usually to gain

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data from the public to improve policymaking and implementation. Against this backdrop deliberative mechanisms for public participation were introduced as big scale innovations to step beyond simple aggregation of citizens' opinions. Nevertheless, deliberate mechanisms are still not applied in direct public policy decision-making. Co-governance takes a step further towards involvement of the public in agenda-setting, participation in partnership roles and in assemblies (McLaverty 2011). His main question is whether innovations in participation and advance in democracy really compatible with each other. He points out that various forms of participations easily being instrumentalised by unrepresentative elites and therefore blocks such democratic values as equality and legitimacy (McLaverty 2011). These instrumentalising approaches I discuss as strategic selectivities along with the theories of democratic engineering and the 'veil of inclusivity' to approach the possible understandings of the selectivities of participation.

2.1 Strategic selectivities

To address strategic selectivity in relation to the participatory framework I use a general, wide definition, where participation means that the planning process or the given programme should involve those actors that are affected by them (Turnhout, Van Bommel and Aarts 2010). In my analysis I use Jessop's strategic-relational approach (SRA) to contextualise participation in the policies.

Jessop developed the theory of strategic selectivity in the framework of his concept of strategic-relational approach (SRA) to contextualise the recent changes of statehood (Jessop 2014a). He argues that the general frameworks − such as state- and governance-centric approaches − for the analysis of European integration miss to address the complexities of the process. Strategic-relational approach is a conceptual framework to address *"structure and strategy at various scales of social life from its microfoundations to its most general*

macrostructural dynamics" and to regard the state, as a complex social relation and a collection of socially embedded and strategically selective institutions (Jessop 2014a). Strategic-relational approach refers to the state as social relation, a 'relation between people mediated through the instrumentality of things' (Jessop 2014b). According to Jessop, *"the strategic-relational argument is that states are not neutral terrains on which political forces struggle with equal chances to pursue their interests and objectives and with equal chances of realizing their goals (...) Instead the organization of state apparatuses, state capacities, and state resources (…) all mean that state favours some forces, some interests, some identities, some spatio-temporal horizons of action, some projects more than others."* (Jessop 2014b). This favouritism is what SRA emphasises as the strategic selectivity of institutional arrangements. According to Jessop, these strategic selectivities and modalities are implemented in specific institutional, organisational and practical contexts, and they are used to create and recreate the existing divisions in the society (Jessop 2014a). Although he embarks from Claus Offe's theory that 'the state is endowed with selectivity', an approach to support particular social groups and actors, nevertheless Jessop uses 'strategic' as to refer to the reproductive approach of the institutional frameworks and set arrangements instead of the calculated and tactical meaning of the word. On the other hand, – according to Brenner – Jessop's selectivity is *"best understood as an object and outcome of ongoing struggles rather than as a structurally preinscribed feature of the state system"* (Brenner 2003).

2.2 Performative practices: participation as a 'veil of inclusivity'

Similarly, Turnhout, Van Bommel and Aarts have discussed participation as the distinguished feature of decision-making and policy planning processes (Turnhout, Van Bommel and Aarts 2010). They point out that in policy documents participation is never defined; instead it builds on a general assumption of participation. Nevertheless, it rarely goes without further intentions such as to enhance learning processes, empowerment and democratic citizenship, to

host instrumental motivations or to ensure sustainability of the programme. Along this line *"participation unavoidably involves (1) restrictions about who should be involved and about the space of negotiation, (2) assumptions about what the issue at stake is, and (3) expectations about what the outcome of participation should be and how the participants are expected to behave"* (Turnhout, Van Bommel and Aarts 2010). These layers of participation can be visualised as follows:

In relation to this context, we can understand their approach to 'veil of inclusivity' better. Following Wagemans and Parfitt they find participation problematic in the sense that it might act as a 'veil of inclusivity' while reproducing, reinforcing and legitimising the existing dominant frameworks (Turnhout, Van Bommel and Aarts 2010, Wagemans 2002, Parfitt 2004). According to Parfitt, participatory approaches have the danger being applied as *"simply another means of pursuing traditional top-down development agendas, while giving the impression of implementing a more inclusive project of empowering the poor and the excluded"* (Parfitt 2004: 538).

Therefore Turnhout, Van Bommel and Aarts aim on the one hand, to provide a framework for the analysis of participation through the discussions of the restrictive side of participation with assumptions about the issues at stake and expectations about the outcome. On the other hand, they investigate the unintended outcomes of participation through a case study with a shift away from the general notion of participation – that it creates a neutral place for citizen representation – and by following the multi-dimensional aspect of participation (Turnhout, Van Bommel and Aarts 2010). For the framework of their analysis they provide the following definition: *"participatory practices are seen as staged performances in which the various actors, based on the script, the instructions of the director and their improvisation skills, play their parts. Conceiving of participation as a performative practice emphasizes that identities, knowledge, interests, and needs are not represented but shaped, articulated, and constructed*

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in the participation process itself" (Turnhout, Van Bommel and Aarts 2010: 9). As participation influences how citizens become involved and represented, it is 'inevitably selective'. Therefore some citizens are recognised as relevant participants while others excluded. Therefore they focus on the unintended outcomes of participation, and argue that it is not a neutral place instead it creates various categories of citizens, therefore participation can be framed as performative practice.

2.3 Summary

Following these theoretical chapters, I would like to introduce two questions that I am intend to answer through my analysis. My research question is whether the participatory approaches are serving strategic selectivities under the veil of inclusivity in the European Capitals of Culture Programme. I assume that the recognisable presence of performative practices of the policy documents would mean that the strategic selectivities are present in these policies. Therefore my first question is: (1) Are there recognisable performative practices − differentiation of various actors, who play their various roles according to the scripts and instructions of the stakeholders − outlined in the policy documents?

My second question is related to the participatory governance approach, and by answering this question I should be able to indicate whether it is really a participatory governance approach that being introduced in the cultural policies: (2) Where could we situate the participatory approach framed in the European Capitals of Culture Programme in Schaap and Edwards's participation ladder?

I will return to these two questions in my conclusion to sum up my findings.

3. METHODOLOGY

The participatory initiatives and programmes what I am going to discuss are also involve expectations about how the participants should behave, what should be their role, and who should be involved in what. According to Turnhout, Van Bommel and Aarts citizens most of the times involved as stakeholders, *"people who are perceived to hold a particular stake in the issue and are expected to represent it"* (Turnhout, Van Bommel and Aarts 2010: 4). This role of the citizens might limit their actions, as it narrows the scope of the articulation of the issues. In relation to this limiting role, the important question what Turnhout, Van Bommel and Aarts propose is not only whether participatory frameworks are limiting or controlling, but to focus on how it is happen. Similarly, Ansell suggests a framework for approaching collaborative governance, that overlaps with guiding questions of Turnhout, Van Bommel and Aarts: *"(1) who collaborates; (2) who sponsors collaboration; (3) what the term collaboration means; and (4) how collaboration is organised"* (Ansell 2012: 498).

Philips argued that the conventional analytical tools largely state-centric, and to approach and analyse governance in its complexity we need different methods. I see discourse analysis – and especially critical frame analysis – as the right tool to answer the proposed questions. Jessop also presents similar questions for the analysis of strategic selectivity – *"who are the actors? What time horizon are we looking at? Who are the other actors? Who are their potential allies? What are their objectives?"* – based on case studies (Jessop 2014b).

In this paper I aim to address the framing of participation in the European Union's cultural policies based on issue mapping and applying critical frame analysis on the policy documents of the most recognised cultural initiative: the European Capitals of Culture (ECOC) Programme. Within this analysis I address and analyse the above-mentioned questions in a structured way by applying critical frame analysis on the programme's policy documents.

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3.1 Sources: issue mapping and policy documents

My analysis consists of two parts. On the one hand, I analyse 27 guided-interviews conducted with local operators in seven European Capitals of Culture cities in Central and Eastern Europe and in the Baltic countries. My initial aim with the issue mapping was to outline the problematic fields of the European Capitals of Culture Programme from a local viewpoint. As participation emerged as a central question, here my aim is narrowed to outline the problems recorded in relation to participation. These recorded issues are the guidelines for my further analysis on policy documents. In the second part of my analysis I focus on the five main policy decisions, recommendations and conclusions of the European Capitals of Culture Programme. In this inquiry on the one hand, I analyse the policy frames of participation as a performative practice to differentiate between participants, on the other hand, I further discuss the application of strategic selectivities in policies to re-establish existing institutional structures.

3.2 Methodology: Discourse Analysis / Critical Frame Analysis

Discourse analysis – and especially critical frame analysis – appears as the ideal tool to outline strategic selectivities and the outcomes of performative practices. Discourse analysis in its very basic approach is the study of language in use. Nevertheless, there are many different approaches within discourse analysis, and in my research I follow the path of Gee and Verloo. Gee's general approach to discourse analysis looks at *"meaning as an integration of ways of saying (informing), doing (action), and being (identity)"* (Gee 2014: 241). The method of critical frame analysis – as described by Verloo – aims to systematically study and compare certain issues (gender mainstreaming in her case, participation in mine) as policy problems. It embarks from the assumption of multiple interpretations of policy theory, as there is no common understanding of general concepts available for policy frameworks (Verloo 2005). Verloo defines a policy frame as *"an organising principle that transforms*

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fragmentary or incidental information into a structured and meaningful policy problem, in which a solution is implicitly or explicitly enclosed." (Verloo 2005: 20). Therefore in my approach policy frame is not descriptions of reality, but *"an interpretation scheme that structures the meaning of reality"* (Verloo 2005: 19). For critical frame analysis Verloo outlined four main questions: (1) what is the problem represented to be / diagnosis of the policy problem; (2) what action is proposed / prognosis of the policy problem; (3) roles attributed to various actors in diagnosis and prognosis and (4) the voice given to the various actors (Verloo 2005). Through these questions critical frame analysis addresses the multiple interpretations of policies and the selectivities connected to policymaking. While Verloo applied critical frame analysis on gender mainstreaming, I will approach the question of participation through this framework, as it is a tool to highlight dominant frames, selectivities included in the policies, and also to analyse its consequences and inconsistencies.

Part II

4. CULTURAL POLICIES IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

To estimate the role of European Capitals of Culture Programme in cultural policies, we have to briefly assess the approach towards cultural policies within the European Union. Cultural policies as implementations of political strategies can be analysed as indicators of political tendencies in the European Union. With this assumption in mind, I attempt to highlight the most relevant discourses in relation to the question of European Capitals of Culture Programme.

Daniel Habit offers a detailed explanation of the emergence of cultural policies as tools for integration as a response for the criticism of the European Union's rigidly economic and technical approach in the 1980's (Habit 2013). Habit links the Monnet method with the implementation of cultural strategies as legitimation tools for EU in the 1990s. According to his review the EU's *"self-invention was democratized by establishing cultural programmes (...) starting in the mid-1990s, aiming for direct participation by European citizens"* (Habit 2013: 136). One of the main concepts of his theory is that the EU attempts to overcome the division between the two general concepts considering cultural identity: the essential unity and the cultural diversity. The Union's cultural slogan – 'unity in diversity' – therefore emerges as an essential tool in the Union's identity building and in Europeanisation. To strengthen his statement, Habit refers to the European Commission's First Report on Consideration of Cultural Aspects in European Community Action. According to the aims,

"Cultural policy must make a contribution to strengthening and to expanding the 'European model of society built on a set of values common to all European societies'". [1]

Closely related to this approach Patel outlines cultural policies as tools for Europeanisation through new modes of governance and adaptation of legal and administrative procedures, mainly in the form of polity and policy making (Patel 2013: 1). In his understanding the cultural policies' highlighted role can be traced back to three central functions. Firstly, culture has a pivotal role in identity building in local, regional and international context. Secondly, culture has very relevant synergetic effects for the Union as well as other sectors. Thirdly, while culture is a very universal phenomenon, the policies remain very functional. (Patel 2013) Therefore since the 1990s cultural policy as a tool being applied *„to overcome the Union's lack of 'cultural legitimacy' as part of the wider debate on its democratic deficit"* (Patel 2013: 2).

Similarly to Habit and Patel, Ute Staiger divides the Community action in the sphere of culture to stages. She differentiates between the actions before the Maastricht Treaty (1993) and after. Before the treaty, cultural products and services were treated the same way as any other economic services or products: the cultural policy was purely national competence, and the only transnational cultural program was run by the Council of Europe. Although there were cultural initiatives taking place on Community level, they had no legal basis. Quite early, already at The Hague Summit (1969) a recommendation emerged to outline a new 'political impetus to the creation of Europe'. Related to this in 1973 in Copenhagen a bulletin was published on the Declaration on European Identity, where culture was highlighted as a

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[1] European Commision, 1st Report on the Consideration of Cultural Aspects in European Community Action, COM (96) 160 final(1996)

common value for the European civilization.[2] This was the act where European Parliament has established its Cultural Committee, and from the 1980s they could demand a separate budget. In the same time they have already openly argued that culture is an essential factor in the European integration – in this time based on the argument of the advancement of the common market. The European Capitals of Culture (ECOC) idea emerged from this political background in 1983 and already has been implemented by 1985. In 1992, the Treaty on European Union started to institutionalise the cultural programmes, included ECOC. Therefore, after the millennium, the EU cultural programmes were incorporated into a single framework together with the Culture 2000 programme, followed by Culture Programme (2007-2013), and Creative Europe (2014-2020) (Staiger 2013).

4.1 The European Capitals of Culture Programme

The European Capitals of Culture Programme is a cultural programme of the European Union, where each year two-two cities are designated and funded for a period of one calendar year to organise cultural events with a strong European dimension. The host member states are officially selected by the European Commission previously of each cycle, currently up to 2033. The process is the following: the Commission publishes a call for applications six years before the title-year, and the cities interested in participating in the competition from the designated member states have to submit a proposal for consideration. In the pre-selection phase a panel of independent experts in the field of culture review the submitted applications and require further application documents from the shortlisted cities. In the final selection the panel recommends one city per host country and they receive the European Capital of Culture title.

CEU eTD Collection

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[2] Declaration on European Idenity. Bulletin of the European Communities, 12/ 1973

The ECOC programme, according to José Barroso, is generally described as the *"flagship cultural initiative of the European Union, possibly the best known and most appreciated by European citizens"* (Patel 2013:2). [3] In his article Mittag traces back the origins of the ECOC programme to the Hague summit (1969), which together with the 'Document on European Identity' (1973) and the Tindemans Report (1975) served as the base of a new approach to culture within the European Community: to *"consider culture as a 'tool' to foster European identity and to strengthen the support for European integration"* (Mittag 2013: 40). Next to this political background and the altered approach to culture as a base, the simultaneous presence of some important phenomena lead to the establishment of the ECOC programme.

On the one hand, to step out from the stagnation of the European integration process (Eurosclerosis) following the crisis in the European Community's agriculture and financial policies in the 1970-80s, the EU Council and Commission planned to invest in Europe's cultural heritage to gain back the trust in the Community, to overcome its negative perception and to improve the image of the EU integration in general. On the other hand, the failure of Greek integration to the EU in 1983 prompted the necessity of a successful intervention from their side in European level. Finally, the model of cultural projects – such as Féte de la Musique – gradually proved themselves successful as cultural policy tools. Therefore a framework was provided for a cultural policy initiative focusing on European integration, based on these three pillars. These correlations lead to the facilitation of the proposal of Melina Mercouri Greek cultural minister on a cultural programme, named European City of Culture (Mittag 2013). Although, it was only after the establishment of the European Parliament's Cultural Committee in 1983, when the committee could openly argue that culture

[3] more on this: European Communities eds. *European Capitals of Culture: The Road to Success: From 1985 to 2010*, Luxembourgh: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2009

is in fact an essential tool for integration, and therefore they could demand an allocated budget (Staiger 2013).

Mercouri's primary idea was to facilitate dialogues between people in different cities (within the Community), but the European Ministers of Cultural Affairs proposed an additional aim for the programme: to strengthen the general image and acceptance of the European integration process (Mittag 2013). The ECOC programme was first implemented in 1985 becoming one of the first schemes in the area of culture on Community level (Staiger 2013). In these first years the programme was mainly a summer event, focusing primarily on high culture and incorporated existing events and festivals, while the main role should have been to promote a European dimension to cultural action and further the rationale for a cultural basis to integration (Staiger 2013; Mittag 2013).

In the 1990s the attention of ECOCs shifted from the already established cities of high culture (such as Athens or Florence) to smaller, post-industrial cities. The ECOC programme was interweaved with culture-led urban regeneration, cultural tourism, diversified socio-economic growth, involvement of local communities and the establishment of alternative cultural spaces (Staiger 2013). These regeneration projects aimed to ground long-term effects, therefore the ECOC programme became a tool of post-industrial urban renewal through the cultural policy implementation (Patel 2013).

Further elementary transformations in the structure of the ECOC programme were the programme's integration into the Community framework and the EU enlargement in 2004 (Staiger 2013). On the one hand, the ECOC programme was granted with a regular legal basis at the end of the 1990s, while the Maastricht Treaty authorised the European Community to interfere in cultural policies (Mittag 2013).

In 2000 the first cultural funds started to offer additional support for culture (Culture 2000, followed by Culture Program and Creative Europe) on a European level. In these programs the requirements and models presented the characteristics of cultural and creative industries, and had become a *"mainstay of cultural policies at EU as well as at national, regional and local levels"* (Staiger 2013: 29). These programs had an obvious impact on the design of individual ECOC programmes.

In 2005 a new decision was accepted, regulating the rotation system until 2019.[4] This was modified again in 2007, with the inclusion of new member states (after a preliminary period of three years following the 2004 attachment), transforming the system to the nowadays-valid two-cities nomination system. With this expansion a stronger European dimension became a requirement, based on the coupling of Western and Eastern European cities to increase cultural exchange (Mittag 2013). In 2014 the programme was further extended with a new decision, prolonging the programme until 2033, and enabling the extension of the ECOC cities from two to three in line of the hoped further EU enlargements.[5]

4.2. Contextualising the frame of participation in the European Capitals of Culture Programme

Bustelo and Verloo points out that within policy evaluation types the so-called design evaluation focuses on the design, conceptualization and content of the policies instead of the implementation and results (Bustelo and Verloo 2006). Design evaluation not only providing

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[4] 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

[5] DECISION No 445/2014/EU OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL of 16 April 2014 establishing a Union action for the European Capitals of Culture for the years 2020 to 2033 and repealing Decision No 1622/2006/EC

http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=CELEX:32014D0445&rid=2

information on what it is that a policy attempts to achieve but also offers a rationale for interpretation of their implementation and results. I follow this approach of policy evaluation by applying critical frame analysis on the policy documents.

As I have outlined, my analysis consists of two parts. First, I analyse 27 guided-interviews conducted with local operators in seven European Capitals of Culture cities in Central and Eastern Europe and in the Baltic countries. Here my aim is to outline the problems recorded in relation to participation. These recorded problems are the guidelines for my further analysis on policy documents. In the second part of my analysis I focus on the five main policy decisions, recommendations and conclusions of the European Capitals of Culture programme.

In the first part for the interview analyses I have followed a three-stage qualitative data process. First I have aimed to reach a general overview of the issues presented and to search for general, broad-ranging themes. For this I have conducted guided interviews based on an issue-mapping questionnaire with 27 interviewees.

The next step following the interviews I have re-listened them and made general notes. From this open-coding process emerged the question of participation and especially the issue of the various framing of participation. In the second stage − axial-coding − I reviewed the interviews to code specific passages under various theme-categories that were identified during the open-coding phase. These notes I have collected in a database. Finally I have conducted a selective-coding stage to correct possibly miscoded passages and to check if anything is missed my attention in the first two rounds. In this phase some passages were re-coded and also linked to other categories, and the additional comments were collected in a separate row of the table.

In the second phase I have focused on the policy texts: decisions, recommendations and conclusions covering the timeframe between 1985-2014. The critical frame analysis I have

conducted – following the example that Verloo set in the MAGEEQ project – was divided to two phases: in the first phase I have analysed the policy documents following the 'sensitising questions', and than I have summarized the results in 'supertexts' – one supertext for each policy documents, overall five supertexts. These supertexts are according to Bustelo and Verloo systematic and structured summaries that can be understood by readers as well who did not read the original policy documents (Bustelo and Verloo 2006).

The supertexts offer a background to the following, second analysis of participatory approaches in the policy documents. The participatory approach similarly than the supertext uses sensitising questions, but narrowed on the framing of participation, and instead of a supertext as outcome they lead to a comparative analysis of the understanding and instrumentalisation of participation with the various categories. With this analysis I aim to highlight the various frames of participation and the possible selectivities implemented in the policies under the veil of inclusivity.

5. ISSUE MAPPING IN THE EUROPEAN CAPITALS OF CULTURE

The methodological toolkit of the first part of my research is based on qualitative, structured interviews. The interviews were based on the same series of questions and I was using open-ended questions for the mapping of problematic fields of local operators.[6] As it is a highly politicized field and in many case the interviewees could be easily identified, I have kept the interviews coded and the quotations anonymous in the interviews.

For the issue mapping my general research question was the following: how the local operators involved in the different stages of the programme? To answer this question I have conducted the interviews with cultural operators in seven ECOC cities in Central- and Eastern Europe and in the Baltic States. All the cities where I recorded interview held the title after 2004 (after the EU enlargement). The database of this research is based on these 27 guided interviews.

Most of the interviewed cultural operators were non-governmental organisations (NGOs), often combined with some other organisational form, such as a private company or a faculty of a university. This overlaps with the 'civil society organisations' category appointed by Philips (Phillips 2012). The organisational form shows strong correlations with the sizes of the organisations: 52% of the interviewed operators are small organisations (1-10 members), 37% medium sized (11-30 members) and only 11% is bigger organisation (31-60 members). The bigger organisations are all contemporary art centres with exhibitions and workshops, while the NGOs, foundations and collectives are smaller, grass-root initiatives focusing

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[6] For the issue mapping questions please consult Appendix A / Issue mapping

mainly on contemporary art, contemporary culture and urban culture. Their activities are primarily exhibitions, installations, various projects, workshops and festivals.

5.1 Analysis: Are we really participating? Frameworks and questions

The issue mapping was divided to address four topics: the organisational background, the ECOC involvement, the evaluation of the ECOC programme and follow-up measurements. Based on the issue mapping the mode of participation and the instrumentalisation of participation emerged as central issues for cultural operators.

Within the 'mode of participation' topic in the interviews the most reflected issues were the lack of local support and the lack of local involvement as for example an interviewee commented on this: *"the programme was set up very well and intelligently, but they made too little effort to involve the public in the process. The social and cultural sphere was left out, and there was a lack of transparency".* [7] In general, the programme can be divided to four stages: the application period, the previous years to ECOC year, the ECOC year and the follow-up years. Where the cultural operators were involved, their role was unclear and changeable throughout the stages of the ECOC. According to my interviews, in some cities the involvement was the strongest in the planning period, which would be an example of good praxis and inclusivity. Nevertheless in many cases the reason behind this inclusion was not a real participatory approach from the side of the organisers but the participatory requirements of the programme that the nominated cities had to fulfil. In the next stage of the programme, where the decision was made and cities were preparing for the ECOC year, there was some collaboration with the cultural operators. In cases where they were involved in the planning period the cultural operators were often been offered to receive institutional frameworks,

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[7] Interview with cultural operator, Riga, 10 June 2014.

usually as part of the ECOC city's flagship infrastructural investment (usually cultural centres in previous factory sites) they were offered institutional frameworks for their institute, based on the planned flagship investment, with multifunctional spaces and offices. This was also the time for open calls for the programmes for the ECOC year. In the actual ECOC year, the main programme is usually described as a big festival, and in this course of festivalisation the local cultural operators were usually left out from the main programmes. By this phase the presence of cultural operators were shading away in many cities and instead of local cultural operators, bigger organisations and more established programs were leading the programmes. In the follow-up years in some places there were smaller projects run by the local operators, on other places there were no follow-up programmes and funds at all.
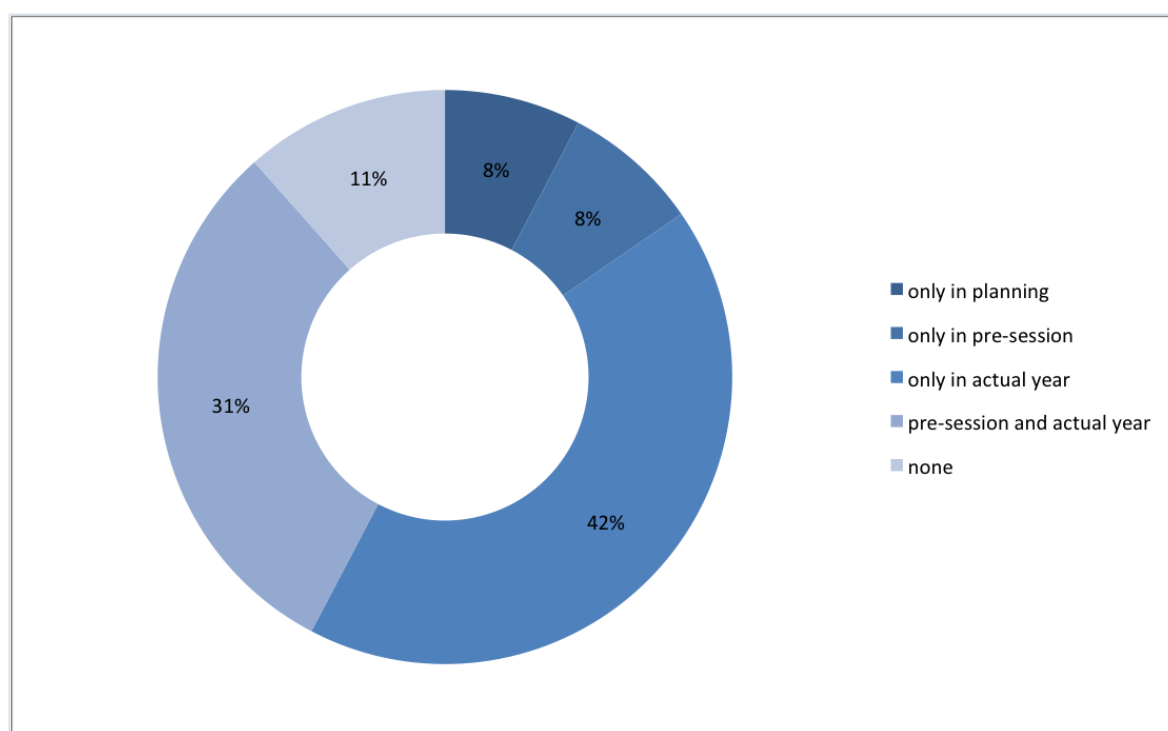
Figure 2 Local cultural operators' involvement

The situation of local operators and their involvement was reported to be especially critical in some cities, where many local operators proclaimed that although they were involved already from the planning period they received very little support in the end, and their programmes

were hardly presented in the final, actual year of the ECOC. Or in other cases sustainable development plans and support were promised to establish programmes with local focus up to and during the ECOC in a new institutional framework. This path of institutionalisation was welcomed by these organisations and they closely collaborated with the initiators in the ECOC applications. Although, their planned involvement faded out quickly when the cities received the ECOC brand following a successful nomination. Usually the local operators' received less and less support, but still presented as core participants. In the end in these cities many NGOs and organisations even had to close down their venues and although they were promised, they did not receive their place in the new cultural centres. As one of the representatives of the institutes' commented: *"all in all we were instrumentalised".*[8] This example is especially alarming as it was not a separated case, but in two of the cities half of the interviewed organisations were involved in the unlucky transformation*: "although we were involved at the beginning, and had a promise that they will support us, we only once received bigger amount of funds in 2007, and from the 2010 program we were left out completely"* [9]*; „from the very beginning we were part of the brainstorming, and lots of project ideas originated from that time. Than we were shown as an example for the international jury. The main problems started when the city won the bid, they won the title and soon afterwards we were kicked out from the space".*[10] Therefore from core participants they were changed into instrumentalised subjects in the course of the programme.

One possible explanation for the lack of involvement of cultural operators is that there is a general tension in the controversial interests of the board. On the one hand, they aim to fulfil

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[8] Interview with cultural operator, Pécs, April 29 2014.

[9] Interview with cultural operator, Pécs, April 28 2014.

[10] Interview with cultural operator, Kosice, May 20 2014.

the ECOC requirements − such as local impact, involvement of local scene and sustainable projects –, but on the other hand, to provide some big investment or to make a very visible event in the form of a big festival. Following the Glasgow-model the big, flagship infrastructural investments became a highlight for ECOC programmes. These investments are mainly new cultural centres with multiple functions such as the Zsolnay Factory in Pécs, Kasárne/Kulturpark in Kosice, and the Cultural Cauldron in Tallinn for example. The general aim of these cultural spaces should be to enhance the local cultural scene with new spaces of cultural exchange, but instead of including the local operators, the newly established cultural centres were often habited with university departments or cultural municipal boards. In my interviews there are examples for this approach as it seen from the local scene: *„The (flagship) place not working well, the programs are not well visited, not well organised, and this is big letting down, as most of the cultural places were closed down in the inner city to place the cultural projects here. The civils lost their places, so now the inner city is empty. For us it was not so good, if the ECOC would not have been, we could have better position in the city, maybe more institutionalised, better relations. So for us the whole period was quite difficult"* [11]

The lack of the local focus was also detectable in the scale of the events and in general in the festivalisation of the ECOC programme. This is especially valid for the actual year, when the local participation should have been the strongest. In some Eastern European cities the boards were establishing their programme by collaborating with festival offices from the capitals, instead of involving local civil initiatives. As one of my interviewees concluded it: *"the tactic of ECOC was that they leave out local participants, instead they involve bigger groups from the capital. The city was used as a background; all sorts of programmes were brought in,*

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[11] Interview with cultural operator, Pécs, April 29 2014.

although they had no local roots or relevance. People in the decision making part liked to live with their authority and outline the programme according to their preference." [12] The interests of the organisers often interpreted as being corrupt in the selection process, as it has been noted, the ECOC in general *"has a good concept, but it is not based on collaboration with the locals. The project selection is more based on the friend - friend basis." [13]*

The third possible interpretation from the side of cultural operators toward the lack of participation was the lack of strategic cultural policy. As some of the interviewees stated, *"the city lacks the cultural development policy and plan (...) the understanding of the impact of culture is missing. The programme was not planned to incubate culture, to open towards local operators".[14]*

Conclusions

The main topic that emerged from the issue mapping was the mode of involvement for local cultural operators. While their involvement was officially highlighted in the actual ECOC programmes of the cities, their real participation appeared to be partial and highly instrumentalised. Based on the interviews, the ECOC board's changing approach to participation is visible. While in the application period local participation is a highlighted element, during the programme it is only applied when it serves the interest of the board as an added value, not as an aim on is own. This selective approach to participation not strengthens, but weaken the local cultural initiatives. On the other hand, based on general evaluations, the

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[12] Interview with cultural operator, Pécs, April 28 2014.

[13] Interview with cultural operator, Riga, 9 June 2014.

[14] Interview with cultural operator, Riga, 10 June 2014.

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requirements of participation are generally fulfilled by the cities.[15] My next step is therefore to see how participation is really framed in the ECOC policies.

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[15] The so-called Palmer-reports are available from: http://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/actions/documents/ecoc/cap-part1_en.pdf; http://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/actions/documents/ecoc/cap-part2_en.pdf [Accessed 14 May 2015].

6. DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: HOW PARTICIPATION IS FRAMED IN THE ECOC POLICY DOCUMENTS?

In the analysis of the policy documents I have focused on five policy texts: decisions, recommendations and conclusions covering the timeframe between 1985-2014. The critical frame analysis I have conducted consists of two phases: the analysis of the policy documents following the 'sensitising questions' and an analysis of the participatory frame.

For this first analysis of the policies I have used a set of 'sensitising questions'. According to Bustelo and Verloo, sensitising questions are the bases for describing and analysing frames as they are tools to facilitate comparative analysis among frames (Bustelo and Verloo 2006). For the second analysis of participatory approaches in the policy documents I have also used sensitising questions, but narrowed on the framing of participation. Here instead of a supertext as an outcome they lead to a comparative analysis of the understanding and instrumentalisation of participation with the various categories.

6.1 Policy documents in Critical Frame Analysis: policy supertexts

The European Capitals of Culture Programme's has its main policy documents available in the European Union's web-archive, therefore there is a convenient source available to analyse the history and development of participatory focus in the ECOC programme. Since the programme was established in 1985, the first policy document – a resolution – is dated to that year. Altogether I have included the five major documents in this case selection, all of them published either at a major turning point in the programme or when a new cycle was due. These policy documents are the main resolutions, conclusions and decisions establishing the programme, published in year 1985; 1990; 1999; 2006 and 2014.

In the first analysis of the policy documents I have used 'sensitising questions' to outline a framework for understanding of participation.

SENSITISING QUESTIONS FOR THE FIRST ANALYSIS

• What are the official references of the document?

• Who are the voices behind the policy?

(voices speaking, references, actors and audiences)

• Diagnosis: What is represented to be the aim / problem? What is the cause?

• The attribution of roles in the diagnosis: Who have caused the problem?

Who is responsible for it? Whose problem it is?

• Prognoses: What to do?

• The attribution of roles in the prognoses: Who should do what?

Who are the target groups?

Figure 3 Supertext-template for the first analysis of the policy documents

The answers for these sensitising questions are summarized in the following 'supertexts':

I.

The European Capitals of Culture Programme was established in 1985 under the name European City of Culture. The first policy document was the *RESOLUTION of the Ministers responsible for Cultural Affairs, meeting within the Council, of 13 June 1985 concerning the annual event 'European City of Culture'.* [16] Through the resolution the Ministers responsible for Cultural Affairs – in agreement with the Council – established a yearlong cultural programme in rotation of the nominated cities of the member states with multiple exhibitions, performances and cultural activities. The represented issue behind the action is to reach

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[16] Available from: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?qid=1429448470101&uri=CELEX:41985X0622 [Accessed 10 February 2015].

an 'ever closer union' and further integration through culture. According to the plan the given European City of Culture should organise the programme, where cultural contributors from other member states contribute, 'the European public' and 'peoples of the Member States' take part as audience and from what the inhabitants of the region benefit.

Although the resolution was signed by the Ministers responsible for Cultural Affairs, the voices behind this action can be traced back also to Melina Mercouri Greek minister, who came up with the proposition of the programme and to the group of ministers who supported her proposition. The issue behind the programme – the aim for 'ever closer union' – was a clearly top-down integration initiative, which according to the programme should be an internalised aim of the citizens of member states. As the Resolution is very short, there were no special statements how the European dimension should be reached, rather than giving the title for 'culturally significant' cities, especially in the understanding of cultural heritage. In this context the cultural programme appears as a tool of European integration.

II.

The second policy document is the *CONCLUSIONS OF THE MINISTERS OF CULTURE MEETING WITHIN THE COUNCIL of 18 May 1990 on future eligibility for the 'European City of Culture' and on a special European Cultural Month event.* [17] The conclusion – signed by the Ministers of Culture – did not introduce bigger changes, only aimed to enlarge the programme that was established by the 1985 resolution. It aimed to widen the scope with the involvement of countries outside the European Community ("*not only Member States of the*

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[17] Available from: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?qid=1429448744130&uri=CELEX:41990X0703 [Accessed 10 February 2015].

Community but also other European countries basing themselves on the principles of democracy, pluralism and the rule of law should be able to nominate cities for the event" [18]) and also to enlarge the publicity of the programme within European Community Member States and other European countries. The policy is stated to be valid until 1996, until the end of the first cycle of the member states.

It is important that the conclusion's aims correspond to the regime change in the Central and Eastern European countries and with the collapse of the Soviet Union. Therefore the wider scope of participants is addressing the new, independent states and tries to popularise the democratic foundations as reflected also in the requirements.

III.

The following policy document – 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 – indicates major changes in the programme.[19] The three main changes are the following:

(1) With the signature of the European Parliament and the Council the form of the programme has changed from event to action, and the title from 'European City of Culture' to 'European Capital of Culture'.

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[18] Official Journal 90/C 162/01, page 1, paragraph 2

[19] Available from: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?qid=1429449002824&uri=CELEX:31999D1419 [Accessed 10 February 2015].

(2) The main aim of the decision was to establish a new community action – the European Capital of Culture Programme – in the framework of the legal bodies. Therefore the Maastricht Treaty and the establishment of European Union is the guideline for the institutionalisation of the programme, and the voices behind the decision changed accordingly to this new legal body. The new programme in its main track follows the European City of Culture event: *„Its objective shall be to highlight the richness and diversity of European cultures and the features they share, as well as to promote greater mutual acquaintance between European citizens".* [20] The action is similarly as the first document – the regulation – calls for *"both for strengthening local and regional identity and for fostering European integration".*[21]

(3) The sustainable impact of the programme became a new requirement: *„the positive impact has none the less not always produced results lasting beyond the duration of the project (...) the attention of public decision makers in the cities chosen should be drawn to the need to integrate the cultural project into a dynamic medium-term process".* [22]

To reach these aims next to the main actors on the international level, the stakeholders were specified as 'people active in culture' and 'people concerned with cultural activities' as organisers and performers; 'large sections of the population' as participants and 'citizens of the Union' as audience on the local and regional level. According to the decision in order to reach further integration, these stakeholders should engage in cultural cooperation, promotion of the events and ensure mobilisation and participation of large sections of population for long-lasting social impact.

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[20] Official Journal 1419/1999/EC, page 2, article 1

[21] Official Journal 1419/1999/EC, page 1, point 6

[22] Official Journal 1419/1999/EC, page 1, point 5

IV.

Although the decision of 1999 would have been valid only from 2005, the enlargement of the European Union in 2004 required modifications already in 2006. This was the DECISION No 1622/2006/EC OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL of 24 October 2006 establishing a Community action for the European Capital of Culture event for the years 2007 to 2019. [23]

Just as the previous decision, the decision of 2006 was also authored by the European Parliament and the policy addressed the same issues as the previous decision. It aimed to *"highlight the richness and diversity of European cultures and the features they share, as well as to promote greater mutual understanding between European citizens"*. [24] The main actors on the international level are narrowed to the member states. On the local level for the operational part of the programme they are addressed as the stakeholders, inhabitants and networks while citizens are named as general participants. There were two new criteria for the programme, 'the European Dimension' and 'City and Citizens'. Under 'the European Dimension' the main aim was to establish cooperation and highlight the richness of cultural diversity, where cultural operators were named as stakeholders. In 'City and Citizens' criteria the sustainability of the programme has been linked to the participation of the citizens through long-term cultural and social development. Additionally – in correlation with the subsidiarity principle of the Maastricht Treaty –, the programme was required to be consistent with national cultural strategies of the relevant member states.

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[23] Available from: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?qid=1429449575218&uri=CELEX:32006D1622 [Accessed 10 February 2015].

[24] Official Journal 1622/2006/EC, page 2, article 1

V.

The latest policy document – DECISION No 445/2014/EU OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL of 16 April 2014 establishing a Union action for the European Capitals of Culture for the years 2020 to 2033 and repealing Decision No 1622/2006/EC – indicates smaller legal changes. [25] First of all instead of a Community action this decision is establishing a Union action. The proposal still originates from the Commission, but next to the Committee of the Regions, the national parliaments also could place their opinion in accordance with the ordinary legislative procedure.

The main objectives of the action divided to general and specific action. The general action's main aim is *„to safeguard and promote the diversity of cultures in Europe and to highlight the common features they share as well as to increase citizens' sense of belonging to a common cultural area" and to "to foster the contribution of culture to the long-term development of cities in accordance with their respective strategies and priorities".* [26] While the specific action's aim is numerous: "*to enhance the range, diversity and European dimension of the cultural offering in cities, including through transnational cooperation; (...) to widen access to and participation in culture; (...) to strengthen the capacity of the cultural sector and its links with other sectors; (...) to raise the international profile of cities through culture".* [27] These objections include all the previous points, such as the focus on diversity and sustainability, but the earlier central role of European dimension became a specific category, together with participation and economic interests. Nevertheless in the reference points the highlighted aim of 'ever closer union' still very present, but there is a new added

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[25] Available from: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?qid=1429449850241&uri=CELEX:32014D0445 [Accessed 10 February 2015].

[26] Official Journal 445/2014/EU, page 4, article 2

[27] Official Journal 445/2014/EU, page 4, article 2

aim: to reach 'smart, sustainable and inclusive growth' and to understand culture as a 'catalyst for creativity within the framework for growth and jobs'. This shift reframes culture in relation to the general model of cultural and creative industries and economic enterprises.[28]

6.2 Framing participation in the European Capitals of Culture policies

In the following analysis I address the framing of participation. I have used sensitising questions again to analyse the policy documents, but here my main aim was to outline the strategic selectivities framed in the policy documents.

SENSITISING QUESTIONS FOR THE ANALYSIS OF PARTICIPATION

• How participation is named?

• Who should participate?

• In what they should participate?

• Why should they participate?

Figure 4. Sensitising questions for the analysis of participation

For this analysis I aimed to investigate all the synonyms of participation and inclusion, therefore in the five policy documents I have coded 36 quotes that frame participation directly or indirectly.[29]

In the first policy document (1985 resolution) the participatory framework was not very apparent. The document briefly addressed the very general problem of integration and it was seeking for a half-hearted solution by applying the concept of Monnet method to the cultural

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[28] Official Journal 445/2014/EU, page 2, point 6

[29] For the coded segments please consult Appendix B / Coded segments

field. Following Mercouri's suggestion, the European Cities of Culture programme (later named as European Capital of Culture) focused primarily on well-established cities of high-culture and renamed local festivals as Community events. There were no real actors or audience addressed as participants, not even collaboration or cooperation suggested. The approach's international focus – the European dimension – was exhausted by the facilitation of existing programmes from a 'number of cultural contributions from other Member States' for the benefit of the 'inhabitants of the particular region'.[30] All in all, the resolution was a very brief and very vague guidance and the very few operations all referred to the international level, with no specific sub-part being named within the whole event. If here we intend to name the problem, we can easily recognise that the problems are not situated on the 'implementation level' and they could not be framed as 'implementation error' as Verloo described, but in this case it is more likely that we are facing a general policy error, as the guidelines were too brief and unstructured (Verloo 2005).

In the second policy document – conclusion of 1990 – again, the participation was not particularly present. The programme itself was not presented in depth, the only suggestion was to wider the scope of the programme, but within a multilevel governance model all these acts are aimed at the supranational level. The actions and conclusions served in the whole programme as a tool to reach out and involve more European states in the circle of 'ever closer union', partly as a response to the collapse of Eastern block. In this framework participation was even less present than at the first period, as the European Union was moving toward a widening instead of a deepening.[31]

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[30] Official Journal 85/C 153/02

[31] Official Journal 90/C 162/01

The participatory approach was first outlined in the decision of 1999 establishing a Community action for the European Capital of Culture event for the years 2005 to 2019.[32] In this decision participation was named and highlighted as an aim that indirectly linked to the question of strengthening European identity and ensuring the medium-termed sustainability of the programme. In comparison to the previous two policy documents, we see a wide variety of participants: there are still less specific ones such as the European citizens and inhabitants, but there are also very specific aims linked to well defined participants, such as public decision makers, people active in culture, young people and local artists. Participation was first named directly in the case of specifications for nominated cities, as they should *„ensure the mobilisation and participation of large sections of the population and, as a consequence, the social impact of the action and its continuity beyond the year of the events"*. [33] Therefore participation was framed as an implementation tool and as a tool to ensure sustainability, and not for its own value to involve the inhabitants in the decisions in the programme and its implementation.

In the currently valid decision – DECISION No 1622/2006/EC (2006) – the participatory framework is less focused and less detailed than in the previous decision.[34] Although some of the points from the previous decision's annex were incorporated to the decision as a requirement, the participants themselves less outlined. Directly, they are mentioned in the 'City and Citizens' requirement – as the programme shall *„foster the participation of citizens living in the city and its surroundings and raise their interest"* – and this approach

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[32] Official Journal 1419/1999/EC

[33] Official Journal 1419/1999/EC, page 2, article 3

[34] Official Journal 1622/2006/EC

comes closer to the 'general' meaning of participation.[35] It is also positioned in a more important place of the decision as part of the criteria for the programme. Nevertheless, in this decision this is the only point, where participation or involvement really discussed, otherwise the suggestions are formulated as exchanges and cooperation in relation to the European dimension.

In the latest policy document – DECISION No 445/2014/EU (2014) – participation has a very specified role.[36] Participation and involvement have been named in many sub-categories, especially in the objectives and criteria. Within the six points of criteria the 'outreach' category especially focuses on the implementation and sustainability of the programme. In this case participation is described as involvement – *„the involvement of local artists and cultural organisations in the conception and implementation of the cultural programme""* – and this is so far the closest to the general idea of participation.[37] On the one hand, the circle of the participants is based on the local level with the involvement of artists, cultural organisations and the civil society. On the other hand, the form of involvement fulfils the requirement of participation, as the actors involved in the planning, conceptualisation and implementation of the programme as well. Nevertheless, the participatory framework in this latest decision is generally rather diffuse, participation named on various levels in various mode: from the 'participation' of candidate countries, through 'public consultation' on the future of the ECOC programme and 'cooperation' with 'delivery structure' to widen 'access' to programmes and participation in culture.[38]

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[35] Official Journal 1622/2006/EC, page 3, article 4

[36] Official Journal 445/2014/EU

[37] Official Journal 445/2014/EU, page 5, article 5

[38] Official Journal 445/2014/EU

7. STRATEGIC SELECTIVITIES IN ECOC POLICIES: PARTICIPATION AS A 'VEIL OF INCLUSIVITY'

As I have outlined, the participatory framework became directly present only from the decision of 1999 onward, nevertheless some form of inclusive approach was named in all of the documents. The 1999 decision signals an important turning point in the history of European Community, as the Maastricht Treaty was signed in 1993. One very apparent shift in the three decisions (1999, 2006, 2014) is the shift in the scope of participation. As the multi-level governance approach and the subsidiary framework became general guidelines in the European Union laws and policies, the level of policymaking shifted from the supranational level to regional and local levels. This shift is visible in the cultural policies of European Capitals of Culture Programme as well. While the participation is nearly obsolete from the first two policy documents – the existing references in the 1985's regulation and in the 1990's conclusion only refer to member states and non-member states, but all in state-level – there is a strong change in the structure and wording in the following three policy documents. The shift from state-level regulation to multilevel governance directly visible in the 1999 and 2014 decisions. In the 1999 decision the references are dedicated to regional-level ('inhabitants', 'society', 'large sections of population') with possible applications on local level ('young people', 'people concerned with cultural activities').[39] As a follow-up, the 2014 decision provides the full shift to multi-level governance: here – next to the EU level and regional level – participation is very specifically designated to local artists, local organisations and local population, further narrowing to certain components of local society: to 'young people', 'marginalised and disadvantaged' and 'minorities'.[40]

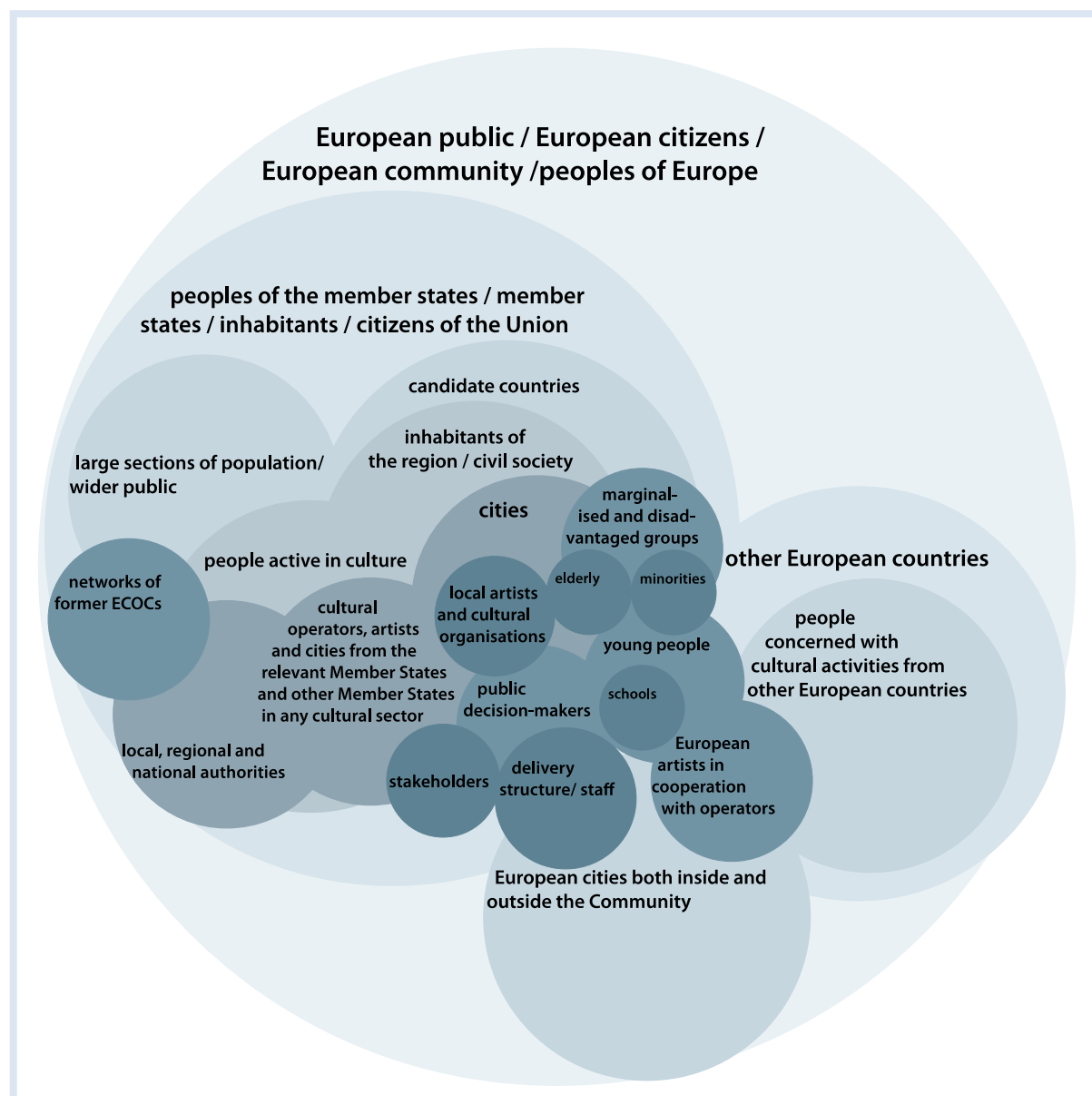[39] Official Journal 1419/1999/EC

[40] Official Journal 445/2014/EU

In this chapter I will focus on two main questions: on the one hand, on the scope of participation and on the other hand, the strategic selectivities. To return to Jessop's strategic-relational approach (SRA) we have to remember that Jessop argues that the general frameworks – such as state- and governance-centric approaches – for the analysis of European integration and especially for multilevel governance miss to address the complexities of the process. Therefore he addresses his strategic-relational approach (SRA) to contextualise the recent changes of statehood (Jessop 2014a). As strategic-relational approach regards the state, as a complex social relation and a collection of socially embedded and strategically selective institutions, its main presumption is that these institutions aim to create and recreate the existing divisions in the society (Jessop 2014a). To approach participation through this lens, the emerging question is what kind of divisions are created – and recreated – by the participatory frame of the European Capitals of Culture programme.

To deepen this approach I reach out for Turnhout, Van Bommel and Aarts theory on participation as a distinguished feature of policy planning processes (Turnhout, Van Bommel and Aarts 2010). As they point out, participation is never defined and usually carries further intentions in the policy documents, such as to enhance learning processes and to ensure sustainability of the programme. These added roles overlap with strategic selectivities: certain roles (organisation, implementation, promotion, cooperation, evaluation) are dedicated to certain participants (stakeholders, local organisations, decision-makers). Nevertheless, all these various actions and processes are happen under the name of participation. This is what Wagemans and Parfitt theorise as a 'veil of inclusivity'.

Based on the 36 coded selections from the policy documents the map of participation is the following: between the 36 selections, there are 23 separate categories for participants.

To help the understanding of the various categories I provide a figure with the visualisation of the multiple groups and sub-groups and the spatial contextualisation of the named participant groups:

Figure 5 Participants named in the ECOC policy documents

In the policy documents there are synonyms for the bigger categories, such as 'European public', 'European citizens', 'European community' and 'peoples of Europe' in the texts are used to name the same group of people, that situates the sub-groups and establishes the border of the programme along the borders of the democratic states of the European continent.[41] This group mainly designated to be the audience of the events and to consume culture. Although they are named as participants, they have no influence on decision making, organising or on the implementation of the programme. Their participation is described as 'promotion of mutual acquaintance' and 'mutual understanding' between the cultures.[42] Therefore when the policy recommends that *"the event should open up to the European public particular aspects of the culture of the city",* it only highlights their possible role as audience.[43] The European citizens and community has a rather passive, instrumentalised role, as they should provide the background for the programme and events. Their role is seen as to promote mutual acquaintance between European citizens and to act as multiplicators. This is the classical visitor or audience role; they are approached as consumers of the cultural production. In all of the policy decisions – except 2014 – this level was addressed in the main aim ('to promote mutual understanding between European citizens').

This wider group of 'European public' is subdivided to two categories: the 'Member States' and 'other European countries'. The bigger category – 'peoples of the Member States', 'Member States', 'inhabitants' and 'citizens of the Union' – is variously used for the category

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[41] Official Journal 85/C 153/02; Official Journal 90/C 162/01; Official Journal 1419/1999/EC; Official Journal 1622/2006/EC; Official Journal 445/2014/EU

[42] Official Journal 85/C 153/02; Official Journal 90/C 162/01; Official Journal 1419/1999/EC; Official Journal 1622/2006/EC; Official Journal 445/2014/EU

[43] Official Journal 85/C 153/02, page 1

of eligible applicant countries' inhabitants.[44] On the one hand, it ensures that the programme – as a European Community / European Union programme – is designed for the Member States. On the other hand, the 'other European countries' category is rather a semi-closed category, under this title the candidate countries for the EU or possible future candidates are addressed. For this the EU has provided the distinction in the 1990's conclusion highlighting democratic values.[45] Therefore these two categories set the borders of participation within the frame of European community, dividing it to 'participants' – citizens of Member States – and audience – other States. While 'the Member States' are divided to further categories, from the 'other states' only those citizens pointed out, who can be beneficial for the programme – 'people concerned with cultural activities' – but reciprocal benefits are not appointed as an aim.[46]

The bigger group, the 'Member States' – also named as 'peoples of the Member States', 'inhabitants' and 'citizens of the Union' – further divided to multiple categories. Their role in general is similar to the role of 'European public': audience and tourism framed as participation. Within this group there are two bigger directions recognisable, one is based on the given ECOC city and its region – I will call it 'locals' – and the other one is the 'experts', people active in culture and organisers.

The 'locals' are numerous groups, pointed out in relation to the given ECOC city. As 'inhabitants of the region' and local 'civil society' they are named as the ideal beneficiaries of the programme, but they are still approached mainly as audience. This distinction between the

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[44] Official Journal 85/C 153/02; Official Journal 90/C 162/01; Official Journal 1419/1999/EC; Official Journal 1622/2006/EC; Official Journal 445/2014/EU

[45] *„not only Member States of the Community but also other European countries basing themselves on the principles of democracy, pluralism and the rule of law should be able to nominate cities for the event"* Official Journal 90/C 162/01, page 1, paragraph 2
[46] Official Journal 1419/1999/EC

levels of participation is especially strongly spelled out in the decision of 2006: *"By enabling cities to involve their surrounding region, including any islands, a wider public can be reached and the impact of the event can be amplified".*[47] Local and regional involvement in this approach should aim to serve the success of the programme, and not the other way around. The inhabitants in general are addressed to take a more active role, recognise their importance and the economic benefits of the event. They are seen as the beneficiaries of the programme's social impact, but also should be the stakeholders of its sustainability. The nominated cities should use their brand to boost tourism and by involving surrounding regions to amplify the programme's impact.

It is only the latest decision from 2014 that introduce local participation in a way that overlaps with Fischer's definition of participation. Here participation stands as part of the outreach criteria as the programme should be based on *„involvement of local population and civil society in the preparation of the application and the implementation of the action".*[48] Nevertheless as it is listed amongst many altering framings of participation it does not appear as an overall valid requirement only as an option from many. Especially as it seemingly further 'clarified' in a strategically selective way, as the programme's aim is named as *„the creation of new and sustainable opportunities for a wide range of citizens to attend or participate in cultural activities, in particular young people, volunteers and the marginalised and disadvantaged, including minorities, with special attention being given to persons with disabilities and the elderly as regards the accessibility of those activities".*[49] This more sounds like as an attempt to fulfil the general EU requirements on equality and therefore

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[47] Official Journal 1622/2006/EC, page 1, point 3

[48] Official Journal 445/2014/EU, page 6, article 5

[49] Official Journal 445/2014/EU, page 6, article 5

participation here used as a synonym of accessibility. Similarly, other subgroups are named as young people and schools, which has a similar role and seen as to fulfil educative requirements.

The other recognisable group is the 'experts'. They are named as 'people active in culture'; 'local-, regional- and national authorities'; 'networks of ECOCs'; 'public decision-makers'; 'stakeholders'; 'delivery structure/staff' and 'cultural operators'. Differentiated from 'locals', they have the role of advisory bodies, of planning, implementing and monitoring of the projects and to ensure its success and sustainability. They are addressed by their field of expertise – but not in collaboration with the locals – and to fulfil specific roles.

Public decision makers addressed specifically in the 1999 decision and directed to apply their competences to 'integrate the cultural project into a dynamic medium-term process'.[50] Therefore they should serve the sustainability of the programme. They are also named as stakeholders in the 2006 decision and based on the consultation with them, a new part was added to the policy guidelines focusing on monitoring. In 2014 a new, highly authoritative role was added to the role of local, regional and national authorities as they become the stakeholders of the 'capacity to deliver' category of the criteria. According to this requirement, a successful city application should be able to claim the broad and strong support and commitment of these authorities. In the latest policy document the management role is distinguished from local participation, but such roles nominated for the 'delivery structure' that would be part of real local participation as it has to be assessed whether *„the delivery structure has staff with appropriate skills and experience to plan, manage and deliver the cultural programme for the year of the title".*[51]

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[50] Official Journal 1419/1999/EC

[51] Official Journal 445/2014/EU, page 6, article 6

The last category I intend to point out is the 'local artist and cultural organisations''. In my understanding they have a central role, as even if we don't aim for full participation of the local society, local operators involvement should be still the key of planning, implementation and sustainability of the programme, as they are not only 'locals' but also 'experts'. Nevertheless, local operators' participation only framed in this way in the 2014 decision as part of the cultural and artistic content: *"involvement of local artists and cultural organisations in the conception and implementation of the cultural programme",* but this point is overwritten by the more specific designations of the decision.[52]

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[52] Official Journal 445/2014/EU, page 5, article 5

CONCLUSIONS

The strategic selectivities of multilevel metagovernance – according to Jessop – are based on the presumption that we approach the state as a social relation. This approach excludes the treatment of the state as subject or as instrument. According to him, the state does not exercise power: the powers *"are activated through the agency of definite political forces in specific conjunctures"* (Jessop 2014). If this approach is applicable for a state, I argue this is also applicable – or at least as one possible theoretical frame – for the European Union. Although EU as a *sui generis* entity is clearly not a state-structure, it disputably can be framed through social relations as it is not the states that act or the EU itself, rather specific sets of actors, politicians, ministers and state officials located in the system. In this framework actions and policies are approached as structured and structuring tools. This was the starting assumption for my discussion and analysis. Therefore I aimed to point out the presence of this structuring function and the structurally inscribed strategic selectivities in the policies.

My research question was whether the participatory approaches serve strategic selectivities under the veil of inclusivity in the European Capitals of Culture Programme. According to my hypothesis, the recognisable presence of performative practices in the policy documents would mean that the strategic selectivities are present in these policies, as these practices create specific roles to fulfil specific functions.

This question emerged following the issue mapping that I conducted in seven European Capitals of Culture cities. Based on the guided interviews in the Central- and Eastern European and in the Baltic ECOCs the main problem for the local operators and civil society organisations was the instrumentalisation of their participation. According to my interviewees, most of the local organiser boards in the programme used participation in a rather selective way, adjusting the depth of involvement to fit their needs. This led to a changing meaning of

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participation in the implementation of the various stages of the programme, in some places to full participation in the application period while to a very reduced framing of participation in the actual ECOC year.

This selective approach to participation is what I theorised – following Jessop, Turnhout, Van Bommel and Aarts – as strategic selectivities under the 'veil of inclusivity'. To further analyse these selectivities many inquiries are imaginable. As the selectivities can be implemented at various levels – EU policy level, national level according to the subsidiarity principle or the local level of the city leadership for example – each issue would require a different research design and different methodological approaches as well.

For this thesis I have chosen to analyse the strategic selectivities on the policy level. Based on the five main policy documents I have conducted a discourse analysis to outline the framing of participation. Following the methodological framework proposed by Verloo, I have applied critical frame analysis on the policy documents to outline how the policy decisions and especially the framing of participation may privilege certain groups, actors and actions and to highlight the performative practices of the policies. On the one hand, with critical frame analysis I broke down the various discourses of participation to highlight the bias of policies and to point out how specific strategies are designed as Jessop put it 'by specific forces' with *"specific identities in order to advance specific interests over specific spatial and temporal horizons"* (Jessop 2014). On the other hand, based on Turnhout, Van Bommel and Aarts theory I have approached participatory practices as staged performances that led to the differentiation of various actors, who play their various roles according to the scripts and instructions of the stakeholders (Turnhout, Van Bommel and Aarts 2010).

Following the theoretical chapter I have proposed two questions to answer. To answer my first question, – *Are there recognisable performative practices outlined in the policy*

documents? – I have coded and analysed the various categories of participants and the roles dedicated to them. The categories of participants had a strong differentiation not only between member state level actions and local guidelines, but also on all other levels, most strikingly between 'locals' and 'experts'. This is the most problematic issue here, as under the veil of inclusivity there is a strong differentiation – and even control – for the planning and implementation of the programme, where 'locals' are not approached as 'experts', while the general approach of participatory governance would aim to erase these distinctions. One could argue, that the locals are not experts of cultural programming, but as we seen there are 'local experts' – local operators, civil society organisations – whose involvement could be the link towards a more participatory approach. They could fulfil a central role, as the key actors of planning, implementation and sustainability of the programme. Nevertheless, based on my interviews their involvement is highly problematic and mostly instrumentalised. Therefore my answer to my first question is that there are recognisable performative practices outlined in the policy documents of the European Capitals of Culture Programme, and they strongly differentiate between the various actors and the roles fulfilled by them.

My second question was related to the participatory governance approach of the ECOC. I have used the classification of the participatory governance approach as Schaap and Edwards's outlined in their participation ladder (Schaap and Edwards 2007). Based on this ladder I can indicate whether it is really the participatory governance approach that being introduced in the cultural policies. Participatory governance according to Schaap and Edwards is based on the citizen's participation in public decision-making. As I have pointed out, although in some of the policies there were recommendations to involve the citizens, it mainly addressed only a certain groups of citizens. In the different stages of the programme – in the planning, decision-making and implementation – this never reached the level of partnership, which would fulfil the general requirement of participation according to my working

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definition. The delegated co-decision making is mainly valid for the decision-making between the European Union and the ECOC boards, as it is required by the subsidiarity principle. Nevertheless, within the ECOC programme itself the main participation form – according to the ladder – is 'open advice' where citizens only take the role to comment in situations that were previously set up by the ECOC board and stakeholders. As Schaap and Edwards are appointed, only the first three forms of their ladder are the merit of participatory democracy model, therefore my conclusion is that the form of participation as it framed in the ECOC policies only fulfils the scope of representative democracy.

My main analysis problematized the cultural policies' selectivities by pointing out the variety of participatory frameworks, and by unveiling the 'veil of ignorance' implemented through the assertive use of a pseudo-homogenous phenomena such as participation. This approach might lead to a 'naturalisation' of participation, where it might act as a fuzzy veil obstructing the analysis of social context and the requirement of its usage. I argue that until there are distinctions embedded under the label of participation, we cannot really talk about participatory governance approach. Therefore I propose that participation should be the focus of further thorough analysis to reveal the 'polymorphous' discourses forming around the phenomena. Nevertheless I can conclude that the framing of participation as it is apparent in the ECOC policies appears to be a problematic and very harmful instrumentalisation of the expression. Instead of strengthening the local cultural initiatives and citizen participation, it weakens the interest, devotedness and the trust in democratic participation, one of the main building blocks of new governance in particular and democracy in general. In this context it cannot be seen as a solution for a democratic deficit – as it reproduces the factors and frameworks that were leading to it.

APPENDIX A / ISSUE MAPPING

I. Institute/ Organisation

1. What is the brief concept of your institute/ organisation?

2. What are your main aims?

3. What is the organisational form?

4. When was it established?

5. How many people are involved in it?

6. What kind of programs/service you offer?

7. Who is your audience?

8. How big is your audience?

II. European Capitals of Culture

1. How did you/ your institution get involved in the ECOC?

2. Which stage of the program you get involved with?

3. Who initiated the involvement?

4. What was your plan for the program?

5. What was finalised in the program?

6. Who were your partners in the program?

III. Problem mapping

1. What do you think of the ECOC program in general?

2. What do you think of the ECOC program of your city?

3. How would you rate the ECOC program? (0-10)

4. How would you rate the planning part of the program? (0-10)

5. What were the main highlights?

6. What were the main problems?

7. How would you rate the communication of the organisers with your institute? (0-10)

8. What were the main highlights?

9. What were the main problems?

10. How would you rate you involvement in the program overall? (0-10)

11. What were the main highlights?

12. What were the main problems?

13. How would you rate the outcome of your program? (0-10)

14. What were the main highlights?

15. What were the main problems?

IV. Follow-up and future perspectives

1. What was the follow-up of the program?

2. How did it change the operation of your institute?

3. Is there any official help or support from the ECOC organisers?

4. If yes please name it.

5. How would you rate the follow-up of the program? (0-10)

6. What were the main highlights?

7. What were the main problems?

8. What kind of follow-up or support would be efficient in your perspective?

APPENDIX B / CODED SEGMENTS

Document name	Code	Begin	End	Segment
resolution1985	participation	1: 567	1: 734	The event has been established to help bring the peoples of the Member States closer together, but account should be taken of wider European cultural affinities.
resolution1985	participation	1: 737	1: 1277	The event should open up to the European public particular aspects of the culture of the city, region or country concerned. It may also concentrate on the city concerned a number of cultural contributions from other Member States, primarily for the benefit of the inhabitants of the particular region. Between these two poles, a wide variety of emphases can be placed and inter-related themes chosen so as to enhance the city concerned and mark the particular occasion, if any, which has provided a reason for choosing it
conclusion1990	participation	1: 590	1: 839	They agree that for the years after 1996 not only Member States of the Community but also other European countries basing themselves on the principles of democracy, pluralism and the rule of law should be able to nominate cities for the event
conclusion1990	participation	1: 1299	1: 1639	In view of the widespread interest in holding the event of European cities both inside and outside the Community, the Ministers agree to create a further cultural event, which would be a special European Cultural Month in one city (from a European country basing itself on the principles of democracy, pluralism and the rule of law
decision1999	participation	1: 1610	1: 1909	Whereas a study which has been carried out into the results achieved by European Cities of Culture shows that the event has 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
decision1999	participation	1: 1917	1: 2299	Whereas the positive impact has none the less not always produced results lasting beyond the duration of the project itself and whereas, while recognising their competence to decide about the content of their project, the attention of public decision-makers in the cities chosen should be drawn to the need to integrate the cultural project into a dynamic medium-term process
decision1999	participation	2: 1343	2: 1614	A Community action entitled 'European Capital of Culture' shall be established. Its objective shall be to highlight the richness and diversity of European cultures and the features they share, as well as to promote greater mutual acquaintance between European citizens
decision1999	participation	2: 3194	2: 3399	The nomination shall include a cultural project of European dimension, based principally on cultural cooperation, in accordance with the objectives and action provided for by Article 151 of the Treat
decision1999	participation	2: 3611	2: 3801	to promote events involving people active in culture from other cities in Member States and leading to lasting cultural cooperation, and to foster their movement within the European Unio
decision1999	participation	2: 3904	2: 4090	to ensure the mobilisation and participation of large sections of the population and, as a consequence, the social impact of the action and its continuity beyond the year of the events

decision1999	participation	2: 4096	2: 4245	to encourage the reception of citizens of the Union and the widest possible dissemination of the various events by employing all forms of multimedia
decision1999	participation	3: 79	3: 384	Each city shall organise a programme of cultural events highlighting the city's own culture and cultural heritage as well as its place in the common cultural heritage, and involving people concerned with cultural activities from other European countries with a view to establishing lasting cooperation
decision1999	participation	5: 576	5: 711	organisation of specific activities designed to encourage artistic innovation and to generate new forms of cultural action and dialogue
decision1999	participation	5: 717	5: 860	organisation of measures to increase access to and awareness of fixed and movable artistic assets and artistic productions specific to the city
decision1999	participation	5: 865	5: 950	organisation of specific cultural projects designed to bring young people to the arts
decision1999	participation	5: 956	5: 1033	organisation of specific cultural projects designed to increase social cohesio
decision1999	participation	5: 1044	5: 1181	the planned activities to a wider public, particularly through the use of multimedia and audiovisual means and a multilingual approach
decision2006	participation	1: 813	1: 1257	A study into the results achieved by the European City of Culture event until 2004 showed that it had a positive impact in terms of media resonance, the development of culture and tourism and the recognition by inhabitants of the importance of their city having been designated; however, the action still needs to be improved, particularly with regard to its long-term effect on the cultural development of the city and region concerned
decision2006	participation	1: 1265	1: 1419	By enabling cities to involve their surrounding region, including any islands, a wider public can be reached and the impact of the event can be amplified
decision2006	participation	1: 1427	1: 1580	The stakeholders in the event stressed problems in the selection process laid down in Decision No 1419/1999/EC, and recommended monitoring the proposal
decision2006	participation	1: 3264	1: 3526	networks of former official European Capitals of Culture should be encouraged to play a constructive role in sharing their experiences and best practice with future European Capitals of Culture, notably on the basis of exchanges during the preparation phase.
decision2006	participation	2: 1068	2: 1326	A Community action entitled 'European Capital of Culture' is hereby established in order to highlight the richness and diversity of European cultures and the features they share, as well as to promote greater mutual understanding between European citizens
decision2006	participation	2: 1835	2: 2048	Every application shall include a cultural programme with a European dimension, based principally on cultural co-operation, in accordance with the objectives and action provided for by Article 151 of the Treat
decision2006	participation	2: 3219	2: 3366	foster cooperation between cultural operators, artists and cities from the relevant Member States and other Member States in any cultural sector
decision2006	participation	3: 60	3: 213	foster the participation of the citizens living in the city and its surroundings and raise their interest as well as the interest of citizens from abroa

decision2014	participation	1: 765	1: 1131	The Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) aims at an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe and confers on the Union the task, inter alia, of contributing 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.
decision2014	participation	2: 184	2: 557	The evaluations of the European Capitals of Culture, as well as the public consultation on the future of that action after 2019, have revealed that it has progressively become one of the most ambitious cultural initiatives in Europe as well as one of the most appreciated by European citizens. A new action should, therefore, be established to cover the years 2020–33

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