

**FROM THE RUHR TO THE BOSPORUS
EUROPEAN CAPITALS OF CULTURE 2010
- ESSEN, PÉCS, ISTANBUL**

**OD RUHRA DO BOSPORA
EUROPSKI GRADOVI KULTURE 2010.GODINE
- ESSEN, PEČUH, CARIGRAD (ISTANBUL)**

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SUMMARY

During the 25 year old history of the prestigious title European Capital of Culture it will be added by a new component in the year 2010, as three cities get the opportunity to introduce their values. Essen, Pécs and Istanbul are significant pillars of a cultural axis running throughout Europe, whose development took place in distinct times along different historical, geographical conditions. Different nationalities are present as mediators and links between them who influenced decisively the development of these cities and their change of economic importance. Our fundamental aim is to emphasise the similarities and list all significant details related to the ECC priorities as the possibility of sustainability and liveability. Introducing the similarities and differences in financing, the implementation and variation of projects, emphasizing cooperation experienced in communication and certain program sets is a fundamental element of our present research. At the same time, common goals, various methods - that originate in cultural differences - by all means can teach us the lesson.

Key words: European Capitals of Culture, Essen, Pécs, Istanbul

Ključne riječi: Europski gradovi culture, Essen, Pečuh, Carigrad (Istanbul)

INTRODUCTION

The notion of »European Capital of Culture« originated from Melina Mercouri in 1983, Minister of Culture in Greece at that time, and it was first awarded by the European Council in 1985 with the aim of bringing the Europeans closer to each other. The event offered a great opportunity to highlight the cultural diversity of the continent. These objectives were included also in the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, so since that time every year a different country gives European Capital of Culture (hereinafter ECC), which label became generally known in 1999.

The originally until 2004 scheduled project series commanded ever greater attention from the European citizens, thus with changes combined, but the programme that enabled meeting of cultures continued. It differs from other, similar series of events in its scale and appearance, since it assumes high standard of art. The project evolved throughout the years with unchanged original objective, thus it pays special attention to Europe's cultural richness, diversity and similarities, ensuring tolerance for each other, respectively to the creation of the »European citizen« feeling. These belong to the main priorities of the European Union (hereinafter EU), just like the development of culture that is the third most important element of the strategy.¹

Due to increase in the scale of the event, instead of one capital ten European cities could introduce their cultural values in the year of the Millennium, and since 2005 every member state has the chance to appear. Since 2007 two countries are allowed to delegate potential candidates. Since 2009 an old and a newly accessed member state can ensure hand in hand the cognition of their nation/nations for Europe and the world. From 2011 another curiosity will enrich the programme of the cultural capitals, since from that time on the cities of the member states will organize the programmes jointly.

Also the selection mechanism have undergone changes, since the conditions are rather diverse: the aspirant cities work out a comprehensive programme that meets the criteria, according to which the planned projects have to fulfil a determining role in the economic, cultural and social development of the city. This creates ground for the realization of long term cooperation, just like the mobility within the EU, the enhancement of the dialogue within the European cultural circle and with other areas. The European Union expects in the future that the forthcoming capitals pay a special attention to the long run sustainable cultural development of cities and regions; respectively it envisions the introduction of a controlling phase as well.

In the past member states had the freedom to select their capital of culture, later on also the European Union took a more significant part in this, since the Commission, the European Parliament, the Council and the Commission of Regions - at latest four years before the start of the events - composes a recommendation for the involved member states, in which it guarantees them its support. The Commission sets up a jury every year that works out a report about the proposed nominations. Based on the commission reports, the European Parliament takes a stand regarding the designations. The Council offers an opinion considering this latter and the opinion of the jury.

Also the 25 years jubilee differs in many aspects from the conventional one. The year 2010 is a special year not only because three cities could win the title but also in the sense that next to the member states it made field for the introduction of a country from outside the European Union

¹ European Agenda for Culture: the strategy worked out in May 2007 put the cultural diversity, intercultural dialogue, culture as engine of creativity and as key element of international relations in the centre.

- there have been only three examples for this until now² - that is a kind of courtesy on behalf of it for Turkey that is in the pre-accession phase.

The winners of the title for 2010 represent - under many aspects - quite different types of cities. The most striking difference is maybe in their size. Essen is a middle-sized city in the European sense, but as the centre of the Ruhr-area it represents a whole region. Though Pécs is a large city in the Hungarian scale, but it can be only categorized as a middle city in the European dimension. Istanbul represents clearly the mega-city that had a strategic role in every era due to its unique geographical position.

Regarding their historical evolution, the German settlement represents a former industrial area that won its current outlook during the economic restructuring. On the contrary, Pécs has a much older and vivid history, since it functioned already in the Roman Empire as a significant trade centre - primarily due to its favourable geographical position. Istanbul was repeatedly the centre of an empire, recently it is recorded as the biggest city in Turkey and one of the largest in Europe.

As it can be seen, we could cite a series of differences that suggest that except being cultural capitals in 2010 nothing connects these cities. We could start with the fact that Turkey and also Istanbul itself lay on two continents. Also the question could arise whether it is necessary at all to treat it as a part of Europe - and that of the European culture - and if yes, why? Nevertheless, if we investigate them closer, we can mention at least three connection points: EU-membership, respectively the chance of it, cultural diversity (within that the Turkish presence emphasized), as well as the role of heavy industry (primarily mining industry) in case of Essen and Pécs, and the consequently arising difficulties of the restructuring are definitely worth to mention.

The aim of the study is to follow up the conceptual changes in the ECC programme series, furthermore introduce the objectives and expectations recently associated with the title, and to introduce and compare the cultural capitals of Europe in 2010. We especially highlight how in practice against theory the three, under many aspects significantly different cultural European protagonists realize or depart from the principles declared in the EU-resolution.³ We analyze in detail which elements, principles of the original ECC-notion are represented by each city, in how far cooperation works between them and which difficulties they faced since the selection, which critique can we express related to planning and implementation, respectively, what makes 2010 different, what this year gives to the nominees and the visitors.

ESSEN FOR THE RUHR-REGION

Essen (and the Ruhr-region) was selected among 18 German cities on the 11th of April 2006. The other big possible winner was the project of Görlitz-Zgorzelec (German-Polish sister town in Saxony), and for big surprise it overrun candidates like Potsdam, Köln and Bremen, which were seen by the local and European public opinion to be much more significant in cultural sense. In fact there was the whole giant industrial area behind the winning proposal, on whose behalf Essen undertook the role of ensign («Essen for the Ruhr-region»⁴).

² There is a possibility to choose a non-EU-member as well with the concordant opinion of the Council, so Reykjavik, Island in 2000 and Stavanger, Norway in 2008 could become of Europe's cultural capitals.

³ Until 2009 1419/1999 EC resolution, later on from 2010 1622/2006 EC resolution.

⁴ The application of a larger, integrated area was allowed only once before: in 2007 the whole country with the city and the neighbouring provinces won the title jointly under the name Luxembourg Large region (http://www.kulturpont.hu/content.php?hle_id=12148).

The Ruhr-region that lays in North Rhine-Westphalia federal province of the present-day Germany was the key area, core of the German industrialization in the 19-20th century, and it became worldwide the symbol of industrial landscape and that of industrial recovery of a country. However, the crisis appearing and deepening at the end of the 1950s resulted in drastic job-cuts and factory liquidations. The during the 20th century degrading local heavy industry left a region behind that struggled with serious ecological, economic, social and city architectural problems, where the structural change is going on even recently.

By the 1980s the area deepened into a deep crisis, and became a depressed region not only in economic, but in more general, social sense. The reasons originated clearly in the long term monotony of the economy regarded stable before and in the sudden changes. New perspectives had to be created for this region, which proved to be a big challenge.

Many associate the »Ruhr-region« even today with steel, coal and smoking chimneys of factories. The region gets a chance in 2010 to change these pictures that deeply root in people's head. To succeed this, a craggy, reasonably communicated new image is needed, for which the European Capital of Culture initiative is a great chance, since it introduces the comeback of the diverse city group by drawing up also unique features: revitalizing area; and not a city but a whole region.

There are several reasons why exactly Essen was selected among several settlements of the Ruhr-area. On the one hand it can be explained by its geographical position, since it lays in the middle of the region. Furthermore, it also stands out from its fellows regarding its population, because together with Dortmund they are the two largest settlements in the region, with 600 000 inhabitants each. However, next to these two important features also that played a significant role in the selection that Essen's demographic composition excellently demonstrates the cultural-nationality diversity of the region, respectively the city exemplarily deals with the issue of integration. The settlement - that was previously clearly characterized by coal mining and Krupp Steel Factory - is nowadays the cultural and artistic centre of the Ruhr-region, which it deserved by its built heritage (cathedral, synagogue, Hügel villa etc.) and by its famous cultural establishments (philharmonic, opera, theatre, galleries, exhibition halls etc.). The outstanding former mining factory of the Zollverein is recently part of the UNESCO World Heritage. Furthermore it hosts two internationally important institutions (Folkwang Museum and Folkwang College) that embody the ideology of »Folkwang«,⁵ thus the togetherness, accessibility of life and culture (Grizzo, n. et al. 2008).

The conurbation that stands behind Essen in the proposal and in the events as well has about 5.2 million inhabitants and consists of 53 settlements; cities and villages. It is an area known Europe-wide as one of the industrial areas with the longest traditions; after all consequently also lots of negative elements are associated with its image. Thus the proposal of Essen built on two central elements:

on the one hand, the Ruhr-area, as one of the former largest heavy industrial regions of Europe would like to introduce itself as a newly established cultural metropolis (»Ruhr Metropol«);

on the other hand, it applied for the title as an immigration target region in the heart of Europe.

⁵ The idea of »Folkwang« is related to the name of Karl Ernst Osthaus, patron of art and collector who established Folkswand Museum at the end of the 19th century. After his death Essen city bought the collection from the family and after its expansion it established the new Folkswang Museum that is recently one of Germany's oldest collections of 19-20th century art (BÖTTCHER, D. 2002 p. 278.).

Also the mottos of the 2010 event series try to express clearly the economic restructuring, the change of functions, respectively the - partly nationality - diversity that can be demonstrated multiple ways, fully meeting the criteria, objectives that are seen to be important by the awarding of the European Capital of Culture title. The motto »Transformation through culture - culture through transformation« in Essens proposal (»Wandel durch Kultur - Kultur durch Wandel«) suggest that the Ruhr-area can be an example for European regions that are in similar situation, with similar features, as it represents how a monocultural industrial district is able to find culture as a fundamental booster of its economic restructuring.

The other motto of Essen: »Discovery. Experience. Movement.« (≈Entdecken. Erleben. Bewegen.«), the background meaning of which also strengthens the above detailed issues, i.e. it tries to motivate the visitors to get to know the local history, try to live it through and in connection with this try to visit the previous industrial memories (Abeck, S. et al. 2007).

Before 1850 the Ruhr-region did not have a history - at least it did not really have city-like traditions, valuable built heritage. The memories that survived the fall of the industry were planned to be demolished immediately, since that time they were seen as landscape destroying, function lost symbols of the region's crisis. They recognized fortunately still in time the ambivalent fact that without industry Ruhr-area is nothing, there is nothing else for the inhabitants of the »Pott«⁶ to be proud of. New traditions, community must be created in the region based on this heritage.

The rehabilitated, by monuments act protected, often special, uniquely beautiful buildings are today regions-wide tourism products as part of the »Road Industrial Culture« (Route Industriekultur). Also the sight of curious and later on settled tourists, arriving gradually since the second half of the 1990s, played an important role in fact that the region and its inhabitants discovered themselves again.

The history of the Ruhr-region is also the history of immigrants. During 150 years some four million foreign workers came into the area (primarily East-Europeans, Turkish, Italian, and also war refugees). Also nowadays there live more than 140 nationalities. 600 thousand among the 5.2 million inhabitants do not have a German passport.⁷ This cultural diversity is also the uniqueness of the Ruhrians. Additionally, in a wider sense almost everybody has a root regarding their ancestors based on which they can be seen as immigrants.

The RUHR.2010 GmbH was established in 2006 by the Municipality of Essen, Regionalverband Ruhr (representing the settlements of the Ruhr-region), by North Rhine-Westphalia federal province and by the Initiativkreis Ruhr (representing the civil society) (Gaßdorf, D. et al. 2005). The administration of the organisation is arranged by the general management and by the art direction. The former has the task to coordinate and follow up the processes of marketing, tourism, European exchange programmes, administration, financing and supports. Cooperation with partners and development of local and regional cultural structures are also its authority.

Regarding the art direction maybe the most important is to mention its human capital, the art director, who are famous personalities and are responsible for different issues, likewise cultural supply or creative economy. Basically their task is to manage the series of events of 2010 on a European level (Gaßdorf, D. et al. 2005).

The project ideas of the programmes of the cultural capital year originated from three sources: from civil society (individual projects and events), from cities, respectively their other cultural

⁶ Local denomination of the Ruhr-region is Pott or Ruhrpott.

⁷ Cultural Capital Ruhr-region 2010 Forum, 09.07.2008, Bochum (based on the data of Einwohnermeldeamt).

institutions, furthermore from the organizers of the Ruhr Triennale in Bochum that is traditionally organized every year.

Essen and the Ruhr-region can manage from a 48 million Euros budget between 2006 and 2010. Twelve million Euros from this are sponsored by the Regionalverband Ruhr (hereinafter: RVR), 6 million Euros by the city of Essen, 12 million Euros by North Rhine-Westphalia federal province, 9 million Euros by the German Federal State, 8.5 million Euros by the big corporations in the Ruhr-area, and the European Union provided a support in an amount of 0.5 million Euros. It was aimed to complete this budget from other sources to a total of 78 million Euros; however, these plans were undermined by the economic crisis that meanwhile reached its peak. Essen does not stand alone with the financial difficulties, since also the other two cities which met similar difficulties, additionally, the pre-arrangements in Pécs, Hungary were interspersed by a series of unfavourable coincidences as well.

PÉCS, THE »BORDERLESS CITY«

By the call for proposals eleven Hungarian settlements started to compete for the cultural capital title, among them Budapest and the regional centres, respectively the more remarkable middle-sized cities. Seven aspirants got into the second round in 2005, among them also Pécs, and in 2006 a governmental decision was made that declared that the winner of the competition was the centre of the South-Transdanubian region. Later on also in the December of the same year the European Commission confirmed the Hungarian resolution, thus the 25 year jubilee year will be based on three pillars with Essen and Istanbul jointly.

Pécs is a settlement in the southern part of Hungary that lays close (35 km) to the Croatian border, with some 157 thousand inhabitants. The natural endowments (geographical position, climate, hydrography, meeting point of different landscape types, unique flora and fauna elements) of the city that lays in the southern foreground of the Mecsek hill meant a decisive factor in the settling of the population from the beginning on.

Also due to this fact its history goes back to the Roman era when it was centre of Pannonia Valeria province and a commercial city, called Sopianae. In the middle ages it served as an episcopate seat that is reflected trustworthily by its Latin (Quinque Ecclesiae) and German (Fünfkirchen that is 'five churches') names as well. The cultural importance of the settlement is proved by the fact that King Louis the Great established university with the approval of Pope Urban V in 1367.

The Ottoman thraldom in the 16-17th century meant a significant element of the extern effects: that time it turned into a Balkan-type trade city. After the exorcise of the Turkish and after the Rákóczi-war of independence,⁸ the empty areas were occupied by residents from the South-German provinces, who exerted a significant effect on the later development next to the already resided Hungarian and South-Slav population.

The 19th century meant a further advancement in the field of economy and culture, since the largest black carbon stock of the country was discovered in the Mecsek, and they started its

⁸ After liberation from the Turkish dominion this was the first important war of freedom of Hungary between 1703-1711 against the Habsburg absolutism.

exploitation. This development was set back⁹ by World War I, and after World War II. the socialist industrialization (see uranium mining) was launched and the city became one of the industrial centres of Hungary. The system change meant another break in the life of the settlement, since the degradation of the secondary sector caused a serious crisis and change, from which Pécs has not recovered effectively yet. The chance of the renewed rise can be ensured by the presence of the services sector and the university, respectively the fourth, quaternary sector that is based on the knowledge economy (Trócsányi, A. 2008), the development of which is strongly influenced by the won ECC-title. Thus it is not accidental that the development of the city and the cultural life, the creation of the appropriate infrastructure, the strengthening of the regional centre role became a primary objective, simultaneously with the induction of aimed positive changes in the country's decentralization processes, the mitigation of the capital-centred character - for the first in a short, but later in a long run as well.

At the same time the discovery of urbanity, the creation of public spaces from plazas, pushing proxy to the nature in the foreground were also given a role - since Pécs was built in the nature (Takáts, J. 2004). It rightly ensures also with its multicultural role - that is a result of the changes that can be traced in its historical development - the original intention of the ECC complemented with the uniqueness emphasising character that it is situated - and was always situated in its whole history - on the border of Europe's most well known part, thus it means a real gateway towards the Balkans. This was accompanied by the diversity of the different habits and art branches, which can be traced also in the field of religion and education, so for example the Croatian and German nationality schools, the Roma education from the kindergarten to the university, and the arts higher education. As a further example it can be mentioned that Pécs is the Hungarian starting point of the avant-gardes. Uniquely in the country, it has a street that presents a series of museums, respectively after the capital the most theatres in the county can be found here. Also the cultural values of the different historical and political eras/systems are present in a compact manner, so it saved the architectural elements from the Roman era through the Turkish memories to the socialism.

Knowing the undertaken tasks and the common aim it is obvious in the case of the Hungarian capital of culture that it grasps the chance offered by the ECC as a potential step of the recovery from the crisis by exploiting the endowments. The role of the tertiary-, respectively quaternary sectors that come into the foreground of the economic life due to the restructuring becomes more important, just like the expected rise of the cultural economy becomes more important due to the boost in the cultural tourism. During the implementation of the projects also a brown field investment will be realized, in the frame of which the ground of the Zsolnay Porcelain Manufacture, that lays on the eastern border of the down town and played a key role in the industrial development of the city, will be the scene of a social and cultural city rehabilitation.

The slogans »The borderless city« and »The gateway to the Balkans« excellently reflect the role and situation of the several hundred-year-old city, the presence of a multinational population. The series of events based on this introduce the values of the settlement and they build an excellent relational ground towards the neighbouring countries, the Balkans' areas. So the event series of the ECC is nothing else than a thematic organization and colouration of events with longer traditions, though the basic principles exactly include the evading of such attractions and aim at the creation, maintenance of a long term strategy that in the case of Pécs is restricted to construc-

⁹ Since the changes of Trianon in the borders affected also Pécs very heavily: it became a periphery, close to the border of the country that cut its agglomeration in half, so it lost receiving markets in and demand representing purchase power in the economy.

tion of high budgeting facilities. The emphasis is given so to the city-image increase (Aubert, A. - Mészáros, B. 2008) that also can be caught as a trade-name campaign that is hall-marked by the name of the EU. The implementation of this is supported by a multi-source financed budget, in which the dominant items are covered by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF)¹⁰ and the European Social Fund (ESF),¹¹ additionally the Ministry for Municipalities, together with the city contribution from loan (Table 1). This is reasoned by the overwhelming load that these expenses mean to the budget of Pécs city, since from its 69.8 billion yearly income it cannot finance the necessary 4.9 billion forint own source that is needed for the implementation of the project. However, it is important to emphasize that in the previous period the city was not beneficiary of a European Union support in this of this scale. If we approach from the side of budgetary incomes, it can be seen that in the previous four years an amount came that exceeded more than half of the yearly targeted income (37.3 billion Ft).

With their support five key projects will be implemented that are part of a long run city development strategy: the multifunctional building of the conference- and concert hall will be the home of music bands in Pécs and of the Pannon Philharmonics, additionally it will be a determinant segment of the Middle-European concert market. The Zsolnay Cultural District aims at the renovation of the monument buildings of the Zsolnay Porcelain Manufacture that played an accentuated role in the economic development of the city, and the creation of a cultural, art zone with the integration of the different cultural segments that operate in the city. The Big Exhibition Hall and the Museum street serve the increase of the importance of the museum centre outside Budapest with unified established infrastructure and the construction of the largest exhibition hall of Hungary. The Regional Library and Knowledge Centre offers an information and library base for the inhabitants of the region that meets today's needs - it concentrates all libraries operating in the city on one spot -, furthermore, with the broadening of the university infrastructure base, it also adds to the improvement of the level of education. By the revitalization of plazas and parks the on the surface appearance of the - by the way in Pécs lacking - water gets a central role, and creates a more liveable city: they ensure that they function as real plazas and meeting points.

Table 1: Financing sources and support amounts of the key projects

Key projects	Supports (million Euros*)			
	EU/STOP**	MM***	Own source	Preparation budget
Pécs Conference - and Concert Hall	18.9	1.3	6.1	6.4
Zsolnay Cultural District	33.6	1.9	4.0	0.6
Big exhibition hall (Museum street)	5.4	0.7	1.6	-
South-Transdanubian Regional Library and Knowledge Centre	18.9	1.1	3.2	-
Revitalization of plazas and parks	25.9	1.5	3.1	-
Total	102.7	6.5	18.0	7.0

Source: based on the data of the Pécs2010 Management Centre constructed by Stefán K. (2009)

* € =275 Ft

** South-Transdanubian Operative Programme: a document containing objectives, expectations, development priorities for the regions for the European Union planning phase 2007 and 2013.

*** Ministry for Municipality.

¹⁰ European Regional Development Found (ERDF).

¹¹ European Social Found (ESF).

ISTANBUL, THE »MOST INSPIRING CITY OF THE WORLD«

After the decision of the EU, based on which in case of solid support also a city in a country outside the union can be European Capital of Culture, on the 7th of July 2000 a civil initiative started in Turkey to achieve that also Istanbul became an ECC-candidate. As a result of long preparations and negotiation processes the elector body decided on 11 April 2006 that next to Pécs and Essen also Istanbul is ready to become European Capital of Culture. On 13 November 2006 also the European Parliament and the Council for Ministers of Culture approved the proposal made half a year before.

Also related to the accession issues of the country to the Union it is an often arising problem that Turkey is not a European state. Though the Asian expansion of Istanbul, that lays on the border of the two continents, is larger, regarding its history it is one of Europe's oldest and largest cities. Its prevailing geopolitical importance is also underpinned by the fact that Istanbul was the centre of the three longest-living empires¹² under the names Nova Roma, Byzantium and Constantinople.

Due its geographical position it has always been a cosmopolitan city. This statement is especially true for the Ottoman period, since next to Muslims also Jews and Christians lived on its territory. The development of the ethnically heterogeneous Constantinople was for a long time unbroken, it became one of the most important trade and diplomatic centres in Europe. After all due to the inability of the Empire for political, economic and social reforms (for hundreds of years fixed rigid circumstances in all field) by the end of the 19th century it was the centre of a powerless empire only that was on the brink of collapse.

The capital of the secular national state that was born on the ruins of the Ottoman Empire on 29 October 1923 became - primarily due to thoughts in security policy - Ankara. Istanbul was consciously neglected,¹³ the economic investments, developments »evaded« it in the first decades of the republic. The modern aged, intense development of the city started in the 1950s under the Mendres-government. The population of Istanbul started to increase drastically in the 1970s (Table 2), since with the increase of the internal migration immigrants settled down from the whole territory of the country in hope for better job opportunities. Istanbul evolved in 40 years for a modern metropolis. Recently it is the most developed city of Turkey and at the same it is its economic centre (it gives nearly half of the country's industrial production).

Istanbul is Muslim, western and Balkans city at the same time. By filling in a bridge function between Europe and Asia it creates the connection point between the differing cultures (east-west, Christian-Islam) of the areas. The basic objective of the Turkish government with the ECC-programme is to prove the European leaders and the sceptics that Turkey is ready and eligible for the EU-accession.¹⁴

The city builds on its - above detailed - multicultural character in the project series as well. Istanbul appears in the programmes as the city of the four elements: soil, water, air and fire.¹⁵ The soil is the metaphor of history and traditional culture; the air is the symbol of the different religions and spiritual richness; the water is the emblem of the connection to each other; while the fire means the future of the city. The synthesis of the four elements results in the coexistence in a

¹² The Roman-, East-Roman- (Byzantium), respectively Ottoman Empires.

¹³ Constantinople became Istanbul at the end of the 1920s as a result of Atatürk's name reforms.

¹⁴ While the dedication of the inhabitants towards the European Union recently decreased again, and it fell to around below 50%.

¹⁵ Aristotle lived and worked in the last years of his life in West-Anatolian. His notion that nature has four determinants: earth, fire, water and air condition, determined the scientific and religious life of also »west« and »east« for hundreds of years.

multicultural environment that has an extremely important role in the whole series of events, they follow each other in a given time-schedule. During the period of the soil that lasts from the 1st of January 2010 until 20th of March, the exhibitions and programmes focus on the presentation of the values of the past, focusing on the historical city district. During the air period, which lasts until the 21st of June, the spiritual world and the Holy places play a key role. Under the period of water, which lasts until the 22nd of September, the Bosphorus will be the main scene of events. The cultural year closes with the fire element that will be characterized by the sustainable cultural goods and by the city renewal.

Based on the plans more than 400 projects will be implemented until the end of 2010. Though innovative elements (turning Hasanpa a gas factory into cultural centre, exploration of the former Byzantine port) appear, the vast majority of the plans focus on the reconstruction works, renovation of monuments (Hagia Sophia, Topkapi palace). The emphasis is given to the representation of historical memories.¹⁶ The important role of the Cultural Capital, i.e. the fact that the city's communities and organizations function in an integrated system due to the culture, does not appear in the programmes.

In case of the Turkish city the Istanbul 2010 European Cultural Capital Agency coordinates the programmes. The agency was established with the aim of harmonising the planning and implementation of projects. The functioning of the agency covers three strategic areas:

- tasks related to culture and art,
- city application and protection of cultural heritage,
- coordination of tourism and projects aiming publicity.

Also Istanbul faced difficulties in financing. The programmes are almost fully supported by the central government. Significant subvention from the European »twenty-sevens« does not/cannot come, since Turkey is not a member of the European alliance yet. The total budget is 250 million Euros, 99 percent of which is financed by the Turkish government. The biggest portion of it is ensured by the Ministry of Finance, the special Province Directory, Municipality of Istanbul, and the Chamber of Commerce. Since the money comes from central budgets, and the city municipalities implement the plans, the local inhabitants have - on the one hand due to the central financing - a very little say in its merit.

CONCLUSION

2010 is under many aspects a special year, since due to changes in the selection criteria in the previous period, the circle of aspirants was broadened, so it enabled that also Istanbul, a city that basically symbolises the whole Turkey, can be among the winners.

Though all of the three cities meet the objectives and expectations required from the prevailing winner of the ECC-title, under several aspects there is place for criticism. One of the most

Table 2: Population of Istanbul (1927-2007)

Year	Population (persons)
1927	806,823
1960	1,882,092
1975	3,904,588
1990	7,195,773
1997	9,198,809
2000	10,018,735
2007	12,573,836

Ed. by: Vati, T. (2009).

¹⁶ This is underpinned also by the fact that majority of the sources - some 65% - were spent on restorations and constructions.

striking elements of this can be captured in financing. However, the root of the lack of sources has different origins: while in Essen the support promised by the sponsors never arrived at the counter in fact, in Istanbul the default of the central government caused balks. In Pécs - also besides a significant portion of private financial sources - the extra expenses resulted in delays or in necessity solutions. This situation was further worsened by the more and more perceivable, and in 2009 peaking world economic crisis. These factors and the frequently observable disorganization caused the delays in the execution that are typical for all of the three cities. We do not intend to express prophecies, but it can be made likely that there will be not only one project that definitely will not be finished in 2010.

Also policy influenced in many aspects the shaping of planning and execution, respectively in case of the Hungarian and Turkish parties this determined also financing by large. It proved to be even serious in the case of Istanbul, since the central government in many cases excluded the civil sphere from project related decisions.

The unfortunate series of Pécs that started in the summer of 2006, when the then mayor of the city had a car accident and he became incapable of action, respectively decision, became a big publicity. The provost who occupied the mayor's chair later on deceased in illness in 2009. After these events the city did not have a mayor for a while, consequently also lots of ECC-related decisions were delayed. Meanwhile there was a permanent fluctuation in the management of the established Pécs2010 Management Centre, from the autumn of 2008 - after the sixth cultural director left - the position of the highest manager was liquidated.

From the originally declared ECC criteria only cultural diversity is the connection between the three settlements, thus cities are melted to a nationalities related, vivid programme cavalcade. Hereby the ECC degrades to a single series of festivals.

The cooperation between the capitals is only formal, it gets stuck on the level of the needed protocol, for the inhabitants it is invisible, since also this slight cooperation is rather poorly communicated. The three parties maintain only bilateral, asymmetric relations, and even these irregularly.

Despite the fact that the winners worked out long run development strategies, the sustainability of the projects is questionable. This means in Pécs cultural infrastructure developments that are basically opposed to the expectations of the EU, furthermore it leaves unutilized building stock behind (see Conference- and Concert Hall). The developments of Istanbul sometimes seem to be a bit over-dimensioned compared to the ECC title, but compared to a 12 million mega-city they are nearly not those. They are intending to represent through this the - to a large extent economic - weight of Turkey within Europe and its eligibility for the EU-membership. The tourism attraction power of the continent's largest city - independent from the year 2010 - always ensures the further sustainability of the projects, despite the fact that they are a bit ambitious. Typical feature of the investments in the Ruhr-region is that they utilize the already existing - mainly originally industrial functioning - buildings, and fill them with very vivid programmes. Consequently it has only a few elements the maintenance and future utilization which could cause a problem.

One of the most fundamental aims since the establishment of the ECC programme series in 1985 is to put the winner cities on the cultural map of Europe. However, the question arises whether the ECC-programme really fulfils his function? If we regard the three capitals of 2010, a mixed picture evolves. The Turkish city is widely known, just like its historical and cultural diversity, so its - clearly outlined - presence on Europe's cultural map was evident before as well. We cannot make such clear statements about the city of Essen, since it is likely that it will be identified also later on only with the industrial area which is represented by it, the settlement itself melts into the Ruhr-city group, just like in the reality. Pécs that can be seen small compared to its

partners is unlikely to get a higher place in the ranking of the (well-) known European cities, even though it has similar characteristics as mentioned in the case of Istanbul.

SAŽETAK

Godina 2010. je u mnogim aspektima posebna godina, obzirom na promjene u izboru kriterija u prethodnom periodu, proširen krug mogućih kandidata za titulu grada kulture, pa je to i omogućilo da i Istanbul, grad koji praktički simbolizira cijelu Tursku, može biti među dobitnicima ovog priznanja.

Iako sva tri ova grada zadovoljavaju ciljeve i očekivanja koja se traže od nositelja ove laskave titule europskog grada kulture, u nekoliko aspekata ima mjesta i kritici. Jedan od najvažnijih može se sagledati kroz financiranje. Ipak, korijen problema u nedostatku financijskih sredstava ima različite uzroke: dok kod Essena financiranje preko sponzora nikad nije pristiglo u blagajnu grada, kod Istanbula je problem i zastoj nastao zbog središnje vlade. U Pečuhu - gdje je također značajni dio financiranja problematičan zbog privatnih financijskih sponzorstava - izvanredni troškovi su rezultirali kašnjenjima ili polovičnim nužnim rješenjima. Ova se situacija sve više i pogoršava, u svjetlu rastuće svjetske ekonomske krize iz 2009. Ovi su čimbenici i često vidljiva neorganiziranost prouzročili zastoje u provedbi kulturnih programa, a što je tipično za sva tri europska grada kulture. Ne namjeravamo ovdje davati nikakva proročanstva i zloguke prognoze, ali bi se moglo desiti da ostane više od jednog neostvarenog ili nezavršenog projekta u 2010. godini.

Također je politika bila od utjecaja u mnogim aspektima u kreiranju, planiranju i izvršenju kulturnih projekata, posebno kod Mađarske i Turske, što je uvelike i definiralo financiranje. Čak se to pokazalo jako ozbiljnim u slučaju Istanbula, obzirom da je turska savezna vlada u mnogim slučajevima isključila civilni sektor iz odluka koje su se ticale samih projekata.

Nesretna serija s Pečuhom je započela u ljeto 2006. godine, kad je gradonačelnik teško stradao u prometnoj nesreći, završio u komi i bez mogućnosti donošenja odluka, što je izazvalo veliki publicitet. Njegov je nasljednik kasnije umro od bolesti 2009. godine. Nakon ovih nemilih događaja, grad Pečuh jedno vrijeme nije imao gradonačelnika pa je, sukladno tome, dosta odluka vezanih za europski grad kulture kasnilo i bilo odgađano. U međuvremenu je zbog stalnih izmjene u vodstvu gradskog organizacijskog centra za grad kulture 2010. godine, od jeseni 2008. godine - nakon što je šesti po redu direktor organizacijskog centra napustio funkciju - ta najviša menadžerska funkcija i ukinuta.

Od prvobitno zacrtanih kriterija, potrebnih za proglašenje nekog grada gradom kulture, ostala je samo kulturna raznolikost kao veza između ova tri grada, a gradovi su se utopili u mješavinu i šarenilo nacija s vidljivom programskom kavalkadom. Stoga se pojam europskog grada kulture sveo na jednu seriju festivala u tim gradovima.

Suradnja između europskih gradova kulture samo je formalna, zapinje na stupnju potrebnog protokola, a stanovnicima je nevidljiva jer je i tako mala suradnja slabo predstavljena i iskomunicirana. Ove tri strane održavaju tek bilateralne, asimetrične odnose, a čak i to prilično neredovito.

Unatoč činjenici da su osvajači titule europskog grada kulture izradili dugoročne strategije, upitna je održivost tih projekata. To znači da je u Pečuhu razvoj kulturne infrastrukture u osnovi suprotan očekivanjima Europske Unije, a još gore, iza sebe ostavlja neiskorištenima neke kulturne građevine i objekte (konferencijska i koncertna dvorana). Što se tiče razvoja Istanbula, on se ponekad čini malo predimenzioniran u odnosu na titulu europskog kulturnog grada, ali u usporedbi s velegradom od 12 milijuna stanovnika, to nije ni približno tako. Oni to namjeravaju predstaviti kroz - u velikoj mjeri ekonomsku - snagu i težinu Turske u okviru Europe i turske kandidature za

članstvo u Europskoj Uniji. Velika privlačna snaga turizma najvećeg grada na kontinentu - neovisno o 2010. godini - uvijek osigurava daljnju održivost projekata Istanbula, bez obzira na činjenicu da su njihovi planovi malo preambiciozni.

Tipični oblik ulaganja u pokrajinu Ruhr - gdje se koristi već postojeća infrastruktura - uglavnom u prvobitnoj industrijskoj funkciji - građevine, ispunjene veoma bogatim i živim programima. Sukladno tome, grad Essen u Ruhru ima tek par mogućih problema, u smislu održavanja i budućeg iskorištavanja.

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