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# **Cultural Networks and Democratic Legitimacy in the European Union**

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## Abstract

This Master's thesis deals with the involvement of civil society organisations in European policy making in the context of the alleged legitimacy problem of the European Union. The democratic legitimacy of the EU is questioned by large parts of the population within the member states which becomes evident from the peoples' open demonstration of scepticism and even rejection of the European integration process. In their search for solutions to the widely acknowledged legitimacy problem the EU institutions have assigned increasing importance to civil society organisations. They are considered to more strongly involve citizens in the political process and thereby enhance the democratic legitimacy of the EU.

The thesis critically examines this assumption by analysing the interest representation undertaken at the EU level by one specific group of civil society organisations, European cultural networks. Its main interest lies in answering the question what role European cultural networks play in enhancing the democratic legitimacy of the EU. This research question is approached on the basis of a two-dimensional understanding of the notion of *legitimacy* allowing for the identification of concrete characteristics of the networks' work and thereby drawing possible conclusions about their contribution to legitimising the EU. A specific current in the research on governance within the political sciences termed *participatory governance* provides for the theoretical framework of the analysis.

The analysis is based on an empirical study of three European cultural networks. Information about their activities at the EU level was gained through a survey and telephone interviews with network staff. Further insight into the networks' structure and work was obtained from various documentary material published on the networks' internet sites. The other sources used in this thesis comprise a range of primary and secondary literature published by the EU institutions and secondary literature on cultural networks, democracy and legitimacy in the EU, governance, civil society and interest representation in the EU and EU cultural policy.

The thesis points out the advantages and drawbacks of endeavours to enhance the EU's legitimacy by enhancing recognition for civic interest groups within the EU system. It identifies the positive contribution which European cultural networks make to EU legitimacy. At the same time the analysis reveals the constraints to the legitimising role of civil society organisations which are recognisable on the side of these organisations themselves as well as in the approach of the EU institutions. Among the main issues identified in this regard are the questionable representativeness of civic interest groups and the insufficient regulatory framework for civic actor involvement figure. By pointing out the constraints on strengthened civil society involvement in European politics the thesis touches on broader questions of how to institutionalise functional representation as a way of generating legitimacy for the EU.

Keywords: European Union, democratic legitimacy, governance, interest representation, cultural networks

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## **APPENDIX**

## Abbreviations

|                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| BEUC             | Bureau Européen des Unions des Consommateurs (European Consumers' Organisation)   |
| CEE              | Central and Eastern Europe  |
| CIRCLE           | Cultural Information and Research Centres Liaison in Europe   |
| CoE              | Council of Europe   |
| COM              | European Commission   |
| CoR              | Committee of the Regions  |
| DG               | Directorate-General   |
| DG EAC           | Directorate-General for Education and Culture   |
| EAC              | European Atomic Energy Community  |
| EBLIDA           | European Bureau of Library, Information and Documentation Associations  |
| EC               | European Community  |
| ECF              | European Cultural Foundation  |
| ECU              | European Currency Unit  |
| ECUMEST          | Europe Culture Management in EAST   |
| EEB              | European Environmental Bureau   |
| EEC              | European Economic Community   |
| EFAH             | European Forum for the Arts and Heritage  |
| EJN              | Europe Jazz Network   |
| ELIA             | European League of Institutes of the Arts   |
| ENCATC           | European Network of Cultural Administration Training Centres  |
| EPC              | European Policy Centre  |
| ESC <sup>1</sup> | Economic and Social Committee   |
| EU               | European Union  |
| FEANTSA          | European Federation of National Organizations Working with the Homeless   |
| FINPER           | Temporary Committee of the European Parliament on policy challenges and budgetary means of the enlarged Union 2007-2013 |
| IETM             | Informal European Theatre Meeting   |
| LAB              | Laboratory of European Cultural Cooperation   |
| MEP              | Member of the European Parliament   |
| NGO              | Non-governmental organisation   |
| OCW              | Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap (Dutch Ministry for Education, Culture and Science)                     |
| PEARLE           | European League of Employers' Associations in the Performing Arts sector  |
| TEC              | Treaty establishing the European Community  |

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<sup>1</sup> In the questionnaires the abbreviation ECOSOC is used.

|        |  |
|--------|--|
| TEU    | Treaty on European Union   |
| TAV    | Treaty of Amsterdam  |
| VNT    | Vereniging van Nederlandse Theatergezelschappen en –producenten (Association of Dutch Theatre Companies and Producers) |
| WP     | White Paper on European Governance   |
| UNESCO | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation   |
| cts    | cents  |
| e.g.   | for example  |
| i.e.   | that is  |

# 1 Introduction

“Europe is getting on the nerves” – this was the headline of a recent article in the German weekly newspaper *Die Zeit*. With this headline the newspaper has hit the nail on its head in reflecting the attitudes of many a European towards the European Union (EU)<sup>2</sup>. For them the EU is nothing more than a massive, opaque administrative colossus disgorging enormous amounts of regulations whose synthesis remains as unclear to them as their ultimate purpose. The negative outcomes of the referendums on the draft Constitutional Treaty in France and in the Netherlands in June 2005 only provide the most recent proof of the serious lack of understanding, the scepticism and open rejection which the European political project is confronted with. The concern among the European political elite caused by these outright demonstrations of mistrust is justified since the EU badly needs not only the support of the national governments but of the people at large at a time when it is facing great challenges which will determine its future. But so far it has not managed to generate wide support among its populations. In view of this grievance the former president of the Federal Republic of Germany, Richard von Weizsäcker, states: “Now the people of Europe have lost sight of ‘Europe’. They feel left out.” (Weizsäcker 2003).

The growing distance between the EU and its citizens has frequently been asserted in the course of the last two decades. Contrary to the highly positive attitudes towards the EC in the 60s and 70s, which resulted from the directly perceivable benefits of European economic integration, the project of unifying Europe has been met with increasing scepticism from the mid 80s onwards when it turned ever more clearly into a political project. The citizens’ disapproval of the integration process became manifest for the first time in 1992 when the Danes rejected the Treaty of European Union (TEU) and thereby directly hampered the progress of European integration in the way envisaged by national governments. According to one line of argument the serious set-back in popular consent was to be attributed to certain deficits of the EU’s institutional structure in terms of transparency, accountability and civic participation which were subsumed under the buzzword *democratic deficit*. As a result the

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<sup>2</sup> In this thesis the term *European Union* (EU) is used to refer to the institutional system and legal competences as defined in the three pillar structure of the Treaty on the European Union (TEU) which came into force in 1993. In all the references pertaining to the period before 1993 the EU is designated as *European Community* (EC), the term given to the political formation which was established by the three founding treaties: the Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community (1951), the Treaty establishing the European Atomic Energy Community (1957) and the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community (1957).

question of how to “bring the EU closer to its citizens”<sup>3</sup>, has gained a prominent position on the EU’s political agenda. The issue was also taken up at the academic level with scholars of European politics setting out to determine the dimensions of the alleged democratic deficit and on finding answers to this question, formulated in academic terms as how to enhance the democratic legitimacy of the EU.

In line with earlier reflections about the democratic quality of the EU many suggestions for solving this problem were focused on the European Parliament (EP).<sup>4</sup> Acknowledging parliamentary representation as the sole source of democratic legitimacy researchers argued that enlarging the legislative competence of the EP would be the key to enhancing the EU’s legitimacy. Strengthening the EP’s influence in the decision-making processes would promote its acceptance among the citizens who obviously so far had not recognised it widely as their representative body in the EU system. More recently the manifold new forms of interest representation evolving within the EU system have come into focus in the search for solutions to the widely acknowledged legitimacy problem of the EU. This is due to the awareness that parliamentary representation as it is presently practised within the EU is often considered an insufficient legitimacy base for European integration. At the political level the interest representation undertaken by civic interest groups in particular has been identified as an additional means of gaining legitimacy. It is claimed that these organisations make a stronger involvement of citizens in the political processes possible and thereby add to the democratic quality of the EU.<sup>5</sup>

The connection between the legitimacy of the EU and civil society, which has been made frequently in official EU statements during the last years, provides the starting point for this thesis. Its aim consists in examining the idea of enhancing the legitimacy of the EU through

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<sup>3</sup> This expression can be found in official statements as well as information material published by the EU, e.g. in the information brochure *Europe in 12 lessons* (EU www 2005).

<sup>4</sup> Already at the beginning of the integration process the legitimacy deficit of the EU had been identified in academic literature. Walter Hallstein e.g. wrote in 1972: “As a parliamentary democracy, the Community is still imperfect [...] because the European Parliament has not yet acquired its full role.” (Hallstein 1972, in: Verhoeven 2002: 57).

<sup>5</sup> This argumentation is to be found in numerous EU documents, e.g. in a discussion paper presented by the former President of the European Commission, Romano Prodi, and the Vice-President, Neil Kinnock (COM 2000) which states: “The decision making process in the EU is first and foremost legitimised by the elected representatives of the European people. However, NGOs can make a contribution to fostering a more participatory democracy both within the European Union and beyond.” The paper continues: “The role of NGOs is representing the views to the European Institutions of specific groups of citizens (such as people with disabilities, ethnic minorities) or on specific issues (such as the environment, animal welfare, world trade). [...] Their involvement in policy shaping and policy implementation helps to win public acceptance for the EU.”



involving civic interest groups in the political process.<sup>6</sup> My approach is based on the analysis of a specific group of civic interest organisations at the EU level. These organisations are European cultural networks. Analysing the interest representation these organisations undertake in the EU I aim at conclusions about their contribution to enhancing the democratic legitimacy of the Euro-polity<sup>7</sup>.

My analysis of cultural networks is based on the following definitions and notional delimitations. A *cultural network* is defined as “a non-directed, non-hierarchical, open environment in which a group of diverse individuals and/or organisations sharing common aims and values, voluntarily create a continuing communication system in which to meet, exchange ideas, and collaborate. It can be based narrowly or widely on an artistic discipline (e.g. jazz music), on a type of organisation (e.g. festivals), a demographic group (young people), a type of work (writers, visual artists), a theme (work with migrant populations or with young emerging artists).” (De Vlieg 2001: 9). As is obvious from this definition my focus is on the function of cultural networks rather than on their constitution.<sup>8</sup> In addition, I add two qualifications to this delimitation. First, I only consider networks which can be regarded as established on grounds of duly fulfilling three criteria (Staines 1996: 6): clear mission, legal constitution, democratic decision-making process meaning the existence of an executive board and an active membership. Second, my attention is solely directed to cultural networks which are actively and regularly involved in interest representation at the EU level.

In accordance to Fairbrass/Warleigh (2002: 2-3) I define the term *interest representation* as “those activities, tactics and strategies utilized by [...] non-state actors when they attempt to influence European public policy. It ranges across lobbying, the exchange of information, alliance building, formal and informal contact, planned and unplanned relationships: in other words, all forms of interaction that are designed to advocate particular ideas, persuade the

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<sup>6</sup> It is evident from this research outline that I to a certain extent take sides with the experts in European politics who claim the legitimacy problem of the EU as existent. Nevertheless I am well aware of the bias this assumption bestows upon my research since the issue of democratic legitimacy in the EU is highly contentious. Van Schendelen (2002: 280) states in this regard: “To [the] question [of whether the EU is *democratic at all*] as many answers are possible as different notions exist. For example, the claim of a ‘democratic deficit’ is as serious as that of a ‘democratic surplus’.” Moravcsik (2002) e.g. provides for a compelling argumentation against the widely supposed/widely stated thesis of the EU’s legitimacy problem.

<sup>7</sup> Many terms have been applied to the EU. In imitation of Schmitter (2000) I use the term *Euro-polity* as synonym for EU.

<sup>8</sup> A number of experts on cultural networks and networks in general prefer the function-based approach over the constitution-based approach, s. e. g. Fisher 1997: 6; Fondazione Fitzcarraldo/De Vlieg/Flood 2001: 84; Pehn 1999: 36.

decision-takers to adopt different positions or perspectives, and ultimately to influence policy.” The term *advocacy action* is used in the same meaning as *interest representation*.<sup>9</sup>

The thesis is divided into six chapters. The research questions, the methodological approach and the data used are introduced in part 2. In part 3 I explicate the theoretical background of the study. This involves focusing on the main lines of argument commonly referred to when addressing the issue of legitimacy in the EU context and introducing the theoretical approaches of *governance* and *participatory governance*. In part 4 I retrace the development of civic interest representation in the EU and explore the promotion of enhanced civil society involvement in the political process driven by the European Commission (COM) and the Economic and Social Committee (ESC).

Parts 5.1 and 5.2 are intended to provide background information to the analysis of cultural networks’ interest representation at the EU level. Part 5.1 deals with the evolution of European cultural networks and part 5.2 outlines the origins and development of the policy field which the networks’ advocacy action mainly focuses on: EU cultural policy. The description of the main lines of EU cultural policy solely serves the purpose of introducing the thematic frame of reference for the work of the cultural networks. I do not engage in a discussion about the justification of EU cultural policy as such because dealing with this issue is not in the interest of this study.

The analysis in part 5 focuses on three networks which have been chosen for this study due to their long record of activity at the EU level. First of all, I introduce the networks concentrating on aspects such as origin, aims, membership, administrative structure and funding. After that I examine the internal communication processes in each network and analyse the concrete forms of interest representation which they engage in. For this purpose, I concentrate on the networks’ role in two phases of the EU policy cycle which are the decision-preparation and the policy implementation phases. The study of the networks’ advocacy action is followed by a discussion of problematic aspects and shortcomings identifiable in their work and a summary of the main findings. In drawing conclusions about the role of cultural networks for enhancing

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<sup>9</sup> Although the term *lobbying* is included in the definition I deliberately refrain from using it when referring to the activities of the cultural networks due to two reasons. First, *lobbying* is often afflicted with negative connotations which hint at the one-sided driving of commercial interests, unequal playing fields and impure methods of influencing decision-makers (Buholzer 1998: 6-7; Greenwood 1997: 5-6). Second, it became clear from my study of the cultural networks that two of them do not consider themselves as lobbying organisations and that part of them even object to the use of this term in connection with their activities (Cogliandro 2005a: 1-2; De Vlieg 2005: 1; Verstraete 2005a: 7).

Deviant to the determination to use the terms *interest representation* and *advocacy action* in this thesis the term *interest intermediation* is used in part 3.3. This is due to the differences in terminology used in the literature.

the democratic legitimacy of the EU I take into account a broader context by referring to the different assessments of the possible benefits and drawbacks strengthened participation of civic actors in EU policy-making might entail. A discussion of possible perspectives for further research rounds off the thesis.

## 2 Research questions, methodological approach and data

As was stated in the introduction this thesis analyses the capability of civic interest groups to facilitate strengthened civic involvement in the European integration process. My attention is focused on a specific group, European cultural networks. The main research question which this thesis seeks to answer is what role European cultural networks play in enhancing the democratic legitimacy of the EU. I have derived three subquestions from this research question in order to operationalise it for the empirical study of the networks' activities.

First, I examine the structure and working methods of each network with the aim of revealing the degree of openness and transparency of the internal opinion formation and opinion aggregation processes and the involvement of network members. Second, the question of how the networks represent their members' interests towards the EU institutions<sup>10</sup> is addressed. In answering this question I concentrate on the advocacy action undertaken by the networks in the decision-preparation phase and on their participation in the implementation phase of the EU policy cycle. This approach enables me to identify the fields of network activity which are most significant with regard to their role in bringing about strengthened participation of civic actors in European policy-making and thereby contributing to legitimising the EU. The third question focuses on the problems and shortcomings which the analysis reveals in the networks' interest representation. By identifying external and internal problem areas I aim at highlighting possible restrictions to the networks' contribution to enhancing the EU's legitimacy.

With regard to methodology it is to be pointed out that the thesis is mainly based on descriptive research. Additionally, I revert to the methods of qualitative empirical research.

The empirical research part consists of a mail survey and interviews and focuses on the following cultural networks: the *European Forum for the Arts and Heritage* (EFAH), the *European Network of Cultural Administration Training Centres* (ENCATC) and the *Informal European Theatre Meeting* (IETM). The questionnaires mainly addressed the networks' activities at the EU level and were filled in by the following network staff in spring 2005: Sabine Frank (EU Policy Adviser, EFAH), GiannaLia Cogliandro (Secretary General, ENCATC), Katelijin Verstraete (Communication, Information and Training Officer, IETM). In

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<sup>10</sup> The term *EU institution* is applied to the EP, the COM, the Council of Ministers, the ESC and the Committee of the Regions (CoR). The two last-mentioned bodies are also subsumed under this term although they do not have the same legal status as the others since they are only referred to as *advisory bodies* in the Treaty establishing the European Community (art. 7, TEC).

order to expand on the answers provided in the questionnaires telephone interviews were carried out with the following persons from April till June 2005: Katelijn Verstraete, GiannaLia Cogliandro, Mary Ann De Vlieg (Secretary General, IETM), Ilona Kish (Secretary General, EFAH). Additional information was obtained via e-mail contact with the aforementioned persons.

The primary data used for this thesis consists of documentation produced by the networks and EU documents. The former comprises the following material published on the networks' internet sites or obtained from the aforementioned network staff: introductory information about the network's history, aims, working methods, structure, activities, projects; information letters; mission statement; statutes; list of board members; membership lists; information on admission requirements, the admission process and membership fees; budgetary information for the year 2004; briefing papers; various reports concerning annual activities, annual conferences, other conferences and meetings; background information and position papers on EU policies and on a broader range of EU issues which are of relevance to the cultural sector. The EU documents used include treaties, legislative acts, declarations, White Papers, discussion papers, communications, opinions and diverse reports published by the EP, the COM, the Council of Ministers<sup>11</sup>, the European Council and the ESC.

The secondary data comprises literature on cultural networks, democracy and legitimacy in the EU, governance, civil society and interest representation in the EU and EU cultural policy. In addition I have used recent publications of the European Cultural Foundation (ECF) and selective information from miscellaneous websites.

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<sup>11</sup> In the following the Council of Ministers is referred to as the *Council*.

### 3 Theoretical background

#### 3.1 Legitimate Rule in the European Union

The starting point of this study about the contribution of networks to enhancing the legitimacy of the Euro-polity is to clarify the term *legitimacy* within the EU context. Thus, this chapter aims at pointing out the main lines of argument about the legitimacy of the European Union which repeatedly occur in academic discussions. At first I briefly investigate the prevalent notion of legitimacy used within the context of the nation-state because this is a precondition for understanding issues related to legitimate governing beyond the nation state.

In western nation-states legitimate rule is unthinkable without reverting to the principles of democracy. “Democracy is considered the sole legitimate form of government.” (Verhoeven 2002: 8).<sup>12</sup> According to democratic theory all political authority is derived from the sovereign people. Therefore, political authority only qualifies as legitimate when it is exercised directly by the people or by a government accountable to an elected parliament. In other words, the initial point for all considerations on legitimate governing in the western hemisphere is the principle of representative democracy. (Maurer 2002: 32-33, 41).

Scholars generally regard legitimacy as containing two dimensions which are the formal (or normative) dimension and the social (or empirical) dimension. The formal legitimacy of a political system is embodied by the democratic norms, formal rules and procedures which guarantee the direct transmission of the people’s will into political action by accountable representatives. Social legitimacy refers to the acceptance and recognition of the system itself and of its performance. It is “the capacity of the system to engender and maintain the belief that the existing political institutions are the most appropriate ones for the society.” (Lipset 1983: 77; in: Maurer 2002: 32). The degree of social legitimacy of a political system is normally measured through empirical research which identifies the specific support, i.e. the satisfaction with the performance of the system, and the diffuse support, i.e. the loyalty to the system as such with its legal foundation and operative procedures. (Maurer 2002: 32, 42; Verhoeven 2002: 10-11).

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<sup>12</sup> Abromeit (2002: 148-150) also states this equation between legitimacy and democracy in retracing the conceptualising of legitimacy in western political thought.

Another approach to the notion of *legitimacy* is the distinction between two dimensions which designate two sources of legitimacy: *input-legitimacy* and *output-legitimacy*. *Input-legitimacy* is achieved through the participation of the citizens in the political process in accordance with the principle of representative democracy. *Output-legitimacy* refers to the capability of a political system to produce beneficial policy outcomes for its citizens. Thus, it refers to the effectiveness and efficiency of the procedures for public problem solving. The focus on the *output-* and *input-legitimacy* of a political system reflects the tenets “government *by* the people” and “government *for* the people” as pronounced by Lincoln in the Gettysburg Address. (Höreth 1998: 6; Wolf 2002: 39).

*In-* and *output-legitimacy* have to be in balance because neither is by itself capable of generating loyalty amongst the citizens. This becomes obvious when considering that the *input-legitimacy* of a system cannot alone compensate for an inefficient government. Contrariwise no political system can satisfactorily accomplish its output-functions without knowing the preferences of the people. Even though performing well for some time and consequently generating specific support with the people the system would not achieve the diffuse support needed in the long run in order to maintain its legal and institutional system. (Abromeit 2002: 18-19; Benz 1998: 349; Heinelt 2002: 114).

With regard to the issue of legitimacy in the EU context the assumption that this supranational organisation derives its legitimacy from the principle of representative democracy, as is the case in the member states, has never been seriously questioned.<sup>13</sup> Having said that, it was evident from the beginning that the form of representative democracy evolving in the EU would considerably differ from the modes of democracy in the member states. It is often claimed that the Euro-polity has never fulfilled the preconditions for democratic legitimacy stated above. In particular the EU’s capability to generate *input-legitimacy* is considered highly deficient. This alleged legitimacy deficit is not only to be ascribed to the specific character of the European Parliament (EP) but equally to the composition and workings of the other institutions and in the modes of policy-making across institutional, national and regional borders.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> In this context Maurer (2002: 31-32) states that analysing the political system of the EU without taking reference to the principle of representative democracy would imply considerable disrespect to the underlying motives and the history of 50 years of European integration.

<sup>14</sup> Deficits in democratic representation at the EU level are e.g. ascribed to the position of the EP whose legislative powers are limited and which is not rooted in a European party system and to the closed intergovernmental negotiations about EU-legislation lead in the Council of Ministers (Benz 98: 352).

With view to its unique institutional structure and working processes many experts of European politics have repeatedly emphasised that the EU is incompatible with conventional theories of democracy and have engaged in developing new models of democracy capable of capturing and explaining the specific dynamics evolving within the EU system. For example, Banchoff/Smith (1999:2) propose to widen the understanding of representation beyond the concept of parliamentary democracy: “[...] while the EU lacks strong central democratic institutions, the integration process has created significant informal and pluralist forms of representation.”<sup>15</sup> Widening the perspective on democratic representation beyond the parliamentary realm would in consequence imply the revocation of the principle that the parliament is the sole source of *input-legitimacy*.

Due to its specific features the EU does not generate legitimacy in the same way as the member states. However, the question where the Euro-polity derives its legitimacy from was not seriously brought up in the first three decades of integration. There was no need for this kind of discussion since the citizens did not question the use of political authority by the EC. In the post-war era they experienced the EC as highly beneficial to bringing enduring peace and economic growth to the war-torn continent. In the following decades peoples’ attitudes towards European integration were equally positive due to the high benefits of the European policies aimed at establishing the Single and later the Common European Market. The constantly high level of diffuse support accorded to the EU in Eurobarometer surveys stands proof of its wide acceptance among the population. Thus, the Union’s strong *output-legitimacy* based on the effectiveness and efficiency of transnational problem-solving compensated for the shortcomings in its *input-legitimacy*. (Benz 1998: 345; Höreth 1998: 6-9).

From the beginning of the 90s it became clear that *output-legitimacy* alone no longer provided a sufficient legitimacy base for European integration. At the same time as the EU’s competences were expanded to many new policy areas in the TEU the diffuse support for the Euro-polity measured in the member states constantly decreased (Abromeit 2002: 17). The predictions of the neo-functional theories foreseeing widely-accepted political integration to be triggered by progressive economic integration did not prove true. Instead the citizens’ belief in the EU’s ability to provide for solutions to EU wide problems was vanishing and was replaced by outright scepticism about the legitimacy of its ever more far-reaching legislative

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<sup>15</sup> Schmitter (2000: 9) also stresses the plural forms of representation which exist in the EU: “The EU is indeed surrounded by representatives, but these are hardly representative of the citizenry as a whole.”



interventions. The drastic shift in the public's attitudes was clearly reflected in the negative referendums on the Maastricht Treaty Denmark in 1992. (Höreth 1998: 8-10; Verhoeven 2002: 13-14, 63-69).

The attempts to explain the lack of recognition and support for European integration, which were no longer restricted to the academic world from the 90s onwards<sup>16</sup>, focused on what had become a catchword for the problematic relations of the EU to its citizens: the *democratic deficit*. A look through the vast amount of literature produced on this topic reveals that there is no consistent approach to it.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, there seems to be unanimity about its main dimensions which are identified as the limited democratic quality of the EU institutions and a deficient European-wide social infrastructure. The first dimension can be summed up by pointing to the following features of the EU's institutional system: the weakness of the EP manifest in its limited legislative competences and control functions, the dominance of the Council in the legislative process resulting in a shift of legislative competences from the national parliaments to the national executives and the lack of accountability and transparency of the COM. The missing structural prerequisites for achieving social legitimacy are commonly perceived as the non-existent European-wide public space and civil society, which at the national level function as links between the state and the citizens, and the non-existence of a homogenous European people, a European *demos*, bound together by a common identity and sense of belonging to the same political community. (Höreth 1998: 10-18).<sup>18</sup>

The debate on the democratic deficit has been criticised for failing to develop an unambiguous definition of democracy and taking into account the EU's specific nature and the new forms of supranational governing evolving within it (Abromeit 2002: 57-60).<sup>19</sup> As has been stated before (s. p. 9) the EU does not derive its democratic legitimacy from the same formal rules and procedures as its member states. This concerns in particular civic representation by a parliamentary assemblies which is the primary source of democratic legitimacy in the EU member states. In consequence new standards of democratic legitimacy need to be developed

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<sup>16</sup> Doubts about the democratic legitimacy of the EU had already been put forth at the beginning of the integration process. At that time, claims about an alleged democratic deficit were mainly justified by pointing to the limited competencies of the EP. Due to its weak position in the EU legislative process it was not able to compensate for the loss of legislative competencies which the national parliaments experienced due to the transfer of legislative competences to the EU institutions. (Verhoeven 2002: 57-58).

<sup>17</sup> Verhoeven (2002: 60, 63) states that there is a lack of unanimity on both the definition of the term *democratic deficit* itself and on the nature of its causes.

<sup>18</sup> For other accounts of the democratic deficit, s. Abromeit 2002: 19-20; Kielmansegg 2003: 54-56; Kuper 1998: 143-145; Verhoeven 2002: 60-63.

<sup>19</sup> Abromeit (2002: 59) asks provocatively whether the democratic deficit is nothing else than a construct in the minds of close-minded, conservative social scientists. This comment indicates that legitimate rule in the EU is a highly controversial issue.

for the Euro-polity which would allow for complementing traditional parliamentary representation by other forms of interest representation.<sup>20</sup> Only reconceptualising the standards set by democratic theory will make an adequate evaluation of the EU's democratic quality possible: "[T]he ideal of democracy must be reinvented if it is to match the needs of European integration." (Verhoeven 2002: 60).

The search for new theoretical models as bases for strategies to enhance the democratic legitimacy of governing in the EU has recently gained new zeal through theoretical approaches adapting the concept of *governance* to the study of European integration. Although the democratic quality of governance is controversially debated among scholars some of them firmly believe in these new approaches as the basis for a new understanding of democratic legitimacy in the EU.<sup>21</sup> At the political level the concept has eagerly been adopted with the COM making it the catchword for its efforts to enhance the EU's democratic legitimacy through internal reforms and the opening-up of the political process to the citizens. The next subchapter examines how the COM uses the governance concept for its own purposes.

In the following I introduce the theoretical approach of *governance* and its application to explaining modes of governing at the national and the supranational level. The subchapter is mainly concerned with defining the term *governance*, distinguishing it from the term *government* and exploring its appropriateness for the analysis of European politics. In addition, I address different assessments of the democratic quality of governance in the national and the European context.

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<sup>20</sup> Benz (1998: 365) states in this context: "A democratic theory which is adequate to the differentiated multi-level structures of the EU must develop a concept of democracy which can only conditionally tie in with the democratic theories evolved in the national context." (translation: LM) He develops a "Europe-adaptable" concept of democracy which is based on the combination and mutual completion of the governmental, the parliamentary and the associative forms of representation. Schmitter (2000) also develops a perspective on what might become the predominant features of democracy in the EU.

<sup>21</sup> s. e.g. Eising/Kohler-Koch 1999; for a sceptical view on the democratic quality of governance, s. e.g. Benz 2003

## 3.2 The Governance approach

### 3.2.1 Governance in the European Union

Since the 1990s the concept of *governance* has met with increasing interest in the Social Sciences (Benz 2004: 13; Kooiman 2002: 13). It seems to have become the catchword used to qualify numerous contemporary socio-political phenomena and consequently bears a variety of context-dependent meanings.<sup>22</sup> Despite the considerable differences all the applications of the concept refer to a new perspective on government which opens up the political system to its environment (Pierre/Peters 2000: 1, 7).

In accordance with Christiansen/Føllesdal/Piattoni (2003: 6) I define *governance* “as the production of authoritative decisions which are not produced by a single hierarchical structure, such as a democratically elected legislative assembly and government, but instead arise from the interaction of a plethora of public and private, collective and individual actors.” I add Schmitter (2001: 9) important remark to this definition, namely that governance is not only about making binding decisions but also about the implementation of these decisions through co-operation between the participating parties. The aim of governance arrangements<sup>23</sup> lies in generating mutual consent among the participants instead of arriving at a unilateral decision made by a democratically legitimated authority. The interaction between the partners can take the form of deliberation, negotiation or bargaining. (Benz 2004: 20). Although governance arrangements themselves are based on horizontal forms of interaction they still lie ‘in the shadow of state hierarchy’ because the state institutions are the last resort to fall back on in case a governance arrangement fails in providing effective solutions to a public policy problem (Benz 2004: 18; Christiansen/Føllesdal/Piattoni 2003: 7).<sup>24</sup>

The term *governance* implies a change in the meaning of *government*. The two terms are by no means synonymous. While the latter denotes the autonomous action of a government the

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<sup>22</sup> For an illustration of the diverse meanings ascribed to the term, s. Kooiman 2002: 71-73. For an outline concerning the emergence of the theme of *governance*, s. Schmitter 2002: 54-55.

<sup>23</sup> I use the term *governance arrangement* when referring to the manifestation of governance in practical politics. The term is adopted from Schmitter (2002) who uses it when referring to political institutions designed to obtain desirable policy objectives by means of governance. Schmitter’s interest lies in developing models for new forms of governance in the context of the multi-level EU system.

<sup>24</sup> Schmitter (2002: 55-56) stresses in this context that governance can complement the action of public agencies, but it can never work completely by itself. Thus, governance arrangements only provide *second-best* solutions to policy issues which the institutions of representative democracy cannot cope with effectively.

former stands for the interaction of public and private actors in processes of public decision-making. From the *government* perspective the state as a distinct entity is strictly separated from both the market and civil society. Its decisions are based on the principles of representative democracy and include the activities of political parties and functional associations. In contrast the *governance* approach regards the government, market and civil society as interdependent institutional structures which engage in diverse regulative and public management tasks in order to provide common goods. Consequently the core of governance lies in steering society through negotiation systems and not through constitutionally-based decision-making. (Benz 2004: 17-21).

For scholars of European politics the *governance* approach offers new possibilities to analyse the EU system since it enlarges the perspective on the integration process beyond the classical theories of neo-functionalism and intergovernmentalism.<sup>25</sup> The absence of a centre of political authority is one of the most obvious features making the EU an intriguing object for *governance* studies.: “[T]his ‘*sui generis* system’ is [...] governed without government.” (Kohler-Koch 1999: 15). In the EU system legislative decision-making involves manifold deliberation, negotiation and bargaining processes between the Council, the COM and the EP which are complemented by the participation of diverse advisory committees and interest groups. Moreover, the administrative bodies of the member states play an important role in the EU policy cycle because they implement the common legislation at the national level.

Due to the continuous transitions and exchanges between entangled levels of policy-making the EU system has met with particular interest from one branch of research which focuses on governing in policy networks, governance arrangements which have from the outset featured prominently in European politics. (Benz 2004: 23).<sup>26</sup> It aims at explaining the political dynamics unfolding within policy networks. Still today the COM often acts as creator of policy networks since it organises its activities around a multitude of advisory bodies and expert committees. Its entrepreneurial role in setting-up policy networks has evolved out of pure necessity because in the face of scarce administrative resources the COM had to resort to external expertise in order to gather the information and knowledge needed for preparing and implementing common legislation in a variety of policy fields. The method of networking has

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<sup>25</sup> Jachtenfuchs (2001: 257-260) believes that the governance approach is particularly beneficial to the study of the EU because it does not constitute a theory by itself and therefore allows researchers to combine different theories and theoretical approaches in explaining the dynamics of European politics.

<sup>26</sup> On this branch of research, the *network governance* approach, s. e.g. Kohler-Koch 2003; Peterson 2004.

always served as a means to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of the EU system and thereby gain *output-legitimacy*. (Eising/Kohler-Koch 1999: 270; Laffan 2002: 123-124).

### **3.2.2 Governance and Democracy**

In the national context the *governance* approach has met with harsh criticism from opponents regarding it incompatible with legitimate democratic governing. Their criticism has mainly focused on three features of governance arrangements which have been claimed detrimental to the democratic quality of governance. First, it has been pointed out that the participants in governance arrangements are experts, civil servants or interest group spokesmen and do therefore not possess any democratic mandate. Consequently they are not obliged to publicly account for their action which frees them from public control and sanctions. Second, participation in governance arrangements is restricted to those actors who succeed in gaining access to arenas of public decision-making on grounds of specific resources. The composition of governance arrangements such as policy networks tends to be highly selective and elitist thereby causing the range of incorporated interests to be highly limited. This criticism is amplified by the third characteristic of governance arrangements, which is the fact that policy networks and expert committees often work far apart from the institutions of representative democracy. Thus, new systems of governing which are dominated by non-elected bureaucrats and representatives of interest groups emerge parallel to the democratic institutions. (Papadopoulos 2004: 220-224).

Arguably these deviations from democratic norms are by no means unknown to modern democracies either. It would be inappropriate to disqualify the *governance* approach without acknowledging e.g. the role of administrative personnel in democratic systems which to an increasing degree predetermines the decisions made by elected politicians. Having said that it is still important to note that the threats to democratic principles inherent in governance arrangements are clearly detectable. The increasing shift of public decision-making to closed policy communities and networks might further aggravate tendencies towards elite rule leaving national parliaments highly limited leeway to uphold the democratic legitimacy of the political process (Papadopoulos 2004: 220, 225).

Wolf (2002: 40) underlines the difference between governance and democratic rule: “The primary normative guideline for governance is not democracy but legitimacy.” It is assumed that the legitimacy of a governance arrangement is based on its output-effectiveness, i.e. on the efficient attainment of a specific public goal. This assumption in particular has been attacked by opponents of the *governance* approach who question whether the dismantling of democratic procedures in public decision-making can be compensated by the alleged *output-*

*legitimacy* of governance arrangements (Papadopoulos 2004: 230). So far the manifestation of governance in practical politics has not been studied in great enough detail to allow for conclusions about their impact on modern democratic systems. Still scenarios in which governance arrangements completely replace democratic structures seem to be highly unlikely due to their questionable legitimacy basis.

In the European context questions of democracy and governance need to be addressed from a different angle since the institutional system of the EU does not correspond to the democratic structures in the member states: “[...] [A]lthough it is embedded in a context of representative democracy, European governance does not conform to the norms of democratic rule.” (Kohler-Koch 1999: 15). The highly open and undogmatic approach to questions of democracy within the EU, which is at least in part to be ascribed to uncertainties about what kind of democracy to be striven for in the supranational context, allows for a significant shift in the assessment of the democratic quality of governance. While the *governance* approach is considered almost completely incompatible with democratic norms in the national context the contrary is the case in the EU. A look through the theorising on European integration reveals that governance arrangements are even regarded as beneficial to the democratic legitimacy of the EU. Schmitter (2001: 7) states in this context: “[...] marginal and attainable improvements in the legitimacy of the European Union are much more likely to come from changes in the admittedly ‘fuzzy’ but innovative practices of **governance** than from reforms in the much more clearly delineated and conventional institutions of **government**.”<sup>27</sup>

The COM has eagerly adopted the *governance* approach in its strategies for achieving increased recognition of the EU amongst its citizens. It claims that opening up the decision-making processes to the people through governance arrangements facilitates the enhancement of the EU’s legitimacy. The inclusion of societal groups into the political process is by no means a new development because forms of civic participation had already been established at the beginning of the integration process, first concerning particularly the social partners and a wider range of civic interests from the mid-80s onwards. But this inclusion has gained a new meaning from the 90s onwards when the alleged legitimacy problem took a firm position on the EU agenda. The COM now aims at further developing and establishing forms of governance which would make strengthened input from organised civic interests in the

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<sup>27</sup> Schmitter ranges the potential for generating legitimacy inherent in the forms of representation practised in governance arrangements higher than the potential inherent in traditional parliamentary representation embodied in the EP. This setting of hierarchies hints at the reconceptualising of democratic norms in the context of European integration (s. p. 9, 11).

preparation and implementation of decisions possible. Special attention is given to promoting the access of civic actors to the EU's political arenas. The EU intends to achieve enhanced *input-legitimacy* through the involvement of civil society and enhanced *output-legitimacy* through appropriate policies designed and approved of by experts from the respective policy field. (Jachtenfuchs/Kohler-Koch 2004: 88-89; Zimmer/Sittermann 2004: 9-12).<sup>28</sup>

### 3.3 Participatory Governance

The *governance* approach has triggered new theoretical studies which focus on the participatory dimension of governance arrangements under the term of *participatory governance*. This part introduces the aspects of this approach which are relevant to this thesis. These are the benefits of civic participation in governance arrangements, the determination of whom to include and the societal preconditions for successful governance.

Underlying *participatory governance* is the assumption that participation is the precondition for effective governance (Lindblom 1965, in: Heinelt 2002: 98). Participation enables decision-makers to bring public policies in accord with the responses of the people and furthermore facilitates the smooth implementation of policy objectives. The latter is achieved by: considering the motives of policy addressees; enhancing their compliance with a specific decision and benefiting from their special knowledge on the respective issue (Mayntz 1987, in: Heinelt 2002: 98).

In accordance with these assumptions Schmitter (2002: 56) defines *participatory governance* as “the regular and guaranteed presence when making binding decisions of representatives of those collectivities that will be affected by the policy adopted”. This definition implies that *participatory governance* is first and foremost about the effective inclusion of those groups which are most closely related to the issue in question rather than about choosing representatives endowed with a democratic mandate through elections. *Participatory governance* holds that the legitimacy of governance arrangements is based on civic participation which is channelled by non-profit, semi-public and semi-voluntary organisations.

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<sup>28</sup> The *White Paper on European Governance* (WP) (COM 2001) provides an insight into the adoption of the governance approach at the EU level and reveals the COM's strategy of linking democratic values with governance. It is examined in part 4.2.



In this context Schmitter stresses that these organisations need to be embedded in civil society for governance arrangements to achieve legitimacy. (Schmitter 2002: 53).

Schmitter's understanding of participation in political decision-making exceeds traditional norms of democratic legitimacy (Schmitter 2002: 68). In the same way as the difference between governance and democratic government was stressed before (s. p. 13), it has to be stressed here that the forms of governing suggested by *participatory governance* cannot be equated to representative democracy. Rather than adhering to long-established norms of achieving *input-legitimacy* through the parliamentary route this approach conceptualises civic participation as additional means of gaining legitimacy for a political system. (Gbikpi/Grote 2002a: 26-27; Heinelt 2002: 98). *Participatory governance* thus aims at conciliating the dilemma of enhancing *output-legitimacy* at the detriment of *input-legitimacy* which has led to the harsh criticism of the *governance* approach (s. p. 16). This focal point makes for the high relevance of *participatory governance* for the enquiry into the relevance of civic participation through organised civil society for the democratic legitimacy of the EU.

With regard to the essential question of who is to participate in a governance arrangement Schmitter (2002: 62-63) proposes to designate as *holders* all those groups whose specific quality or resource gives them the right to take part. He identifies seven different qualities or resources on which the *holders'* claim to participate is based. These are civic rights, spatial location, knowledge, share, stake in the sense of material or spiritual affectedness by a policy measure, interest transmitted by voluntary spokespersons of a specific constituency and status possessed by corporate representatives.

Democratic theory grants the bearers of civic rights privileged access to public decision-making. In contrast *participatory governance* establishes guidelines for the inclusion of other *holders* into governance arrangements. In real-world politics the decision about which *holders* to include and which to exclude are likely to give cause to fierce political contest. For this reason Schmitter develops clear principles for justifying the participation of specific groups and on the working rules and scope of activity of governance arrangements (Schmitter 2002: 63-67). These principles will have to prove their applicability in political reality in case some of Schmitter's proposals will be realised in the future.

With regard to the research focus of this thesis the concept of *holder* is considered relevant since it offers a way to determine the specific quality or resource which entitles cultural networks to participate in governance arrangements at the EU level. Two of the aforementioned *holder* categories apply to the three cultural networks analysed in the thesis.

First, the cultural networks constitute an enormous pool of knowledge which is a significant asset in designing and implementing effective solutions in the field of EU cultural policy. Second, their claim for participation is based on their members' interests pertaining to the field of EU cultural policy which they represent as spokespersons. Additionally, the cultural networks bring the reactions and needs of a broader constituency of cultural actors which exceeds their membership into the political arena.

Having introduced *participatory governance* and outlined the relevance of the concept of *holder* for this thesis I now turn to the notion of civil society. As mentioned before (s. p. 19) civil society has been qualified as a precondition for governance arrangements to successfully gain legitimacy. In the following I explain the importance of civil society for the transmission of civic interests into the political system and elucidate the structural requirements which need to be taken into account in order to ensure that civic interest organisations can fulfil their role in governance arrangements.

The term *civil society* is highly elusive and has been defined innumerable times in different circumstances and for different purposes.<sup>29</sup> In this thesis I adopt the broad definition used by Heinelt (2002: 100): “[...] civil society is conceived of as an intermediate sphere separated from the ‘upper’ sectors of the political system, the ‘market economy’ and the private sphere of personal life [...], whilst complementing them as an area of intermediation.” He describes civil society, which he designates as *civic infrastructure*, as consisting of associations, movements and pressure groups from the grassroots and the experts and advocates allied with them.

The civic infrastructure is assigned a special position in Heinelt's model of the political system (Heinelt 2002: 101-104) in which the core sector, comprising parliament and government, is surrounded by four sectors of interest intermediation (s. figure 1). These are the sector of territorial interest intermediation, the functional interest intermediation sector, the administrative interest intermediation sector, and the civic interest intermediation sector. In contrast to the other three sectors of interest intermediation only the last sector is directly linked to the civic infrastructure. Due to this openness the sector is able to enter into dialogue with civil society and to directly transmit interests, problem definitions and proposals for action emanating from there into the centre of the political system. In this way, parts of the

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<sup>29</sup> For an outline of the problems of definition connected with the term, s. Goehring 2002: 119-122.

civic interest intermediation sector act as civil bridging agencies connecting civic actors with the core of the political system.

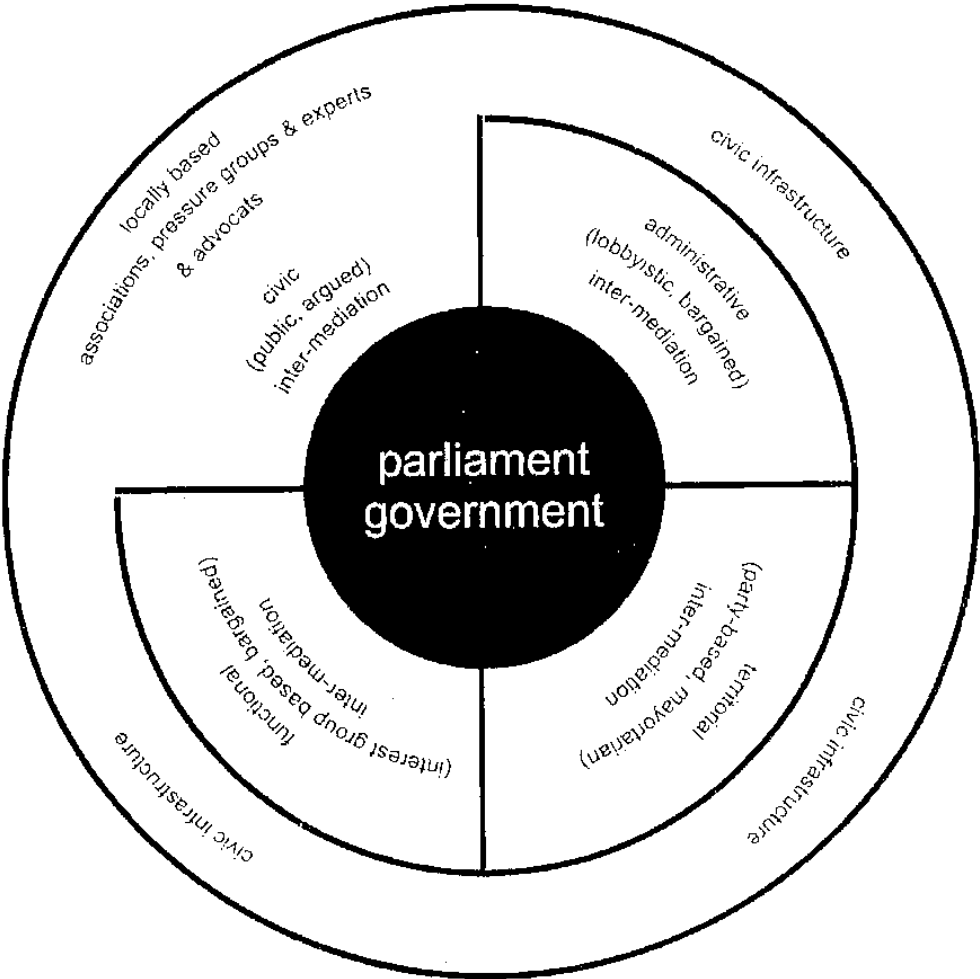


Figure 1: Sectoral Composition of the Political System (taken from: Heinelt 2002: 101)

In this thesis European cultural networks are considered as civil bridging agencies which convey expectations, problem perceptions and proposals for action expressed by actors from the cultural field of civil society to the centre of the EU system. Consequently the networks' aims resemble those of other actors in the civic interest intermediation sector. Nevertheless cultural networks have to be distinguished from other civil bridging agencies such as the European Environmental Bureau or the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC). While the latter have been established by the EU and are not rooted in

any way in the civil societies of the member states (Heinelt 2002: 110) the former themselves belong to the sphere of civil society since they are constituted of transnational civic interest groups.<sup>30</sup>

So far the forms and scope of civil society incorporation into decision-making processes at the European level have been limited. In order to further enhance civic participation in European politics not only the EU is required to reevaluate its working procedures with view to adapting them to civic interest intermediation. Gaining legitimacy for EU policies through forms of governance is only possible if civil society itself proves to fulfil certain structural requirements. First, the civic interest groups claiming the right to participate have to be representative of their *holder* community and have to adhere to democratic internal decision-making procedures: “The important point with respect to the quality of the governance arrangement is to make sure [...] that every *holder* in his or her collectivity feels properly represented.” (Gbikpi/Grote 2002a: 25). Second, the *holders* involved in governance arrangements have to rely on intact and active civil societies in the member states since the initiative and issue-specific contents of participation can only arise from there (Heinelt 2002: 109). Taking into account these preconditions I examine whether legitimate governance is possible in the field of EU cultural policy in the course of analysing the interest representation of cultural networks at the EU level.

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<sup>30</sup> I deliberately refrain from designating European cultural networks as part of a *European civil society* because I agree with the authors who claim that it is inappropriate to speak of anything close to a *European civil society* at this point (s. e.g. Greven 1998: 266-268; Kielmansegg 2003: 60-61). Having said that I still consider the cultural networks to possess all the characteristics of what might become *European civil society* organisations since they have a European-wide membership and work transnationally. Thus, not the organisations itself but their social environment, which does not yet qualify for this term, have me content to designate cultural networks as avant-garde in the evolution of a *European civil society*.

## 4 The EU and Civil Society

### 4.1 Civic actors in EU policy-making

The need to assign civil society a greater role in the European integration process has been widely acknowledged by politicians as well as academics. Increasing the involvement of civic actors in the decision-making process is considered part of the solution to the legitimacy problem often ascribed to the EU. Before examining the significance of civil society from the perspective of the COM and the ESC it is appropriate to briefly review the development of civil society involvement in European politics since the beginning of the integration process. For this reason, I present the main civic actors which engage in interest representation at the EU level and the most common forms of involvement in EU policy-making. The forms of involvement are illustrated in a more concrete way in the analysis of the networks' advocacy action in the fifth chapter.

According to Greenwood (2003: 19) of the 1450 interest groups active at the EU level 20% are public interest groups.<sup>31</sup> Most of these groups have been founded in response to the transfer of legislative competences from the national to the EU level.<sup>32</sup> In addition many originated from conferences or forums organised by the COM with the aim of triggering an EU wide alignment of national civic interest groups or in connection with the launching of a Community action programme in their respective policy fields.

The first public interests aligning at the EU level were consumer interests. The European Consumers' Organisation (BEUC) was established in 1962 (Kohler-Koch/Conzelmann/Knodt 2004: 233) with the mission to monitor the design and implementation of adequate consumer protection measures as a counterbalance to the liberal market which was evolving on the basis of the Treaty of Rome<sup>33</sup>. Environmental interests followed suit in 1974 with the establishment of the European Environmental Bureau (EEB), thereby responding to the COM's launch of

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<sup>31</sup> Greenwood (2003: 182) subsumes three categories of interest groups under the term *public interest group* which are consumer, environmental and civic/social interest groups. All of these groups can be considered to belong to the "intermediate sphere separated from the 'upper' sectors of the political system, the 'market economy' and the private sphere of personal life", which has been defined as *civil society* (s. p. 20). Consequently I regard all the three groups as *civic actors*.

<sup>32</sup> In this context Kohler-Koch/Conzelmann (2004: 231) draw attention to the fact that a number of European interest groups were founded even before the EU gained legislative competences in their field of action, that is in anticipation of future EU action.

<sup>33</sup> The Treaty of Rome, signed in 1957, established the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EAC).

environmental action programmes. Furthermore, the 1970s saw increasing activity on the part of development organisations at the EU level manifesting itself in institutionalised contacts to the COM and the co-financing of development projects in the framework of the common development policy. (Greenwood 2003: 180-181).

Social and civic interest groups slowly began to build up Europe-wide alliances in the mid-80s responding to incentives from the EU institutions, especially the Fontaine Report of the EP<sup>34</sup> and the first social programme launched by the COM. But most of these groups, comprising the vast sector of organisations focusing on poverty, disability, public health, arts and culture, young people, refugees, women and voluntary work, only came to Brussels in the 90s when the Treaty of the European Union (TEU) enlarged the EU's competences in the field of social policy. On the basis of these new legal provisions the COM started formulating its objectives and strategies in this field in White Papers and action programmes thereby stimulating many a civic interest group to start advocacy action at the EU level. In addition, the social interest groups got further incentives to join up and engage with European politics through the Forum on Social Policy which was organised by the COM and the EP in 1996 and the broadening of common social policy beyond labour market measures in the Treaty of Amsterdam (TAV). (Greenwood 2003: 181-182, 214).

The activity of civic actors at the EU level is characterised by enormous variety. Their strategies and methods as well as their access points to the EU system vary depending on the policy field which they focus on and on the decision-making procedures which apply in the respective cases. Since the EU institutions most commonly targeted by civic actors are the COM and the EP they are given the main attention in the following explanations.

The COM has from the beginning of European integration been the most important venue for interest representation. This is due to the fact that in its role as agenda setter it is responsible for identifying problem issues and initiating and drafting legislative proposals. Consequently maintaining regular contacts with the COM gives civic actors the best chance of conveying their information and views on upcoming decisions at the earliest stage of the policy-making process. Civic actors further benefit from the relatively high openness of the COM in comparison to national administrations. Whereas in the latter the drafting of legislation mostly takes place in closed policy communities comprising privileged interest groups the COM often

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<sup>34</sup> The report emphasised the role of the third sector as an important vehicle in the process of creating a European Community (Zimmer/Sittermann 2004: 6).

cannot revert to long-established partnerships with specific organisations especially when venturing into new policy areas. Thus, it maintains a complex system of consultative committees thereby facilitating the involvement of a variety of stakeholders in the decision-preparation phase of the policy cycle. This system enhances civic actors' chances of access. Nevertheless it has to be pointed out that there are significant differences in attitude towards civic actors between Commission departments ranging from high openness to continuous rejection of input from civil society groups. (Greenwood 2003: 16, 44-46, 183-184; Platzer 1999: 418-419). The next chapter addresses in more detail the COM's dependence on civic interest groups which gives them to a certain extent a privileged position vis-à-vis this EU institution.

The EP has increasingly attracted civic interest groups since it has gained in legislative competences through the introduction of the co-decision procedure in the TEU. This procedure applies mainly to environmental and social policy as well as to culture and education. (Andersen/Eliassen 1996: 47). The main focus of civic actors are the standing committees of the EP which are the dominant entities structuring the parliamentary working process. The committees tasks consist in forming opinions on the COM's legislative proposals on the basis of a report prepared by a committee member, the so-called *rapporteur*. Frequently lacking in knowledge and adequate information on the issue under consideration the rapporteurs in many cases readily use the services of civic interest organisations which provide them with pre-digested, expert information. Consequently, civic actors possess significant chances to put forth their own comments when amendments are drafted during the committee stage of a legislative proposal. In addition to the direct contact with specific members of the European Parliament (MEP) they use the possibility to present their information and assessment of the COM's proposals in public hearings convened by the standing committees. Last but not least, the EP procedures for the processing of individual citizens' petitions and complaints offer civic interest organisations a channel for conveying their views. (Earnshaw/Judge 2003: 62-66; Greenwood 1997: 215-216; Greenwood 2003: 57-58).

The Council of Ministers is generally not the main target of civic actors' interest representation. This is due to the high insulation characterising the negotiations at the level of the permanent representatives of the member states and the intergovernmental bargaining taking place in the Council negotiations. Even more important is the fact that the Council decisions are made at the end of the legislative process which hardly leaves any chance for meaningful input by organised civic interests. None the less, civic interest groups do use the

national route in that they directly present their arguments to the respective national ministry in order to sensitise the respective minister for the issue in question. In addition the European Council does in some cases explicitly invite civic actors to convey their viewpoints. This is e.g. the case when the Presidency organises forums, conferences and other events which focus on the priority themes of the Presidency agenda. Although these meetings are mostly aimed at raising media attention they do at times provide civic interest groups with a platform to speak up for their cause. (Greenwood 2003: 28-29; Platzer 1999: 420).

With regard to the two advisory bodies of the EU, the ESC and the Committee of the Regions (CoR), it has to be said that their role as venues of interest representation is minor compared to that of the aforementioned institutions. This obviously results from their weak competences in the legislative process. The ESC has recently taken the initiative to strengthen the participation of civic actors in EU policy-making. Its role as promoter of civil society involvement is examined in the following part. The CoR has a very low profile in the institutional system of the EU which explains the limited attention it gets from interest groups. Considering the standing of the CoR Greenwood (2003: 65) states: “[T]he institution has proved a substantial disappointment to advocates of a ‘Europe of the regions’ and to the ‘regional lobby’ which fought for its creation. Apart from its ineffectiveness, it is riven by internal divisions between interests in the North and South of Europe, and by local and regional authority groupings.”

Having briefly looked into the different forms of civic actors’ advocacy action it is appropriate to address the question of civic interest groups’ influence within the EU system. There is no straight answer to this question because the effects of the civic actors’ activities at the EU level cannot be clearly tracked and identified. They are dependent on a number of factors such as the inter-institutional interactions in the policy field in question, national and institutional interests, ever-changing alliance formations within and among EU institutions and the resources and strategies of the interest groups themselves (Earnshaw/Judge 2003: 61). For example, having had influence on a parliamentary amendment to a COM proposal does not automatically guarantee the respective civic interest group influence on the final outcome of a decision-making procedure. This is due to the fact that the preparation of amendments in a parliamentary committee is only one stage in a range of highly complex deliberation and conciliation processes between the EU institutions especially in the policy fields falling under



the co-decision procedure.<sup>35</sup> As a consequence civic actors are not only forced to view their expectations in the light of their own capacities but also to take into account the numerous political and legal constraints faced by the EU institutions.

Ruzza (2004: 17) states in this context that the success of advocacy action has to be defined in different ways depending on the institutional setting in which the action takes place. Successful interest representation towards the COM might have causes and effects which would not occur in the same way in the parliamentary arena. He emphasises the importance of taking a broad perspective on the impact of civic actors' advocacy action. This view is shared by Greenwood (1997:216) who stresses that "the focus should be as much upon outputs as on outcomes [...], such as the ways in which such interests contribute to, and are influenced by, the language of debate and the norms and understanding of those who participate in it." Thus, the role of civic interest groups in raising awareness and sensitising their counterparts for their cause needs to be recognised as just as important as their potential direct impact on specific policies.

This understanding of the influence civic interest groups have on EU policy-making is exemplified in the analysis of the three European cultural networks in the next chapter. Turning to the emphasis put on civic interest organisations in the context of recent moves to tackle the alleged legitimacy problem of the EU I focus in the following on the two EU institutions which are leading the way in promoting strengthened involvement of civic actors in the political process, the COM and the ESC. I outline the motives and reasoning behind these initiatives and describe the concrete action taken by the institutions to support and enhance civic interest groups' activity at the EU level.

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<sup>35</sup> For a description of these procedures, s. Greenwood 2003: 58-60.

## 4.2 Two EU institutions as promoters of civil society involvement

### 4.2.1 The European Commission

The Commission has been designated “a motor of network formation and the organisation of interests” (Tömmel 1994: 278). Its highly favourable attitude towards strengthening input from interests groups is to be ascribed to two main reasons. The first is the COM’s practical need for support in performing its tasks and the second its effort to enhance the EU’s legitimacy by promoting functional representation. As will be seen these two motives can be referred back to the understanding of legitimacy in its manifestations as *output-* and *input-legitimacy* (s. p. 9).

Since the beginning of the integration process the COM has been dependent on interest groups because they provided the information and specialist knowledge needed to draft legislative proposals and to monitor the implementation of legislative measures.<sup>36</sup> Due to the lack of in-house expertise and personal resources the COM is not able to cope by itself with the ever expanding and often highly technical policy agenda.<sup>37</sup> In light of these circumstances its close contact to interest groups has proved to greatly contribute to the efficiency of EU policy-making.<sup>38</sup> In sum, when viewed from a purely pragmatic perspective interest representation has been a key factor in assuring the *output-legitimacy* of the EU system. (Andersen/Eliassen 1996: 53, 55; Greenwood 2003: 5).

Whereas the aim of achieving efficiency has motivated the COM to be open in equal measure towards private and civic interests it focuses in particular on civil society in its pursuit of generating legitimacy for European integration. The need for involving civic actors for other reasons than acquiring information had already been recognised at the end of the 60s. At that time the EU system was criticised for acquiescing to the dominance of business interests in the

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<sup>36</sup> In addition to benefiting in terms of knowledge transfer the COM has frequently gained the political support of specific interest groups in defending its proposals vis-à-vis the Council and in pushing for further integration in a policy field. Evidence for such a coalition-building between the COM and interest groups can be found on the side of private as well as public interest groups, s. e.g. Greenwood 2003: 204-205; Kohler-Koch 1996: 203.

<sup>37</sup> The numbers given by Greenwood (2003: 45-46) illustrate that the COM’s administrative resources are by no means comparable with the resources available to the national, in some cases even the regional, administrations of the member states.

<sup>38</sup> The value of interest groups for EU policy-making has e.g. been stressed by the COM in the following statement: “The Commission has always been an institution open to outside input. The Commission believes this process to be fundamental to the development of its policies. This dialogue has proved valuable to both the Commission and to interested outside parties. Commission officials acknowledge the need for such outside input and welcome it.” (COM 1992)

decision-making process while neglecting other societal interests. The COM reacted to this criticism by actively promoting the consolidation of a European-wide trade union movement and by establishing a forum for tripartite consultations at the EU level. (Kohler-Koch 1996: 202-203). Thus, the support measures for civic interest organisations, which will be addressed shortly, have their origin in the COM's active measures of counteracting the imbalance of interest representation within the EU system.

At the beginning the involvement of organised civic interests was not primarily considered a means of strengthening the EU's legitimacy. This changed in the 90s when the COM purposefully elaborated on the assumed capability of civic actors to act as a link between the EU and its citizens and thereby take a significant role in overcoming the often supposed democratic deficit. Evidence for the increasing attention given to the contribution of civil society to the integration process is to be found in a discussion paper outlining measures for improving the COM's cooperation with non-governmental organisations (NGOs). The paper does not only stress the value of NGOs as information relays and their contribution to policy-making, project management and policy/programme implementation but also their role in representing the views of specific groups of citizens to the EU institutions and in fostering participatory democracy (COM 2000).

The COM elaborated in-depth on how to improve forms of civil society involvement in the *White Paper on European Governance* (WP) (COM 2001) which will be dealt with shortly. As a matter of fact the high expectations in the capability of civic interest organisations to act as a voice for the citizens provide for a considerably favourable climate for interaction with the COM, notwithstanding the constraints to successful interest representation mentioned before (s. p. 26-27): “[A]ny issue packaged as those to do with addressing ‘democratic deficit’ and aimed at creating an ‘EU of the citizens’ have a head start in EU policy making.” (Greenwood 2003: 177).

In concrete terms this favourable climate manifests itself in the COM's active support to civic interest groups which can be divided into three categories (Greenwood 2003: 14-15). First, the COM directly establishes contacts with specific interest groups through informal dialogue fora or conferences and encourages them to found a European association which would in the following drive specific policy initiatives designed by the COM. Second, the COM has them perform quasi-official tasks on its behalf such as information gathering or monitoring the

implementation of EU legislation in order to justify their existence in the formative years.<sup>39</sup> Third, it grants substantial financial support to civic interest groups thereby making the establishment of groups possible and in many cases enabling them to maintain their activities.<sup>40</sup>

The WP (COM 2001) was the outcome of a wide-ranging research process on the reform of governance<sup>41</sup> in the EU. The overall aim of the White Paper is to examine “how the EU uses the powers given by its citizens”. Stating the citizens’ alienation from the EU and their decreasing trust in its capacities for problem-solving the COM acknowledges that the EU cannot derive legitimacy any longer solely from producing beneficial policy results. Instead, civic involvement and participation were needed to generate legitimacy for the integration process. In order to address this need a number of actions are proposed in order to “connect the EU more closely to its citizens.” Through these actions the COM aims to establish forms of governance which adhere to the principles of openness, participation, accountability, effectiveness and coherence.

The principle of participation is particularly stressed in the WP. The COM argues for increasing the involvement of civic interest organisations and the citizens in the political process and clearly states its expectation that this would in turn result in strengthened confidence in EU policies and in the EU institutions. It emphasises the significance of civil society<sup>42</sup> in facilitating and encouraging civic engagement in debates on the EU’s role and transmitting people’s concerns to the political institutions. The proposed concrete measures for stronger interaction with civil society comprise improved consultation procedures aimed at effectiveness and transparency and the establishment of extensive partnership arrangements in some policy sectors. In sum the COM speaks in favour of bringing about a “reinforced culture

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<sup>39</sup> Greenwood (2003: 214-216) illustrates this approach by stating the successful partnerships between the COM and NGOs in demanding treaty amendments and by outlining the COM’s action in establishing the European Federation of National Organizations Working with the Homeless (FEANTSA).

<sup>40</sup> The level of direct funding granted to public interest groups by the COM amounts to around one billion Euros per year (COM 2000). Many of the supported groups, which make up for about two-thirds of all European public interest groups, would not be able to sustain their activity without this funding (Greenwood 2003: 179). The financial support granted to civic interest organisations plays a substantial part in the COM’s endeavour to level out the imbalances in the European interest group environment. According to Mahoney (2004: 447) more than 60% of the COM’s direct funding is allocated to civic interest organisations whereas private interest organisations only get about 14% of the share.

<sup>41</sup> The COM defines *governance* as the “rules, processes and behaviour that affect the way in which powers are exercised at European level” (COM 2001).

<sup>42</sup> *Civil society* is defined in the WP as including the social partners, non-governmental organisations, professional associations, charities, grass-roots organisations, organisations that involve citizens in local and municipal life with a particular contribution from churches and religious communities.

of consultation and dialogue” and urges the other institutions to play their part in realising this aim.

At the same time as it repeatedly emphasises its willingness to work for an improved inclusion of civic interest organisations in EU policy-making in the WP the COM stresses that these organisations have to fulfil certain conditions in order to be granted access to consultation procedures. In the future it will assess more closely the openness and representativeness of the respective organisations as well as their internal structures and their capacity to take on the role of mediator. Furthermore, the COM underlines the need for structuring the dialogue between the EU institutions and civic interest organisations. It commits itself to addressing this need by reviewing its own system of consultative bodies and by setting up a general code of conduct containing minimum standards for consultation procedures.

The question of how to set up an efficient and at the same time open dialogue with civil society is surely one of the most challenging issues addressed in the WP. Bearing in mind the huge number of civic interest groups which confront the under-resourced EU institutions daily demanding attention to their causes it does not seem inappropriate to envisage a near paralysis of policy-making due to system overload (Greenwood 2003: 272). This puts the enthusiastic “search for new tiers of democracy by the White Paper on European Governance in a somewhat different light.” (Greenwood 2002: 29).<sup>43</sup> In this regard, the various concrete actions of the COM to set up criteria which would enable it to establish the representativeness of organisations are to be considered a positive move since they mark the beginning of a more systematic approach towards civic interest representation within the EU system.<sup>44</sup>

Without question certain requirements for interest groups have to be devised in order to regulate their access to the EU institutions because the continuation of an ‘open-door policy’ towards interest groups, as is more or less the case at the moment, is not feasible. Nevertheless it has to be pointed out that the criteria of representativeness by itself poses serious problems when applied to civic interest organisations. In order to fulfil this criteria they would have to “demonstrate that they are effectively capable of voicing the particular interest at issue as

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<sup>43</sup> Kohler-Koch (2001) states in this context: “[...] I find it difficult to take the promise ‘to consult better on EU policies’ (WP 16) seriously when the obvious problem of how to tackle the both the information overload and the delicate problem of selecting from among the advice given is not even mentioned. [...] How will the Commission and other EU institutions manage an exploding demand for interaction?”

<sup>44</sup> For a description of the different initiatives of the COM to promote criteria of representativeness, s. Greenwood 2002: 29-31. In addition to these initiatives the COM has outlined its approach to consulting civic interest groups in its communication *General principles and minimum standards for consultation of interested parties by the Commission* (COM 2002).

interpreted, cumulatively, by a sufficiently large proportion of the European population.” (Verhoeven 2002: 218). But they are not able to do this. Civic interest groups do not represent a part of the population as members of parliament do. Even if they engage in advocacy action on behalf of a particular group which constitutes their membership they cannot from the outset claim to represent their members since they are not accountable to them in the same way as are parliamentarians to their electorate. The former president of the COM, Jacques Delors points out the difference between parliamentary and functional interest representation in striking simplicity: “Civil society organizations must not give in to the temptation of saying they represent the general interest. They may identify the general interest in their discussions. But that is quite a different thing.” (Delors, Jacques 1999).

In line with the elaboration on the difference between representative democracy and *participatory governance* (s. p. 18-19) it becomes clear that functional interest representation, which includes civic interest representation, cannot be measured by the same criteria as parliamentary interest representation. The COM has indeed started to structure its relations with civil society by setting up certain, at the moment still very loose, criteria for choosing the civic interest groups it will involve in consultation procedures. But it has not yet addressed the fundamental question of how functional representation can be institutionalised in the EU system in such a way as to contribute meaningfully to its legitimacy.

The WP has been criticised precisely for not getting down to the decisive questions about the use of political authority in the EU. It only focuses on how authority should be exercised when it is already in place by referring to the five principles mentioned earlier (s. p. 30). Instead it would be necessary to examine how this authority should be institutionalised in the first place in order to guarantee the legitimacy of the system. (Verhoeven 2002: 201). In the context of functional interest representation this means answering the question of “who is going to decide what interests should prevail over others and what constitutes a valuable contribution [to the solution of a problem]” (ESC 2004a: 13).

The concept of *participatory governance* addresses the role of civic interest organisations in public decision-making processes on the basis of an understanding of legitimacy which exceeds the framework of parliamentary representative democracy. I adopt the perspective of *participatory governance* in analysing the advocacy action of cultural networks as an example of civil society involvement in EU policy-making. In the course of the analysis the issue of representativeness is examined from the perspective of the cultural networks. This serves to illustrate the challenges scholars as well as practitioners face in pinpointing the value of

organised civil society for legitimising European governance. Before starting the analysis of cultural networks the role of the ESC in promoting civil society participation in EU politics is outlined.

#### **4.2.2 The Economic and Social Committee**

From the beginning of European integration functional representation was institutionalised in the ESC. Its role was defined in the TEC as representing employers, employees and diverse interests (art. 257, TEC). Its maximum 350 members are divided into three groups which correspond to the categories of interests stated in the TEC.<sup>45</sup> Through the Committee these organised civic interests are entitled to express their views on legislative proposals in the course of the decision-making process. The ESC has a facultative and an obligatory right of consultation depending on the policy field in question, it may be heard by the parliament and can issue exploratory opinions on its own initiative (art. 262, Treaty of Nice).

In recent years the ESC has endeavoured to establish itself as the main intermediary between the EU institutions and civil society<sup>46</sup> and thereby to make “a decisive contribution to the EU’s democratic legitimisation” (ESC 1999a). There have frequently been allegations that the real reason for this move is the aim of the ESC to improve its standing in the EU’s institutional system. Its role has generally been questioned due to its doubtful representative function and its importance as major target of interest groups in the first decades of European integration has decreased considerably because these have long begun to approach the COM and the EP directly (Linsenmann 2002: 363; Verhoeven 2002: 219, 221). The ESC declines these alleged intentions. It considers itself as most suitable for acting as a forum for organised civil society

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<sup>45</sup> According to the amendment of this article, introduced by the Treaty of Nice, the Committee “shall consist of representatives of the various economic and social components of organised civil society, and in particular representatives of producers, farmers, carriers, workers, dealers, craftsmen, professional occupations, consumers and the general interest.” Although the article no longer clearly mentions three interest groups the tripartite structure of the ESC is maintained in accordance with the provisions in the Committee’s Rules of Procedure (ESC 2004e). The last group includes among others agriculture, fisheries, consumers, professions, small and medium-sized enterprises, civil servants, scientists and environmental organisations (Verhoeven 2002: 221).

<sup>46</sup> Various definitions of *civil society* are to be found in the documents of the ESC which include the following two definitions: a) “a collective term for all types of social action, by individuals or groups, that do not emanate from the state and are not run by it” (ESC 1999a); b) “organizational structures whose members serve the public interest through discussion and function as mediators between the public authorities and the citizen” (ESC 2000).

due to its membership representing civic interest groups and its long-established relations with civil society at large (ESC 2004; ESC 1999a).

In line with this ability the Committee sets itself the goals “(i) to establish bases for cooperation with organisations representing civil society at European level which wish to cooperate and (ii) to serve as a bridge between civil society organisations – both within the EU and in the candidate countries – and the Community institutions.” (ESC 1999a). These goals are to be realised by facilitating a continuous civil dialogue about the contribution of civil society to the integration process.<sup>47</sup> Although considering itself a major player in the improvement of the EU’s relationship with civic actors it repeatedly emphasises that it does not claim a monopolistic role in this process (ESC 2004b; ESC 2001).

In concrete terms the Committee has engaged in this civil dialogue by organising numerous hearings, meetings and conferences inviting a wide range of civic actors to participate. The beginning of this process was marked by the *First Convention on Civil Society Organized at European Level* which took place in 1999. The discussions in the convention mainly concentrated on the Committee’s proposals for broadening and institutionalising the civil dialogue and enhancing the support granted by the other EU institutions to this initiative.<sup>48</sup> At subsequent conferences the ESC has further examined its relationship with civil society in light of broader debates on the EU’s future.<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, it continuously acted as mediator in the process of preparing the draft Constitutional Treaty for the EU in the European Convention in 2002 and 2003. This was done by regularly informing civic actors about the Convention proceedings and organising consultation meetings between civic interest organisations and members of the Convention (Goehring 2002: 133).

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<sup>47</sup> *Civil dialogue* is defined by the ESC as “a process providing minorities and sectors of society which consider themselves to be politically under-represented, amongst others, with an opportunity to put forward their views. This form of dialogue is therefore destined to complement other forms of representation, such as parliamentary representation or the social dialogue, which are unable by themselves to represent every aspect of social life. Civil dialogue must not be seen as a means of undermining the legitimacy of the state, but as an integral part of its democratic workings.” (ESC 2001)

<sup>48</sup> These proposals are contained in the Opinion of the Economic and Social Committee on the role and contribution of civil society organisations in the building of Europe (ESC 1999a). For documentation on the forum, s. the proceedings (ESC 1999b).

<sup>49</sup> At a conference in 2001 the ESC took up the proposals for reforming European governance presented by the COM in the WP. The conference was entitled *Organised Civil Society and European Governance*. For documentation, s. ESC www 2001.

The implications of participatory democracy, as introduced in art. I-46 of the draft Constitutional Treaty, and the role of the ESC in fulfilling this principle were discussed at a conference in 2004 entitled *Participatory democracy: current situation and opportunities provided by the European Constitution*. For documentation, s. ESC www 2004.



The Committee's most recent initiative to promote the involvement of civic actors in EU policy-making is the establishment of the *Liaison group with European organisations and networks*<sup>50</sup> in February 2004. This step has been motivated by the awareness among Committee members that many civic interest organisations are excluded from the formal representative structure provided for by the ESC. The Liaison group is intended to alleviate this deficit and enable the Committee to better harness the considerable knowledge and experience accrued by these organisations in the exercise of its functions. Furthermore it is expected to ensure a coordinated approach of the Committee vis-à-vis civil society. (ESC 2004b).

The Liaison group is composed of ten members of the ESC and not more than 20 “representatives of the various sectors of organised civil society at European level based on existing organisations and networks within these sectors” (ESC 2004d). At the moment 14 civic interest organisations are taking part in the group each representing a different sector of civil society.<sup>51</sup> They were appointed by the ESC on the basis of discussions with the main civic interest groups active at the EU level (Briesch 2004). The Liaison group is mandated to exchange information and opinions on the activities of its members, identify appropriate themes for cooperation, examine the feasibility and practical requirements for strengthened participation of the civic interest organisations in the consultative work of the ESC, consult or cooperate on certain upcoming events, examine any other issue of common interest, especially with regard to the dialogue with the EU institutions<sup>52</sup> (ESC 2004d). Having started its work in September 2004, it will hold six meetings in 2005. So far the discussions lead by the group have mainly centred on the members' expectations, its role in implementing the work programme of the ESC, priority working issues and the financing of civic interest organisations. It remains to be seen in future what contribution this new body makes to the debates and experiments on strengthening the representation of civic interests within the EU system.

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<sup>50</sup> In the following the *Liaison Group with European organisations and networks* is referred to as the *Liaison group*.

<sup>51</sup> The sectors of civil society represented in the Liaison group are development, youth, gender equality, education and training, family life, organisations and associations promoting the European idea, consumers' policy, service providers, cooperative movement, health insurance and social protection, arts and culture, European citizenship, fight against discriminations, rural development (ESC 2004f).

<sup>52</sup> The matters of common interest include issues such as the role of organised civil society in the democratic life of the Union, the interpretation and implementation of art. I-47 of the draft Constitutional Treaty: how to put participatory democracy into practice and how to organise civil dialogue, the representativeness of civil society organisations other than the social partners, funding of NGOs (ESC 2004c).

Although the establishment of the Liaison group has been recognised as a step towards balancing the scope of societal interests which are granted access to formal representation procedures the capacity of the ESC to act as intermediary between the EU and civic interest organisations has been questioned in general. It is claimed that the Committee will not be able to fulfil this role without engaging in a thorough reform of its own structures. The maintaining of the tripartite structure, the capital and the labour side forming two groups and other interests regrouped in an ambiguous third category, is no longer considered to adequately reflect the multi-faceted social reality within the member states. The insistence that the Liaison group has to comply with this structure<sup>53</sup> limits its scope of action from the outset given that its mandate is restricted anyway.

In addition to reforming the structure of the ESC the present rules for appointing members to the Committee need to be reviewed. At present in practice the member states have the discretionary power to decide on its composition. This procedure is not apt to bolster the credibility of the body which claims to be the “ideal forum for representing civil society organisations” (ESC www 2005). With regard to the deficits inherent in the structure of the ESC it is indeed questionable whether the Committee will be able to take on a more significant role than just providing a platform for discussion between the EU and civic actors. (ESC 2004a: 11-13; Greenwood 2003: 64-65; Verhoeven 2002: 219-222).

This investigation into the active promotion of civil society involvement undertaken by the COM and the ESC has made it obvious that these EU institutions place high expectations in civic interest organisations as additional means of legitimising the EU. However, this ability has been contested on the grounds of the significant shortcomings in the internal democracy and structural capacities of these organisations. With regard to the first shortcoming the elitist internal decision-making structures typical of many civic interest groups have been pointed out which leave members no possibility to participate in the shaping of campaigns and strategies (Greenwood 2003: 178-179; Warleigh 2001: 635). The lack of structural capacities of many civic interest groups manifests itself most apparently in their meagre financial resource base. Warleigh (2003: 29) draws attention to the fact that these circumstances reduce a number of organisations to the status of service providers to their funders instead of advocates of a certain cause. In line with this argument the financial support the COM grants to civic actors has been criticised for manipulating the composition of the emerging European

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<sup>53</sup> s. ESC 2004b.

interest group landscape and bringing about dependencies which would in turn result in a “false civil society” (Goehring 2002: 123) created by European institutions (Goehring 2002: 123; Mahoney 2004: 446).

I attempt to find out to what extent this criticism holds true for European cultural networks in the course of my analysis. In the following chapter I first aim at outlining the history of European cultural networks and introducing the policy field on which their advocacy action focuses, EU cultural policy. These remarks provide the background information for the subsequent analysis of the advocacy action of the three European cultural networks.

## 5 Cultural networks in European governance

### 5.1 European cultural networks: An overview

This part aims at giving an overview of the broad field of organisations which the three networks to be analysed belong to. I briefly outline the development of the transnational cultural network movement in Europe paying special attention to the motives for their establishment, their functions and the supportive role played by the Council of Europe (CoE) and the EU.<sup>54</sup>

The first European cultural networks were established in the 80s by professionals from the artistic field who felt the need to unite in order to respond to needs such as enhanced cross-border cooperation, exchange of information and expertise, generation and dissemination of innovative ideas and professional development (Cameron 2004: 50; Staines 1996: 3, 9).<sup>55</sup> More than any other form of professional association the form of a network was considered most appropriate for facilitating transnational projects and for adequately taking into account the differences between the participating organisations in terms of type, size and financial resources (EFAH 2003a: 65). Bonet (2002, in: Bertrand 2002: 50) describes the motives for the establishment of networks in the following terms: “Il y a une... ‘idéologie’, la conceptualisation sur les réseaux se fait pendant les années 80..., surtout à des moments où... on est conscient de la nécessité d’obtenir des économies d’échelle et davantage d’informations entre partenaires situés dans différents pays.”<sup>56</sup>

Many cultural networks originated from informal initiatives. This also holds true for the three networks which Pehn (1999: 36-38) identifies as the beginning of the transnational cultural network movement: the *Informal European Theatre Meeting* (IETM), *Trans Europe Halles* and the *Cultural Information and Research Centres Liaison in Europe* (CIRCLE). IETM grew

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<sup>54</sup> Although the cultural policy of the CoE does not fall within the scope of this thesis it is included here due to the supportive role the CoE played at the beginning of the cultural network movement.

<sup>55</sup> At this point it is important to note that the formation of networks among artists is far from being a new phenomenon. On the contrary throughout the ages particularly artists have traversed national, political and ideological borders in their search for inspiration and partnerships. Nevertheless, the transnational cultural networks emerging from the 80s distinguish themselves from earlier networks in that many of them actively seek to build up cooperation with players from the fields of economics or politics in order to obtain financial support and to enlarge their scope of action and influence. (Bertrand 2002: 50; Pehn 1999: 78)

<sup>56</sup> “There is... an ‘ideology’, the idea of networking emerges in the 80s..., especially at a time when... people are aware of the need to gain economies of scale and to get more information between partners situated in different countries.” (translation: LM)

out of an international theatre festival in 1981 at which a group of producers and performers launched the idea of creating a permanent meeting place for performing arts professionals in Europe. *Trans Europe Halles* emanated from a meeting of directors of independent cultural centres in 1983. The network's aims were stipulated as enhancing "exchanges and international co-operation concerning new developments in all forms of the creative arts and cultural productions." (Halles de Schaerbeek 1986, in: Pehn 1999: 37). CIRCLE was founded in 1984 by universities and governmental as well as non-governmental research institutions with the aim of facilitating European-wide collaboration in cultural policy research.

Networking in the cultural field experienced "a true explosion" (Minichbauer/Mitterdorfer 2000: 3) in the late 80s and early 90s with existing networks enlarging their memberships and many new networks entering the scene. To a considerable extent this rapid development can be attributed to the networks' eagerness to integrate new partners from Central and Eastern Europe. Networks facilitated and enhanced contact and dialogue with cultural actors from the post-communist countries, e.g. through invitations to meetings and conferences opening up possibilities for mutual support and cooperation.<sup>57</sup> (Fisher 1997: 5; Pehn 1999: 39)

From the 90s onwards the transnational networks in the arts and heritage field have been characterised by increasing diversity and specialisation. They vary largely with regard to the nature of their members, scope of activity, functions, level of institutionalisation and geographical scale, ranging from poetry translation centres to a network of jazz programmers. (Fisher 1997: 5-6; Staines 1996: 7).<sup>58</sup> Nevertheless cultural networks produce similar benefits to their members which Staines (1996: 13-14) identifies as intercultural cooperation, efficiency and effectiveness, professional development, productivity and innovation.<sup>59</sup> Active involvement and personal investment on the part of the members is an indispensable precondition for achieving these benefits: "Networking is about practitioners learning from the experiences of others on issues of mutual concern. It is about sharing information readily with

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<sup>57</sup> Suteu, initiator and president of the ECUMEST Association/Romania, expresses her appreciation for the work of cultural networks in this period in the following way: "One of the real benefits brought to eastern Europe by the arts networks was the creation of a dialogue on a personal level. They made people of eastern and western Europe realise that they are not so different, and that they could perhaps learn from each other." (Suteu 1996, in: Pehn 1999: 61).

<sup>58</sup> The examples mentioned are the European Network of Translation Centres for Contemporary Poetry (European Network www 2005) and the Europe Jazz Network (EJN www 2005). Whereas these two networks have actually integrated the word *network* in their title many networks are not identifiable as such since they call themselves e.g. forum, league, association (Staines 1996: 10). This notional variety is indicative of the great diversity existing in the field.

<sup>59</sup> De Vlieg (COM 2001b) refers to the benefits of networks in terms of resources which she identifies as information training, know-how transfer, research, documentation, production/co-production, diffusion, providing examples of best practice.

counterparts elsewhere. Networking necessitates the building of partnerships and trust on a long-term basis. It concerns solidarity in the promotion of mutual interests. It involves the investment of time and effort. Above all, it is about the mobility of people, ideas and expertise.” (Fisher 1997: 5). The importance of the members’ commitment to achieving the aims of a network will become evident from the subsequent analysis of the advocacy action undertaken by cultural networks at the EU level.

With regard to the role of the CoE and the EU in the development of transnational cultural networks it has to be pointed out that the CoE recognised their work and engaged in supporting measures about a decade earlier than the EU.<sup>60</sup> It actively promoted the creation and consolidation of cultural networks from the very start in the 80s since it acknowledged their importance as a link to the cultural sector. Networks were able to provide the CoE with information directly from the grass-roots players which was a valuable input in the preparation of the CoE’s cultural policies. The establishment of the CIRCLE network and ENCATC, which will be focused on in part 5.3, was made possible thanks to funding provided by the CoE. Another cultural network set up by the CoE was the *European Forum of Cultural Networks* which was conceived as “network of the networks” and reflected the ambition of the CoE to provide a platform for the growing number of cultural networks emerging at the time. (Bertrand 2002: 60-63; Pehn 1999: 38-39, 55-59).<sup>61</sup>

The EU showed initial interest for the activities of cultural networks at the beginning of the 90s. Recognising their significance for cultural cooperation within Europe the Council

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<sup>60</sup> Another international body which has promoted the creation of cultural networks is the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). It has e.g. supported the set up of the *Culturelink* Network/Zagreb which aims at developing a “world-wide information system for the study of cultural development and cooperation” (Culturelink www 2005). (Fisher 2002: 21; Peise 2003: 111). The role of UNESCO in promoting transnational cultural networks is not further elaborated on in this thesis.

<sup>61</sup> In contrast to CIRCLE and ENCATC the *European Forum of Cultural Networks* never succeeded to find its place among the European cultural networks. Its mission was not to bring together specific groups of cultural actors, as was the case with the aforementioned two CoE-funded networks. Rather the intention of the CoE in setting up the Forum was to facilitate the exchange of information and the building-up of cooperation between those cultural actors who were driving the work of the different emerging networks in the field. Although at the beginning the cultural actors did take up the opportunity to meet and discuss topical issues in the framework of the Forum they did not see any long-term relevance for it. It was regarded as a superfluous initiative of the CoE which was not reflecting their needs. This became even more obvious after the *European Forum for the Arts and Heritage* (EFAH) had been established by a group of cultural organisations in 1994 and had successfully begun to advocate the needs of the cultural sector mainly towards the EU institutions. Not being rooted in the cultural sector itself the Forum ceased to exist at the end of the 1990 when the CoE was no longer able to uphold its budget line for operational grants to the cultural networks. In contrast, the ending of CoE-funding did not lead to the dissolution of CIRCLE and ENCATC because their persistence was considered desirable by cultural actors who took it upon themselves to ensure their continuity. (This information was obtained from Ritva Mitchell in a telephone conversation on August 2nd, 2005.)

encouraged the active involvement of these cultural organisations in European-wide non-governmental cooperation and summoned the COM to investigate the possibilities of strengthening the networks' role in the EU's cultural action (Council 1991). In line with these statements the COM stressed the need for granting support to cultural networks in order to eliminate cultural barriers, promote exchange and open up new opportunities for cooperation among professionals (COM 1992b). Following from this initial recognition the position and functions of cultural networks within the EU have been addressed at conferences such as the Amsterdam Conference in March 1997, organised in the framework of the Dutch EU-presidency, and two forums on cultural action/cultural cooperation in Europe organised by the COM in 1998 and 2001.<sup>62</sup> The EP for its part has continuously stressed the importance of networks for cultural cooperation in Europe. The fact that it took the initiative to organise these two forums proves its ongoing commitment to supporting cultural networks (EP 2001). In 1993 the first sporadic financial support measures for cultural networks were introduced by one of the EU's cultural programmes which ran from 1994-1999 (Ellmeier 1998: 134-144; Sandell 1996: 276). From the year 2001 onwards a certain number of cultural networks have received EU grants to cover their operational costs. These grants have been allocated each year by the EP and the Council under the budget line A-3042 "Subsidy to cultural organisations advancing the idea of Europe".<sup>63</sup> In addition to receiving operational grants a number of networks benefit from project grants tendered in the framework of the EU's cultural programmes. The three networks which my analysis focuses on have all been receiving operational grants under the A-Line for the last four years and are getting EU grants for specific projects for the ongoing year. The EU's financial support to these networks is dealt with in part 5.3.2.

Transnational cultural networks are not only of great importance to the cultural sector due to their capacity to function as "the vital infrastructure for international cultural co-operation" (Rojanski/Gordon: 14). In fact, as structures of civil society whose activities reach large audiences and high numbers of participants across national borders they can demonstrate and

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<sup>62</sup> For information on these conferences, s. Pehn 1999: 45-46; EBLIDA www 2005; COM 2001a.

<sup>63</sup> The A-Line came to its end in 2003. Nevertheless, the annual operating grants were prolonged til the end of 2006 in April 2004 by the *Decision of the EP and the Council establishing a Community action programme to promote bodies active at European level in the field of culture* (EP/Council 2004a). The selection criteria for beneficiaries are not made public. Whereas the beneficiaries in the years 2004 and 2005 are stated in the decision, the beneficiaries in 2006 will be selected through an open tender. (EFAH www 2005a: A-Line Info; Kolyva 2003: 6-7). In the following these budget lines are referred to as the *former A-Lines*.

stimulate discussions about what Europe means in practice. “Networks represent a genuine form of European citizenship: people, organisations, movements learn how to deal with different approaches in a European context. Through debates, shaping artistic events or exchanging ideas and visions about a certain Europe, they ‘advance the idea of Europe’. As such, they are an expression of civil society [...]. Their work paves the way towards the ‘Europe of the 27’ through the long-life learning process of working together which forms their daily existence and indeed their very *raison d’être*.” (De Vlieg 2001: 11).

In the analysis of the three cultural networks the focus is on investigating how these networks transmit the needs and concerns of the cultural sector to the EU institutions. Their commitment to making an impact not only on the development of the cultural sector but on the future of Europe as a whole will become evident from their aims and the underlying philosophy of their work. Having briefly outlined the development of European cultural networks and their relation to the EU it is important to introduce the policy field which their advocacy action mainly focuses on, EU cultural policy. The elucidation of the origins, motives and instruments of EU cultural policy provides for an understanding of the positioning and action of the networks within this field.



## 5.2 EU Cultural Policy<sup>64</sup>: A controversial term and its history

The EU's involvement in culture has evolved slowly and gradually over the years and cannot be understood without ranging it into the broader context of European integration. During the first three decades of European integration the EC did not have any legal competence in cultural affairs since there was no specific reference to culture in the founding treaties and in the following treaty, the European Single Act. Consequently any cultural initiatives had to be justified by invoking some economic aim stated in the treaties. (Forrest 2001: 12; Sandell 1996: 268).

Nevertheless, the lack of a legal basis kept neither politicians nor bureaucrats from addressing the role of culture for the integration process. From the end of the 60s onwards culture was given attention at summit meetings in connection with questions of how to strengthen the citizens' identification with the EC. This concern reflected the broader vision shared by a number of heads of state who were aware of the fact that highly technocratic market

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<sup>64</sup> Following Sandell (1996: 272-273) I understand EU cultural policy to comprise the following areas of EU activity: 1) political-bureaucratic activity such as the production of policy research, communications, resolutions; 2) support for organisations or institutions which promote European integration; 3) support for singular events, visits and exchanges; 4) support for regular events; 5) support for cultural heritage projects; 6) training for professionals from the arts and heritage field mainly funded by the structural funds; 7) information; 8) support for film, television and broadcasting; 9) support for books, reading and translation; 10) support for infrastructure projects through the structural funds; 11) promotion of cultural exchange and cooperation with third countries. This listing comprises the *manifest* as well as the *latent* policies pertaining to the cultural field. Cliche/Mitchell/Wiesand (2002: 148-149) define as *manifest* policies those policies "which are [...] specifically designed for the cultural sector" and as *latent* policies those policies carried out on the basis of "more general or overarching EU legislation" which has an impact on the cultural sector. The latter comprises the support for culture granted in the framework of other EU programmes, such as those belonging to EU regional policy, EU legislation concerning culture and media industries and regulations on copyright, taxes and social policy. These policies involve a number of Directorates-General (DG) other than the Directorate-General for Education and Culture (DG EAC). (Bandelow/Schubert 1994: 599-600; Kaufmann/Raunig 2002: 8-9; Shore 2001: 113).

The *manifest* EU cultural policy comprises the EU programmes which are explicitly targeted at the cultural sector and which fall under the administrative competence of the DG EAC. It is legally based on art. 151, TAV, which is dealt with in this part of the thesis. In this study I restrict my treatment of EU cultural policy to the *manifest* involvement of the EU in culture. Thus, this subchapter concentrates on outlining the main developments in this part of EU cultural policy. In the following I refer only to the *manifest* EU action in the field of culture when using the term *EU cultural policy*. My decision to delimitate the perspective on EU cultural policy in this way is due to the fact that the advocacy action of the three networks mainly focuses on these manifest forms of EU engagement with culture. One of them, EFAH, explicitly refers to art. 151 as "the legal ground on which [it] positions itself" (EFAH, Purpose & Direction 2002-2004: 2). Nevertheless, the networks do not confine their activity to this policy field but instead traverse rigid administrative borders in order to achieve broader recognition for the needs of the cultural sector. The networks' awareness of the transversality of cultural issues underlying the work of the networks is clearly reflected in the interviews which are analysed in the following part. As a consequence of this feature of the networks' activity I enlarge my perspective and integrate into the analysis their advocacy action in other policy fields, e.g. EU education and research policy.

I do not use the term *European Cultural Policy* because I consider this term to designate not only the cultural policy carried out by the EU but also the cultural policy of the Council of Europe which is not dealt with in this study. Nevertheless this term occurs a couple of times in quotations in which the authors do not make an equally sharp distinction between *EU Cultural Policy* and *European Cultural Policy*.

integration would not provide a sufficient base for unifying Europe. The EP took on a pioneering role in establishing culture firmly on the EC's agenda. Amongst others it adopted a resolution on the protection of Europe's cultural heritage in 1974 and voted on a budget line to put into practice the aims set out in this resolution. Moreover it established a Culture Committee after its first direct election in 1979. As concerns the COM, it was able to set up a small cultural affairs unit in 1973 thanks to the budget lines approved by the EP. Starting from this initial point the COM argued for further action in the cultural field by producing a number of communications in which it argued for creating a legal base for direct EC involvement and outlined strategies for a comprehensive common cultural policy.<sup>65</sup> (Kaufmann/Raunig 2002: 7-8; Sandel 1996: 269; Schwencke 2001: 162-163, 231-232, 295-296).

The 1980s saw a boost in cultural activity triggered by the pledge of the heads of state to intensify cultural cooperation "in order to affirm the awareness of a common cultural heritage as an element in the European identity" (European Council 1983). The idea to build upon cultural action to increase peoples' awareness and acceptance of European integration, which was increasingly turning from a primarily economic into a political project, was expanded on and put into concrete terms in the work of an *ad hoc* committee. This committee came forward with concrete suggestions on how to promote European identity and build a *Citizens' Europe*.<sup>66</sup> The suggestions were put into practice through measures such as the design of an emblem and a flag for the EC and the designation of a European anthem. These new symbols were intended to communicate to the people the idea of a European identity and a European system of values manifest in the political institutions of the EC. (Ellmeier 1998: 117-118; Shore 2001: 111-113). The small-scale pilot projects initiated by the first Council meeting of cultural ministers in 1983 are in line with this rationale. They included amongst others the *European Capital of Culture*-programme, award schemes, restoration projects on symbolic sites of archaeological heritage, the promotion of books and reading and various small schemes such as support of cultural exchanges, training and museums work (Forrest 1994: 12; Sticht 200: 49).

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<sup>65</sup> The communications are *Community action in the cultural sector* (1977), *Stronger Community action in the cultural sector* (1982) and *A fresh boost for culture in the European community* (1982).

<sup>66</sup> The committee, chaired by the Italian MEP Adonnino, was established by the European Council in reaction to the low turn-outs in the 1984 European Parliament elections. It published its suggestions in the report *A People's Europe* in 1985. (Shore 2001: 111)

Except for support programmes for the film and television industries<sup>67</sup> the EC's involvement in cultural affairs remained largely on a rhetoric level till the middle of the 90s. Although the need for a commitment to culture was more and more acknowledged in declarations and reports there was considerable disagreement among member states on the extent and modalities of this involvement and pronounced reluctance to increase the budget for cultural action. Consequently the actual pilot programmes implemented by the COM were deemed to fall short of its high ambitions to develop a coherent and well-conceived common cultural policy. In sum, the EC's action in the field of culture from the 70s till the mid 90s can be described as an uncoordinated and low-key manoeuvring against the background of the absence of a legal competence and the lack of political will demonstrated by the member state governments. (Klaic 2005: 11; Sandell 1996: 268-269).

The TEU, which came into force in 1993, provided for a more favourable starting point for developing a common cultural policy by establishing a legal competence for EU action in the field of culture. The article on culture (art. 252, TEU) determines this competence by stipulating the following: "The Community shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States, while respecting their national and regional diversity and at the same time bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore." It assigns the EU the task to encourage cooperation between the member states and to support and supplement their action in the fields of teaching about the culture and history of the European peoples, cultural heritage protection, non-commercial cultural exchanges and artistic and literary creation. Furthermore, the EU is obliged to "take cultural actions into account in its action under other provisions of the Treaty."<sup>68</sup> Concerning the decision-making procedures in this field the article stipulates the unanimity of Council decisions when adopting recommendations and incentive measures, the latter in cooperation with the EP through the co-decision procedure.<sup>69</sup>

The new article reflects the ambiguity and discrepancy which from the very beginning of European integration have taken a prominent place in any discussions about the EU's engagement in culture. It arose as a compromise aimed at conciliating the minimalist and

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<sup>67</sup> The MEDIA programme, adopted in 1990, had a budget of ECU 200 million putting it into a very privileged position in comparison with all the other cultural programmes which were endowed with only ECU 12,3 million. This considerable support measure for the film and television industries was justified by the COM by referring to the underlying rationale of the European Single Market which was to overcome barriers to free trade within the EC. (Forrest 2001: 12)

<sup>68</sup> This stipulation is commonly referred to as the *cultural awareness clause*.

<sup>69</sup> The article was integrated with minor amendments into the Treaty of Amsterdam (TAV), which came into force in 1999 (Sticht 2000: 54). Due to the renumeration of treaty articles its notation changed into art. 151, TAV.

maximalist positions among the member states. On the one hand the article enlarged the COM's room for manoeuvre by providing for a legal base which to resort to when driving more extensive policy initiatives pertaining to the cultural field. On the other hand it restricted the COM's possibilities to drive forward an extended EU cultural policy by laying down a unanimity requirement for any measures submitted to the Council for approval, explicitly interdicting any harmonisation of member states' legislation concerning culture and clearly designating this field of EU action as falling under the *subsidiarity principle*<sup>70</sup>. (Forrest 2001: 18; Kaufmann/Raunig 2002: 12; Peise 2003: 69, 71-72).

Despite the constraints integrated into article 128 its overall significance for EU involvement in culture has to be acknowledged. For the first time culture was not just addressed in passing, as a negligible sector in economic integration or a welcome means to build a *Citizens' Europe*. Instead it was recognised as a matter of EU competence in its own right. Not only was culture placed firmly on the EU agenda it was also clearly identified as a cross-cutting issue through the cultural awareness clause. Thus, those member states which adopted a more open stance to EU cultural policy and cultural actors interpreted the article as a first step towards raising the profile of culture within EU activity as a whole. (Sandell 1996: 270-271; Schwencke 2001: 234).

The first series of cultural programmes devised on the new legal basis was proposed by the COM in 1994<sup>71</sup> and implemented from 1996-2000 within a budgetary framework of € 77,8 million. It comprised three lines of action: the *Kaleidoscope*-programme providing project support for all fields of artistic production with a European dimension; the *Ariane*-programme including translation assistance for literary, theatrical and reference works, projects to promote books and reading and training for translators and professionals from the publishing industries and the *Raphael*-programme for the preservation of Europe's architectural heritage and the conservation of European works of art. (Ellmeier 1998: 128- 133; Lehmann-Spalleck 2000: 275, 277).

From 2000 onwards the EU's funding measures in the cultural field have been implemented under the cross-sectoral framework programme *Culture 2000* which streamlined the three

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<sup>70</sup> The *subsidiarity principle* is codified in art. 5, TEU: "In areas which do not fall within its exclusive competence, the Community shall take action, in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity only if and in so far as the objectives of the proposed action cannot be sufficiently achieved by the Member States and can therefore, by reason of the scale or effects of the proposed action, be better achieved by the Community."

<sup>71</sup> Communication of the COM: *European Community Action in Support of Culture*, COM (94) 356 final.

former lines of support programmes. It runs over a seven-year period (2000-2006)<sup>72</sup> and is provided with a total budget of € 167 million. Its aims are the development of intercultural dialogue, knowledge of the history and culture of the European peoples, artistic creation, cultural diversity, transnational mobility of artists and their works, the safeguarding of the cultural heritage and enhanced recognition of culture as a factor in socio-economic and social integration (EP/Council 2000). These aims are to be achieved by granting support to a wide range of cultural and artistic projects and cooperations which are classified into three different lines of actions: annual activities focusing on innovation, multiannual activities and special cultural events, such as the *European Capitals of Culture*. (Ruffolo 2001: 16; Sticht 2000: 56-57).

In retrospect, it is obvious that the direct support programmes for culture implemented since 1996 on the basis of article 128, TEU, had a larger scope with regard to financial resources and the range of supported action and thereby did in fact rise the profile of *manifest* EU cultural policy. Nevertheless, *manifest* EU cultural policy makes up for an almost insignificant part of the total EU action which has an impact on the cultural sector (Peise 2003: 71-72). Indirect support for the cultural sector, e.g. under the framework of EU regional policy, the so-called *latent* EU cultural policy, accounts for a multiple of the financial and administrative means made available to implement *manifest* EU cultural policy.<sup>73</sup> Thus, still today the EU's support for culture is mainly indirect and serves economic or sociopolitical aims. This approach to EU cultural action has prevailed so far due to the persistent objections among the member states against strengthening the cultural dimension of the integration process in concrete terms since this would imply the challenging of national competences pertaining to culture.

A look at the cultural activities which have benefited from direct EU support since 1994 reveals that *manifest* cultural policy is still guided by the rationale of instrumentalising culture in order to attain the political objective of unifying Europe which was developed in the 1980s. Singular, huge cultural events splurging with political symbolism are intended to enhance the sense of European consciousness which is considered a precondition for achieving acceptance of and loyalty to the political institutions. "Since Melina Mercouri, as the Greek Minister of

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<sup>72</sup> The *Culture 2000*-programme was originally meant to run over 5 years (2000-2004). It has been extended until 2006 (EP/Council 2004b).

<sup>73</sup> This fact is evident when considering that already in the period 1989-1993 *latent* EU cultural policy action implied the activities of seven other DGs which administered funding for culture in the amount of ECU 2,47 billion (Shore 2001: 113).

Culture, inaugurated Athens in 1985 as the first in the yearly parade of officially designated European Capitals of Culture, the political taste for large symbolic events has favoured the *manifestational and representative* aspects of culture over the intricacies of cultural production and grass-roots collaboration.” (Palmer/Rae 2004, in: Klaic 2005: 11-12). Taking a similarly critical perspective Weber (2000, in: EFAH 2003b: 9) emphasises that instead of only “giving the economic union a ‘cultural touch’” EU cultural policy should enable a real dialogue among the citizens in order to deal with the challenges Europe’s societies are faced with today such as migration, an aging population and economic globalisation.

Cultural networks have from the very beginning been committed to enhancing intercultural dialogue and cross-border cooperation between a wide range of actors from the cultural field, from producers to arts’ students. In doing so they have developed the transnational synergies in cultural production and grass-roots collaboration, two aspects which have so far been neglected by EU cultural policy.

In the following I examine in detail how cultural networks act as a link between civil society and the EU institutions by focusing on the activities of three cultural networks at the EU level. I explore how they communicate the cultural actors’ views, needs and demands concerning EU cultural policy to the EU institutions and how they participate in the preparation and the implementation of political decisions. The analysis of the networks’ activities at the EU level is intended to provide for answers to the research question, namely what role cultural networks play in enhancing the democratic legitimacy of the EU. In order to approach this question I first introduce the structure and working methods of each network including an investigation into the opinion-formation processes within each network. Subsequently I engage in answering the research question by reverting to the two dimensions of legitimacy outlined in part 3.1 (s. p. 9), *input-* and *output-legitimacy*. My aim in this part consists in identifying the networks’ activities in the decision-preparation and policy implementation phases of the EU policy cycle which contribute to each of the two dimensions. In the last part the constraints and shortcomings in the networks’ advocacy action, which might restrict their contribution to legitimising the EU, are addressed.

## 5.3 Interest representation of three European cultural networks

### 5.3.1 Network profiles

This part is aimed at providing background information about the three transnational cultural networks which the analysis is focused on: the *Informal European Theatre Meeting* (IETM), the *European Network of Cultural Administration Training Centres* (ENCATC) and the *European Forum for the Arts and Heritage* (EFAH). I outline their origins and their membership and present their mission and main fields of action. Each network is dealt with separately in this part.

As mentioned before (s. p. 38-39) IETM originated from an international theatre festival in 1981 which brought together theatre professionals from all over Europe. Recognising the need for more regular meetings in order to develop new ideas and build up common projects a group of theatre directors and performers organised a first meeting during the festival which was the starting point for the successful establishment and rapid development of the network.<sup>74</sup> IETM characterises itself as “the network for professional organisations involved in the contemporary performing arts in Europe and beyond.” (IETM: Basic Info). The term *contemporary performing arts* includes contemporary theatre, dance, music, visual arts, installation and performance, writing, architecture, film and video, new technology and emerging art and media forms (IETM: Basic Info). IETM was officially founded in Paris in October 1981 and is registered as an international non-profit association under Belgian law (IETM www 2005).

From the early days onwards its membership has grown continuously. Whereas the first official meeting in Paris attracted around sixty participants the number of people participating in the second meeting in London (1982) already figured around 200 (Pehn 1999: 37, 39). At present, IETM consists of 396 subscribing member-organisations from 42 different countries of which 330 come from EU member states. The rest come mainly from South-East Europe,

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<sup>74</sup> Flood, the former president of IETM, expresses the initiators’ ambitions and hopes in vivid terms: “The common interests of this group of producers and presenters was to push the envelope of their collective knowledge of, and experience in international contemporary theatre so it would find new voices and reach new audiences beyond the rigid infrastructures and orthodoxies that dominated much of the production and diffusion of European performing arts. [...] They formed a vanguard against cultural complacency and above all, were committed to working across geographic and ideological borders.” (Fondazione Fitzcarraldo/De Vlieg/Flood 2001: 82).

Norway, Switzerland and North America. A few insular members come from Iceland, Russia, Armenia, Tunisia, Brazil, Jordan and Palestine.<sup>75</sup> Full members are organisations “who are actively involved in the development and distribution of contemporary performing arts and want to improve the artistic and political climate for the performing arts in our society” (IETM www 2005). These include e.g. festivals, theatres and arts centres, independent producers, documentation centres and service or umbrella organisations. Public institutions, official bodies, arts funding organisations are accepted to join as associate members. (IETM: Basic Info; IETM www 2005).

According to its mission statement (IETM: Annual Report 2003) IETM “is a membership organisation which exists to stimulate the quality, development and contexts of contemporary performing arts in a global environment, by initiating and facilitating professional networking and communication, the dynamic exchange of information, know-how transfer and presentations of examples of good practice.” In order to fulfil this purpose IETM engages in a number of different activities which can be subsumed under four headings: meetings, information, research, and advocacy.

First, the network organises an annual series of diverse meetings which take place in different cities and are hosted by member organisations. These meetings range from the two annual four-day Plenary Meetings, which gather up to 450 participants for formal and informal discussions, project presentations and the planning of the network’s work programme to smaller training courses and IETM Satellite Meetings, which focus on one specific topic or theme.<sup>76</sup> Second, IETM provides its members and the general interested public with information about developments, projects and funding possibilities in the field of contemporary performing arts via three websites and three monthly e-newsletters.<sup>77</sup> In addition IETM staff provide specified information on request<sup>78</sup> and are working on an international mentoring scheme intended to link experienced and less-experienced individuals and

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<sup>75</sup> The information is based on the IETM membership list as of 10.01.2005.

<sup>76</sup> For an insight into the range of meetings organised by IETM each year and the variety of topics addressed, s. IETM www 2005 and the IETM Annual Report 2003.

<sup>77</sup> The websites are the IETM-website, the web portal *On-The-Move* (OTM www 2005a), which provides information about professional mobility in performing arts disciplines, and the website of the Roberta Cimetta Fund (RCF www 2005), which promotes artistic exchange and the mobility of professionals in the field of contemporary performing arts and visual arts within the Mediterranean area. The monthly e-newsletters are the main IETM-newsletter, IETM INFORM, the Africa newsletter on contemporary dance projects and events in Africa and the On-The-Move newsletter informing artists and arts organisations about news and opportunities for artists’ mobility within and outside Europe.

Verstraete (2005a: 14-15) emphasises that the benefits of IETM’s service function as an information provider are not at all restricted to its members. The webportal On-The-Move (OTM) which will be dealt with in 5.3.5 is just one example of the wide circle of beneficiaries from IETM’s work.

<sup>78</sup> This is pointed out by Verstraete, s. Verstraete 2005a: 14-15.



organisations for training and professional support. Moreover the network is actively engaged in supporting new emerging networks by providing for a contact point between professionals from Europe and from Africa, Latin America and Asia. Third, IETM writes and commissions reports, case studies and policy documents which deal with specific social tendencies or public policies affecting the actors in the performing arts field.<sup>79</sup> (IETM: Basic Info; IETM www 2005).

The results of IETM's research activities are utilised in the network's fourth field of action, advocacy. IETM advises national governments and inter-governmental organisations and constantly takes part in conferences and seminars focusing on contemporary performing arts, cultural policy and cultural networks and their development. With regard to its advocacy action at the EU level IETM aims at "actively initiating and contributing to the analysis, debate and conception of the place of culture in the European Union" (IETM Activity Plan 2004). Moreover, it "continues to work with EFAH [...] and other European cultural networks in order to advise the European and national institutions on the needs of cultural operators and networks, especially about mobility in the cultural field, an eventual European Cultural Policy, and the EU's culture programmes" (IETM www 2005).

In engaging in advocacy action IETM strives to be a voice for the contemporary performing arts sector by reflecting its members' needs and concerns at the EU level. It does not regard itself as a representative organisation since it can never claim to represent all its members, let alone to represent the whole sector. (Verstraete 2005a: 3; De Vlieg 2005: 1, 6). As De Vlieg (2005: 11) puts it: "[I]t's different to say that 'In our experience, in all the discussions that we've had with our members it seems to us that the *Culture 2000*-programme should change to make it easier for them. It should do this or this or that.' That's one thing. That's like saying 'We have looked at the way the majority of people are behaving, we have analysed it and we have come to this conclusion.' And it's sth. else saying that the thousands individuals who are active in IETM and millions of audiences which they represent are behind such and such initiative. That I would never say." Consequently she stresses (2005: 7) that IETM's membership organisations have to speak individually for themselves and that it is the network's task to encourage and support them in this. The clear distinction De Vlieg makes between a representative organisation and a network is in line with the explanations about the incompatibility of interest representation by civic interest groups with standards of democratic

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<sup>79</sup> Recent publications include a basic guide on tax and social security for artists and cultural operators in Europe and a comparative review of the status of independents in various European countries (OTM www 2005b).

representation which was addressed in part 4.2.1 (s. p. 31-32). Ilona Kish, the Secretary General of EFAH, handles the term representation in a similarly careful way. Her statements on this topic will be focused on below.

The advocacy action IETM engages in at the EU level only accounts for a small part of the network's total range of activities. Nevertheless, IETM has often played a decisive role in transmitting the interests of the cultural sector to the EU institutions and in sensitising the latter for the importance of culture and transnational cultural cooperation for European integration. The significance of IETM's advocacy action was particularly evident in the 80s and 90s when other organisations advocating the needs of the cultural sector had either not been firmly established yet or were not aware of the benefits of joint advocacy action at the EU level: "Before EFAH was formed IETM was extremely active because there was little else and no one else to do that work. IETM was the first organisation to publish directories of all the EU programmes which could or did fund cultural activities. [...] [B]ecause there was no one else doing these things IETM was often able, or wanted to step in to do something, and to say to all the rest of our colleagues 'We should be doing this.' Another example: some years ago we commissioned the first scientific research study on the effects of networking. Once again, why should we do that? [...] [W]e felt, in that moment of time for the networks, that a job of advocacy had to be done. So we did it. Often IETM has done things a little bit before others because we felt that it needed to be done. But strictly speaking our single mission, our unique and founding mission is to bring the contemporary performing arts professionals together." (De Vlieg 2005: 2).<sup>80</sup>

Today a considerable part of IETM's advocacy action is undertaken in the framework of EFAH which was established for the principal purpose of speaking up for the cultural sector at the EU level (De Vlieg 2005: 1). As an active member IETM is directly involved in EFAH's activities.<sup>81</sup> Nevertheless, IETM continues to initiate and carry out advocacy action in issues which are of special interest to its members.<sup>82</sup> Though the establishment of EFAH has facilitated stronger advocacy action for the cultural sector at the EU level this does not mean

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<sup>80</sup> Verstraete (2005a: 4) also emphasises the pro-active role of IETM in advocating the concerns of cultural actors at the EU level. In this regard, she points out the directories mentioned by De Vlieg and stresses the influence IETM had in the drafting of the *Kaleidoscope*-programme, one of the post-93 cultural programmes (s. p. 46).

<sup>81</sup> This is further underlined by the fact that IETM's Secretary General, De Vlieg, holds the office of Vice-President of EFAH.

<sup>82</sup> In this context De Vlieg (2005: 7) mentions an initiative she took together with an IETM member which was intended to draw attention to the need for adjusting the funding criteria laid down for the *Euromed*-programmes, the EU programmes aimed at enhancing cooperation between EU member states and states from the Southern Mediterranean in the political, economic and cultural field.

that EFAH has taken over IETM's independent interest representation towards the EU institutions (De Vlieg 2005: 1).

ENCATC was founded in 1992 within the framework of the "Training of cultural administrators"-programme of the CoE (ENCATC www 2005b).<sup>83</sup> Like IETM the network has the status of an international non-profit association under Belgian law. It designates itself as the "European network of institutions and and professionals involved in training and education in the broad field of cultural management." (ENCATC www 2005a). It has got 118 members from 35 countries. 90 members are from EU member states, the rest come mainly from South-East Europe and Russia. A few members have joined the network from the Caucasus region, Ukraine, Mongolia, Norway, Switzerland, Australia and the USA.<sup>84</sup> The network's mission is "to stimulate and encourage the development of cultural management and policy within the context of great changes in the fields of culture, arts and media." It aims at facilitating the sharing of experience, partnership building, contribution to the broad debate on cultural policy, the exchange of ideas between researchers, educators and cultural managers, the exchange of good practice and the promotion of cultural management and related training. (ENCATC www 2005a).

The fields of action ENCATC engages in include the organisation of meetings, the provision of information and advice, European project work and advocacy. Face-to-face interaction and the sharing of ideas and experience is made possible through a range of gatherings such as the four-day annual conference, thematic workshops, training-of-trainers academies and students' meetings (ENCATC www 2005d).<sup>85</sup> Through its website, its monthly newsletter and electronic information bulletins which are published on an ad-hoc basis, ENCATC regularly informs its members and a broader interested public about its own activities, funding opportunities, major events and publications as well as about developments within the EU

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<sup>83</sup> In the framework of this programme ENCATC was granted operational support by the CoE from 1992 til 2003 (ENCATC www 2005b).

<sup>84</sup> The number is based on the ENCATC membership list as of 10.09.2005 (ENCATC 2005). It comprises 74 full members (institutions which have at least three years of experience of providing and delivering a publicly-recognised education / training program in the field), 39 organisation-associate members (institutions which provide and deliver a publicly-recognised education and training program in the field but have not been doing so for a minimum of three years; institutions which are important in the development of the education and training sector; institutions with related activities, e.g. cultural administrations, other networks) and five personal-associate members (cultural and media managers and practitioners; trainers, lecturers, consultants and researchers in cultural and media management and related fields; students in cultural and media management and related fields; artists; journalists; public administrators; officials; decision-makers) (ENCATC www 2005c; ENCATC 1998: 2).

<sup>85</sup> For an insight into ENCATC's conference activities, s. Cogliandro 2004a; Cogliandro 2004b.

which are of relevance to the field of arts management education and training (ENCATC www 2005e). Furthermore it actively promotes the building of subnetworks among ENCATC members from a specific region and advises its members on a range of issues, e.g. on the choice of appropriate partners for establishing university exchange programmes (Cogliandro 2004a: 20; Cogliandro 2005a: 3-4). In cooperation with external partners ENCATC develops and implements European projects made possible by EU funding. The most recent projects it has been involved in are the projects *Culture Capital Creation* focusing on innovative strategies for developing synergies between the arts and culture, business and education, and the research project *Eurocult 21*, which produced an in-depth analysis of the present state and future perspectives of urban cultural policies in European cities (Cogliandro 2004: 14-16). The latter project is addressed in more detail in 5.3.5.

With regard to ENCATC's advocacy action the following is stipulated in the statutes (ENCATC 1998, title II, art. 4): "advising European bodies on education and training policies in the field of cultural administration; representing the interests of European cultural administration training centres at a European level". In undertaking these tasks the network devotes major attention to the so-called *Bologna Process*, the term standing for the mutual commitment of the EU member states to reform their higher education systems in order to achieve greater convergence between the curricula and degrees of higher education institutions in the EU.<sup>86</sup> ENCATC monitors the Bologna Process, informs its members about it and facilitates discussions and the exchange of experience concerning the practical implications of this process for their study programmes. In addition ENCATC works in close cooperation with other major European networks, associations and foundations in promoting cultural administration training and cultural policy at large at the EU level.<sup>87</sup> (ENCATC www 2005f). Similarly to the setting of priorities evident from IETM's work ENCATC is not first and foremost committed to advocacy action: "ENCATC is first of all a platform where our members can exchange expertise, they can find partners, they can know what's going on in the other European countries. However, when we meet each other we find that some problems, some concerns are the same in different countries, so we try to show these concerns at European level. For a question of time, in these last years we didn't have a lot of opportunities to do lobbying. We are a small office so we can't address all the activities that we would like

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<sup>86</sup> The Bologna Process was launched by the Joint Declaration of the European Ministers of Education adopted in Bologna in June 1999. For more information, s. COM www 2005.

<sup>87</sup> As a member of EFAH ENCATC is like IETM constantly informed about EFAH's advocacy action and is from time to time directly involved in specific actions.

to do so we are currently focusing our time mainly on information exchange, best practice exchange, people moving, then advocacy. Today I think that the lobby activity is five percent of our time.” (Cogliandro 2005a: 2).<sup>88</sup>

In contrast to IETM and ENCATC the third network, EFAH, was founded in 1994 for the very purpose of promoting the arts and heritage sector at the EU level: “EFAH was founded quite precisely because there was a need for a different kind of a group, a platform for all the arts, not only the performing arts like IETM. We needed something which would have the principal and unique role of bringing all the sector together and being a voice for all of the arts on the European level, directed at the supranational institutions. [...] IETM and other organisations founded EFAH so that there could be one organisation which was totally dedicated to that work.” (De Vlieg 2005: 1).<sup>89</sup> Equally to the aforementioned networks EFAH was established as an international non-profit association under Belgian law. Its membership is comprised of independent organisations which are actively involved in cultural policy debates and development at local, regional, national or European level and of natural persons working in the field of arts and heritage (EFAH www 2005c; EFAH Statutes). At the moment EFAH has 91 member organisations which are located in 18 EU member states. Four organisations are from Bulgaria, Romania and Russia.<sup>90</sup>

EFAH characterises itself by stressing three dimensions of its work: it is a platform, a resource and an advocate (Frank 2005). In its capacity as a platform EFAH monitors and facilitates discussion about cultural policy development in Europe focusing on reflection, feedback and action and aiming at bringing cultural actors in Europe together. The characterisation as a resource stands for the network’s endeavour to provide for targeted, tailored and filtered information and to build up a pool of collective expertise and experience which enables it to advise, anticipate and evaluate and thereby to empower its members and the cultural community at large.

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<sup>88</sup> The insight that interest representation at the EU level does not belong to the main fields of activity of these two cultural networks does not keep me from including them into my analysis since it is the fact that they do undertake this kind of activity at all which makes them relevant for my research. Despite only devoting a restricted amount of time and personnel resources to advocacy action both networks continuously undertake the role of sensitising the EU institutions for the concerns and needs of the cultural sector.

<sup>89</sup> EFAH was founded by the European League of Employers’ Associations in the Performing Arts sector (PEARLE), the Association of Dutch Theatre Companies and Producers (VNT), the Dutch Federation of Artists’ Organisations, IETM, Péripières européennes pour Jeunes Artistes, Trans Europe Halles and by the independent journalist and cultural consultant Simon Mundy (EFAH: Statute). In addition, other groups working in the cultural field actively supported the establishment of the network, s. Fisher (1997: 111).

<sup>90</sup> The numbers are taken from EFAH’s members’ list as of 10.09.2005 (EFAH www 2005b). In addition to the 84 full-fledged organisational members EFAH has seven honorary members who are individuals.

In its role as an advocate EFAH aims at establishing a constructive dialogue with institutions and policymakers, to provide for a channel of communication voicing concerns emanating from the cultural community and to advance the debate on the role of culture in Europe. EFAH seeks to be representative in that it aims to best reflect the plurality of opinions, contacts and experience pooled in its diverse membership in its advocacy action at the EU level (EFAH P&D: 2). With regard to the question of representation Kish (2005: 1) emphasises two dimensions of representation which are evident from EFAH's work, the representation of members' interests on the one hand and the representation of the interests of the cultural sector in general: "[W]e try to represent cultural sector interests in general, as a sort of public sector lobby, but many of our members of course are representative of that. But we don't lobby on behalf of our members always. Sometimes we lobby on issues that our members don't work on."<sup>91</sup>

EFAH's work is based on two core values (EFAH Leaflet). First, culture is considered "a vital and dynamic force which, through developing creativity and self-expression can be a lever for cohesion, communication and development within society." Second, EFAH promotes the idea of an "open Europe" which transcends the borders of the EU, "a place that is enriched by the diversity and international perspectives of trans-European horizons." These values as well as the network's threefold nature are clearly embodied in EFAH's mission statement (EFAH www 2005d): "To increase recognition of the cultural dimension of Europe. Through a dialogue with the European decision makers, seeking to influence their understanding and action. By enabling members to integrate the wide European context in their daily work, and sustaining a broad notion of cultural policy, seen as a factor of social development."

EFAH seeks to fulfil this mission by realising its political agenda at the EU level. Frank (2005: 2-3) points out four concrete goals: First, EFAH supports the implementation of article 151, TAV, especially the full implementation of the cultural awareness clause (art. 151, 4) (s. p. 45). Second, it stands up for the realisation of enhanced mobility and cross-border cultural

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<sup>91</sup> Kish (2005: 1) designates EFAH as a *lobbying organisation* and refers to its activities as *lobbying*. In accordance with the notional delimitations made in chapter 1 (s. p. 4, footnote 9) I do not use these terms but instead use the terms *interest representation* and *advocacy action* when dealing with EFAH. This is in line with De Vlieg's preference for the term *advocacy*: "[I]n EFAH we don't use the word *lobby*, we use *advocacy*. *Lobby* is translated in different ways in different languages and can have a quite pejorative meaning. In the United States it involves a lot of money to influence influential people - people see it as almost corrupt. In EFAH we say *advocacy* which is also difficult linguistically but it is much softer. It signifies the voicing of the cultural sector; we make the voice of the cultural sector heard. We're not taking people out to expensive dinners or giving them holidays or gifts to try and influence them but we're calling or writing to them and saying 'Do you realise this is what's happening, do you realise that if you make this legislation, it will have that effect on the cultural sector; do you realise how important culture is in Europe?'" (De Vlieg 2005: 1).

cooperation within the EU and beyond. The third goal consists in ensuring the efficient, transparent and accountable management of the EU's culture actions. This requires monitoring and evaluating the implementation of the *Culture 2000*-programme and being involved in the preparation of future funding programmes for culture by communicating the views of the sector to the EU decision-makers (EFAH P&D: 3). Fourth, EFAH stands up for an increase in the EU-budget for cultural actions.<sup>92</sup> In addition to stating these explicit goals Frank (2005) emphasises that EFAH monitors and tries to influence any development related to EU cultural policy. Seeking constantly to identify the effects of EU developments on its members and the cultural sector in general it has taken up a range of major topics over the last years in its advocacy action which included the enlargement of the EU, the parliamentary elections and the preparation of the draft Constitutional Treaty for the EU (EFAH P&D: 3-4).

EFAH drives its political goals by keeping up regular contacts with the EU institutions, scrutinising EU programmes and policies at the preparation and implementation stage and by articulating the positions of the cultural sector through direct contacts with policymakers at policy debates, meetings, consultations or by means of campaigns and the distribution of position and research papers. The concrete forms of EFAH's advocacy action are dealt with in more detail in 5.3.3 and 5.3.4. As is evident from the aforementioned threefold characterisation, EFAH is engaged in two other significant fields of action which are the provision of information to its members and the organisation of conferences. The network continuously delivers on its task of keeping its members updated by maintaining diverse communication tools which include first and foremost its website but also press releases, position papers, reports and publications. With regard to EFAH's conference activities the annual members' conference is to be mentioned first. The conference lasts three to four days and focuses on a theme of topical importance. In addition smaller national members' meetings are organised on an *ad hoc*-basis.<sup>93</sup> (EFAH Leaflet; EFAH P&D: 4; Kish 2005: 8).

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<sup>92</sup> De Vlieg (2005: 11-12) holds to emphasise that the existence of a political programme, in which EFAH's focus on advocacy action manifests itself, clearly distinguishes this network from IETM. Having said that it is important to note that IETM is in line with EFAH as regards contents although it does not present its aims in the same form at the EU level as EFAH does. This is also pointed out by Verstraete (2005: 3).

<sup>93</sup> For an insight into the range of topics addressed at the General Assembly and the national members' meetings, s. the minutes and reports of the General Assemblies held in the last four years (EFAH 2004b; EFAH 2003b; EFAH 2002a; EFAH 2001b) and the minutes of the membership meetings held in 2001 and 2000 (EFAH 2001a; EFAH 2000).

### 5.3.2 Structure and funding

This part is intended to provide an insight into the structure and the funding of the three cultural networks. Since they do not differ largely from each other in these respects it is appropriate to subsume the findings instead of treating each one of them separately. The networks' approaches towards membership development and fundraising are also addressed in this context.

All three networks are committed to the horizontal mode of interaction which is the basis for their dynamism and the equal involvement of members generally characterising the internal workings of networks. Although they seek to create and maintain a non-directed, non-hierarchical and open environment the necessities to adopt the legal status of a non-profit organisation and to establish efficient working procedures have forced them to build up a somehow hierarchical structure which is laid down in their statutes.<sup>94</sup> The most important players within this structure are the General Assembly, the Board of Directors, the President and the Secretary General.<sup>95</sup>

The General Assembly is the sovereign body of the networks and is open to all the members. It is convened annually at a members' conference<sup>96</sup> where it figures as a two-four hour session in the conference schedule. The statutes of the three networks consistently accord the following competences to the General Assembly: approval of budgets and accounts, election and dismissal of the directors, amending of the statutes and dissolution of the association. The quorum of the General Assembly is attained in the case of IETM when more than ten percent of the members are present. For ENCATC and EFAH it is two thirds of the full-members and more than half of the full-members respectively. Whereas IETM grants the right of vote to all its members the other networks restrict it to full-members.

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<sup>94</sup> De Vlieg (2005: 14) states in this context that IETM would likely have opted for a less hierarchical structure if the legal requirements had allowed for this.

<sup>95</sup> The following explanations about the structures of the networks are based on the following documents: EFAH Statutes; ENCATC www 2005g; ENCATC 1998; IETM 2005a; IETM 2005b; IETM 2005c; IETM 2004. In addition information from three questionnaires is integrated: Frank 2005; Cogliandro 2005b; Verstraete 2005b.

<sup>96</sup> I use the term *members' conference* to refer to the big members' meetings in which framework the General Assemblies are convened. Whereas the term refers to the singular annual meetings in the case of EFAH and ENCATC I make an exception in the case of IETM by having it designate both of the two Plenary Meetings organised each year. The General Assembly of IETM is convened in the spring Plenary Meeting (De Vlieg 2005: 13).



The administration of each network lies in the responsibility of a Board of Directors<sup>97</sup> which is elected by the General Assembly. The honorary board members carry out their functions as individuals in their own right. They are elected with the duty to represent neither their organisation nor their country. “[W]hen you’re on the Board of IETM, it’s not your organisation which is on the Board, it’s you as an individual employed by your organisation which is the member-organisation of IETM.” (De Vlieg 2005: 10). These stipulations also reveal that the networks clearly distinguish between their representative function, understood as voicing the interests of individual, independent member-organisations, and that of direct representation undertaken by parliaments. Resolutions of the Board of Director are passed by a simple majority vote. This rule equally applies to the resolutions of the General Assembly.<sup>98</sup> The Board elects from among its members a President, a Vice-President, a treasurer and a honorary secretary. The varying composition, terms of office, powers and tasks of the networks’ Boards of Directors are demonstrated in table 1.

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<sup>97</sup> On its websites EFAH refers to the Board of Directors as the *Executive Committee*. For this reason the Board is called *Executive Committee* in the questionnaire (Frank 2005).

<sup>98</sup> With regard to decision-making rules De Vlieg (2005: 13-14) stresses that in practice all decisions are taken by consensus in IETM.

|                                | <b>EFAH</b>   | <b>ENCATC</b>   | <b>IETM<sup>99</sup></b>   |
|--------------------------------|---|---|--|
| <b>Number of board members</b> | 5-15<br>at the moment: 14   | at least 7<br>at the moment: 7  | 15-20<br>at the moment: 20   |
| <b>Term of office</b>          | 1 year  | 2 years   | 3 years<br>rotation system: 1/3 of members steps down and is elected each year   |
| <b>Possible re-election</b>    | three times   | twice   | once   |
| <b>Meetings per year</b>       | at least twice  | at least twice  | at least twice   |
| <b>Competences</b>             | all managerial and administrative powers subject to the prerogatives of the General Assembly  | - sets out the policies to follow for the aims<br>- all powers not given by law to the General Assembly | all powers of management, administration and legal proceedings, except those vested in the General Assembly  |
| <b>Tasks</b>                   | - signing off the past activities through the annual report and the financial report<br>- supervising and monitoring the work of the secretariat<br>- taking responsibility for fundamental guiding decisions about the work plan and work priorities | - determining and implementing the annual work programme in accordance with the budget                  | - responsible for the efficient running of the network and its accountability to members and funding bodies<br>- monitoring and reviewing the work of the secretariat<br>- reviewing, revising and monitoring the network's long- and short-term policy and actions<br>- evaluating and improving the quality of the meetings and other actions<br>- maintaining close contact with the membership and developing the membership |

Table 1: Boards of Directors of EFAH, ENCATC and IETM

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<sup>99</sup> The structure of IETM differs from the other two networks in that it contains a so-called *Daily Board* in addition to the Board of Directors. The Daily Board is elected from among the members of the Board of Directors. It has six members and takes on part of the day-to-day management of the network. It is responsible for animating and preparing the meetings of the full Board; reviewing and approving quarterly reports, annual budgets, financial development plans and audited accounts; monitoring and reviewing the work of the secretariat and for deciding on staffing structures and conditions of employment.

The Board of Directors delegates the day-to-day management of the network to a Secretary General who is paid by the association. The Secretary General<sup>100</sup> leads the work of the network's secretariat, also referred to as office. The secretariats of the three networks are all situated in Brussels. EFAH has two full-time employees, the Secretary General and an EU Policy Adviser, and is about to employ a third person for the post of information and communication officer. ENCATC employs two full-time staff, a Secretary General and a communication officer. IETM has four full-time employees: the Secretary General, an administrator, a communication, information and training officer and a project coordinator. All three networks frequently welcome trainees to assist them in their work.

With regard to the networks' membership it is worth to briefly address the admission procedure and the approach taken towards the recruitment of new members. All networks have set up similar procedures for the admission of new members. Interested organisations are asked to address their membership request in writing to the secretariat. The posting of a formal application is often preceded by direct contact and discussion with the network's staff (Kish 2005: 7). In the case of ENCATC the Board ultimately approves or rejects applications. New members are endorsed at the General Assembly (Cogliandro 2005b). In EFAH and IETM the secretariat staff have the discretionary power to decide on the admission of a new member. (Frank 2005; Verstraete Mail).

Only ENCATC actively recruits new members by approaching all the institutions which fulfil the eligibility criteria and inviting potential new members to take part in network meetings. In addition its board members are committed to promoting the network in their daily work at the national level. (Cogliandro 2005b). In contrast to ENCATC my interview partners from both EFAH and IETM emphasise that active recruitment according to a clearly outlined membership policy is not undertaken at the moment. Kish (2005: 7) makes it clear that so far EFAH's membership has developed on the basis of an open policy with interested organisations taking the initiative to enquire about possible membership rather than EFAH actively and systematically searching for new members. This passivity on the part of EFAH was partly to be explained by the network so far lacking in time and resources to implement a formal membership drive. IETM counts on the Board and the member-organisations themselves to suggest and introduce potential new members. After that the network staff often

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<sup>100</sup> Another designation to be found for the Secretary General is *Executive Officer*, s. e.g. ENCATC www 2005h.

invites a representative of the respective organisation to its conference, e.g. to participate in the capacity of speaker or to contribute to a working group. (Verstraete 2005: 12-13).

Having outlined the structure of the three networks I briefly address their financial situation. For this purpose I draw on the networks' budgets of the year 2004 which I split into their most important entries.

|   | <b>EFAH</b> | <b>ENCATC</b> | <b>IETM</b> |
|---|-------------|---------------|-------------|
| <b>Total budget in €<sup>101</sup></b>                  | 200 000     | 140 000       | 542 560     |
| <b>Proportions in %</b>                                 |             |               |             |
| Membership fees <sup>102</sup>                          | 18          | 28            | 33          |
| Funds from public and non-public bodies                 |             |               |             |
| European Commission (operational and project grants)    | 51          | 70            | 29          |
| European Cultural Foundation (ECF)                      | 18          | -             | 4           |
| Flemish Community                                       | 8           | -             | 5           |
| Dutch Ministry for Education, Culture and Science (OCW) | -           | -             | 5           |
| Other   | 5           | 2             | 24          |
| <b>Total</b>  | 100         | 100           | 100         |

Table 2: Budget 2004 of EFAH, ENCATC, IETM<sup>103</sup>

<sup>101</sup> The figures are rounded off.

<sup>102</sup> The annual membership fees for subscribing organisations range from 120 to 920 €. ENCATC charges full members 450 € and associate members 280 €. EFAH and IETM calculate the fees on the basis of the annual turnover of their member-organisations. According to this criteria EFAH's places its members into one of three bands (320, 620 and 920 €). IETM has two different membership fee systems each comprising four bands. It has set up a system of reduced membership fees for members from Eastern European and Mediterranean countries, Latin and South America and Africa. The lowest membership fee is 120 €, the highest is 920 €. IETM charges associate members 2 220 €. Individual membership fees are 100 € for EFAH and 180 € for ENCATC. (This information was obtained through the interviews and additional e-mail contact with the interview partners.)

<sup>103</sup> The table is based on budgetary information received from the interview partners via e-mail. The figures of ENCATC and IETM are taken from draft budgets.

The operational support granted by the COM, the former A-Lines (s. p. 41), is gradually being phased out till the end of 2006 thereby accounting for substantial losses in the networks' budgets.<sup>104</sup> With the negotiations on the EU budget for the period 2007-2013 being temporarily suspended the amount of future EU-grants to the networks is impossible to predict. Nevertheless it is foreseeable that the operational support will rather decrease than increase (Kish 2005: 6). In view of this situation and given the networks' continuous endeavour to enlarge their scope of activities the need for continuous fundraising is evident. Kish (2005: 6) mainly considers foundation support and increased self-earned income through higher membership fees as possible future funding opportunities for EFAH.<sup>105</sup> ENCATC obtains project grants from the CoE and UNESCO in addition to the operational grants and occasional project grants granted by the COM (Cogliandro 2004a: 2, 21-22; Cogliandro 2004b: 2). Cogliandro (2005a: 6) also mentions foundations as a potential funding source but at the same time underlines the difficulties the networks face in this respect since in general they cannot approach the foundations which in general act solely on a national level. Successfully applying for funds from national or regional governments is just as difficult since these public institutions ignore the networks or do not even acknowledge their existence unless they have by themselves supported their establishment (EFAH 2003a: 65-66).

The dilemma cultural networks are constantly confronted with is that they fall "between two stools" (Fisher 2002: 11), between the European and the national level: "Being an international network is one of the most difficult, almost impossible type of organisations for which to get funding. Cultural funding at the moment in Western Europe is based on a nation or a city or a region. [...] Foundations are still, even when working internationally, funding national organisations who have an international mission. Funding also is still very much on a bilateral level and we're multilateral, so to find funds for networks is extremely difficult. So this is why it's rather wrong for the Member States to say 'Yes, the networks, they're great but we don't want to fund them, they should be funded by Europe' and then in the same breath 'We don't want the funding in Europe to rise, we want the budget to be limited'." (De Vlieg 2005: 14).

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<sup>104</sup> According to Kish (2005: 6) the EU-grant for EFAH in 2005 has diminished by 45 000 € compared to the preceding year.

<sup>105</sup> IETM for its part benefits from its special membership category of associate member which generates substantial income for the network (Verstraete 2005a: 12). For the same reason ENCATC has thought about setting up a similar membership category (Cogliandro 2005a: 6).

Being faced with this difficult starting position the networks are by necessity forced to advocate for their own existence with the same fervour as they engage in advocacy action for the concerns of the cultural sector at the EU level.<sup>106</sup>

### **5.3.3 Internal opinion-formation**

Having introduced the three cultural networks from a static, constitution-based perspective I now turn to the way they function. This part deals with the internal communication and the processes of opinion-formation and –aggregation within the networks. The networks’ internal workings are of great importance for an analysis of their role in legitimising the EU. Open and transparent decision-making procedures giving every member of a civic interest organisation the chance to participate are the precondition for the proper representation of the specific group of civic actors, the *holder* community, in governance arrangements (s. p. 22). Only if the cultural networks fulfil this precondition are they able to adequately reflect their members’ concerns in these arrangements and thereby contribute to the legitimacy of the EU system.

It can be concluded from the information received in the interviews that the communication processes within all three networks are characterised by openness and vicacity. The secretariat staff of each of the networks maintains close and regular contacts to the network’s members via e-mail and phone in order to keep them informed and to gather their views on its current work agenda. The aspiration of keeping in contact is equally reflected by many members who react to the staff’s communications and address their requests for information and their proposals for initiatives or agenda items directly to them. Communication tends to be most vivid between the staff and the board members and the staff and those members with whom the staff cooperate in specific projects and in the organisation of the members’ meetings. (Cogliandro 2005a: 10; Frank 2005; Verstraete 2005a: 9-10, 14).

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<sup>106</sup> IETM has in cooperation with other cultural networks such as EFAH made an ongoing effort to raise awareness with political decision-makers of the value of the European cultural networks. The following documents stand proof of this commitment: DeVlieg 2001; Fondazione Fitzcarraldo/De Vlieg/Flood 2001. EFAH for its part has since the A-Line system was established stood up for a more equitable selection of eligible organisations with the aim to widen the group of beneficiaries. In recent years it has actively advocated the prolongation of the A-Line support towards the EP and the COM. (De Vlieg 2005: 2-3; Kish 2005: 5).

All three networks rely on the readiness of their members to host the members' conferences and smaller events. The responsibility for the preparation of the meetings is shared between the secretariat staff and the respective member-organisation hosting the meeting. It is clearly visible from the interviews that all networks endeavour to integrate the views of as many members as possible in planning the contents of the conferences by collecting feedback from them and asking them to pronounce themselves on issues they would like to see addressed. (Cogliandro 2005a: 10; Verstraete 2005a: 11, 14). De Vlieg (2005: 9) places great emphasis on the reciprocal commitment to communication on the part of the members and the staff since it is the basis of working successfully as a network: "This [...] is sth. which we have been saying in IETM since the very early days, that the network IS its members: they have to be active! If you're a member of a network you should be active in it. [...] Of course, since 2002 we have a new mission which gives us the responsibility to be pro-active, to 'stimulate' our members, but we need to be in contact with them to know in fact what could stimulate them. What are they thinking of, what are they not thinking of, what could they be thinking of. Our working group topics always come from the members. Our satellite meetings, our different initiatives, come from ideas from the members. There's very little we could do without reflecting the members' interests."<sup>107</sup>

The members' conferences provide the best platform for face-to-face discussions and reflections on what the network can do for its members in terms of interest representation at the EU level. In the course of the diverse panel discussions and workshops on offer at each conference the burning issues and concerns of the members are identified, priorities set and ways of successfully raising awareness with the EU institutions are examined.<sup>108</sup> From the adherence rate of the conferences which amounts to 60-70% (Cogliandro 2005a: 10; Kish 2005: 8; Verstraete 2005a: 10) it can be concluded that a substantial part of the members is involved in these deliberation processes.<sup>109</sup> A smaller arena for gathering and exchanging

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<sup>107</sup> By depicting the communication processes taking place within IETM at the conferences and in between meetings De Vlieg (2005: 8-10) and Verstraete (2005a: 10-11) capture in concrete terms the meaning of the spirit of networking which Fisher qualified by using terms such as sharing, trust and commitment (s. p. 39-40).

<sup>108</sup> For an insight into these processes, s. EFAH (2003b); EFAH (2001b).

<sup>109</sup> With regard to the deliberation on EU issues at the members' conferences a difference between EFAH and the other two networks has to be pointed out which arises from the diverging priorities of their work (s. p. 55). The agenda of EFAH's conferences always centres around topics which are directly connected to EU cultural policy. This is obvious when considering its main field of activity which is advocacy for the cultural sector at the EU level. Consequently, EFAH directly addresses interrelated developments within the cultural sector and within the EU in order to facilitate a broad debate on how to react to EU policies for the benefit of the sector and which positions to take forward to the EU institutions. The focus is different at ENCATC and IETM conferences. Since their mission is not primarily advocacy action but information and exchange they address EU topics from a more restricted perspective which concentrates on the practical benefits of EU programmes for their members. In line

views and experiences is given in the working groups which exist in all networks.<sup>110</sup> These groups arise from the interests of smaller groups of members and allow for dealing in more detail with a specific topic and thereby multiplying the communication processes on the respective topic (Cogliandro 2005a: 9-11; De Vlieg 2005: 6, 9).

For the numerous communication processes among the members to be useful for the networks' advocacy action their results have to be compiled in documents which can be transmitted to the EU institutions. This is done either by informal or formal processes depending on the nature and the purpose of the respective document.

Reports containing the experiences and appraisals of a variety of different actors are mainly prepared through informal consultation processes. In this respect De Vlieg (2005: 5) and Kish (2005: 4) point to the *EFAH Report on the Programme Culture 2000* which was submitted to the COM as part of EFAH's advocacy action for an improved EU funding programme for culture. This report subsumed the findings of different working groups organised by EFAH and IETM and the opinions expressed in interviews with cultural operators, EFAH members, participants in the *Culture 2000*-programme, Cultural Contact Points<sup>111</sup> and cultural policy experts. (Rojanski/Gordon: 5). The report reflects the concerns which figure most prominently in the statements of the surveyed people: "While many consider the management of the programme itself as chaotic, cultural players also commonly question the underlying attitude of the DG EAC. Thus, in addition to the poor management of the programme and administrative delays, there is a perception of a lack of transparency [...] and concerns about generally weak engagement and dialogue with the sector." (Rojanski/Gordon: 10). In general, network members are open to state their experiences and opinions in an interview. Thus, this method is also commonly used in preparing the research reports which are produced or commissioned by the networks for the purpose of informing their members, a larger interested

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with this their conference agendas often comprise information sessions about EU funding possibilities for their members' projects (Cogliandro 2005a: 3; Verstraete 2005a: 8). Only occasionally are EU issues addressed for the main purpose of gathering the members' opinions in order to prepare advocacy action at the EU level. One such case is addressed at the end of this part.

De Vlieg (2005: 6) emphasises that although IETM does not regard advocacy action as its main mission it plays a decisive role in giving those members who feel the need to convey their standpoints to the decision-makers at the EU level the tools to do so. As a facilitating structure IETM provides these members with the addresses of contact persons, e.g. of an MEP coming from the respective member's country, and gives practical support in writing position papers and addressing them to the right people. It also constantly encourages its members at large to join appeals to politicians and to actively promote their needs at the national level by contacting their national ministries, s. also Verstraete 2005a: 1-2.

<sup>110</sup> EFAH refers to working groups as *subgroups*.

<sup>111</sup> The Cultural Contact Points are information centres established to disseminate information about EU funding possibilities for the arts and culture among cultural actors. They are sponsored by either public or non-public institutions. (Peise 2003: 108).



public and policy-makers about specific developments and states of affairs in the cultural sector (De Vlieg 2005: 5; Verstraete 2005a: 8-9).

Some political documents, such as position papers, also arise from informal consultation processes. Cogliandro (2005a: 2-3, 9) mentions a position paper on the Bologna Process, which ENCATC is planning to finalise in December 2005 and present to the Commissioner for Education, Training, Culture and Multilingualism, Figel'. The paper compiles the results of a series of workshops and the findings of the network's working group focusing on the Bologna Process. Kish (2005: 8) similarly points out informal working group consultations as important stage in the drafting of position papers.

In some cases the networks undertake formal consultations in order to obtain their members' approval to the final version of a political document before submitting it to the EU institutions. Two examples of such a process are brought up in the interviews. In EFAH formal consultations take the form of sign-ups in which the members are explicitly asked whether they approve of a specific text. However, Kish (2005: 5) emphasises that the network only very rarely submits a document for sign-up to its whole membership. Rather a statement is transmitted to the EU institutions on behalf of a specific group of member-organisations who have signed up to it. This was the case with the *EFAH Manifesto for the European Parliament elections 2004*<sup>112</sup> which was signed by 63 EFAH members via e-mail and then transmitted to the political groups of the European Parliament and to the COM (EFAH 2004a).<sup>113</sup>

In the second case IETM in a Plenary Meeting formally asked its members for their consent to collectively join a campaign which is presently carried out by EFAH and the European Cultural Foundation (ECF), the *70 cts for culture*-campaign.<sup>114</sup> "In EFAH we say we're the voice of the cultural sector. EFAH uses the voicing metaphor very strongly. IETM is a network of individual, independent organisations. Unless I specifically ask the members, I cannot go to the EU and say that I am speaking on their behalf on a specific issue. Sometimes we do ask, especially during the IETM Plenary Meetings, 'Do you accept this?' Or 'What are

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<sup>112</sup> The manifesto, called *Parliamentary Platform 2004-2008*, was an appeal to the newly elected MEPs and the COM officials to commit themselves to four policies: the developing of a EU cultural policy; the full implementation of Art. 151, TAV; the strengthening of networks and organisations working in the fields of culture and civil society development; the enhancement of intercultural relations with the EU neighbours and the wider world (EFAH 2004a).

<sup>113</sup> This formal consultation was preceded by an informal consultation in the closing plenary session of the members' conference in November 2003 (EFAH 2003b).

<sup>114</sup> The *70 cts for culture*-campaign was launched in March 2005. Its aim is to achieve a substantial increase in the EU-budget for culture in the next financial period 2007-2013. The campaign is backed by a number of MEPs across the political groupings, artists, foundations, cultural NGOs and business representatives. The campaign is dealt with in more detail in the next part.

the most pressing issues concerning this policy?’ etc. We presented the *70 cts for culture* during an IETM meeting and asked, ‘Do you accept that we as IETM, as a network, supports this?’ and they said ‘Yes’.” (De Vlieg 2005: 8).

It is evident from the consultation processes described that the networks carefully take into account the issue of representation when deciding in which form to transmit the results of internal opinion formation processes to the EU institutions. They aim at summing up the views of a broad range of actors when pronouncing themselves on the implementation of EU programmes and making suggestions for future improvements. In contrast when putting specific political demands to the EU institutions they make sure that these demands are clearly backed by the organisations which they represent in the respective issue.

The examination of the opinion-formation processes within the networks makes it clear that the networks are able to compete with the serious doubts about the internal democracy of civic interest groups uttered by some authors (s. p. 36-37). Since their activity is dependent on an active membership the network staff provide their members with every possibility to introduce themes for discussion, initiate working groups and new projects, feedback and comment on topical issues as well as on the performance of the network itself and to shape the networks’ advocacy action. By reverting to diverse consultation processes the networks ensure that the views of their members or of a larger group of affected actors are adequately represented in the course of action they chose to take in the specific issue at question.

### **5.3.4 The networks' role in the decision-preparation phase**

In order to find answers to the research question of what role European cultural networks play in enhancing the democratic legitimacy of the EU the networks' involvement in two phases of the EU policy cycle is analysed. These are the decision-preparation phase and the policy implementation phase. This part investigates how the networks take part in the decision-preparation by engaging in advocacy action on behalf of their members or on behalf of the cultural sector in general.

My analysis of the networks' interest representation is based on the theoretical approach of *participatory governance*. According to the main assumption of the approach the output- as well as the *input-legitimacy* of a governance system is enhanced by including those groups in the political process which are most closely related to the issue in question (s. p. 18). These groups of actors, designated by Schmitter as *holders*, possess specific qualities or resources which make them eligible for participation (s. p. 19). The cultural networks are well suited for being analysed from the perspective of *participatory governance* due to two characteristics: first, their representative function, which they understand as the voicing of the policy addressees' concerns, and second, the enormous amount of expert knowledge as pooled by their members.

In this part the networks' role in contributing to the *input-legitimacy* of the EU is focused upon. It has to be pointed out that the analysis is based on the understanding of *input-legitimacy* developed by the *participatory governance* approach which differs from the conception of *input-legitimacy* in conventional democratic theory. Whereas the latter accords the capacity to generate *input-legitimacy* solely to the democratically elected parliament the former assumes that in addition to the *holders* of the parliamentary mandate other *holders* which emanate from civil society are capable of generating *input-legitimacy* (s. p. 18-19). This assumption is underlying my analysis of the networks' interest representation. My aim is to identify the networks' function as additional tier of representation ensuring the presence of the most affected groups in the political decision-making process. In the following I examine which EU institutions the networks are in contact with, the different forms of communication they engage in and how they assess their impact on the decisions taken. The way in which the networks bring their special knowledge into the political process is particularly focused on.

All three networks are mostly in contact with two EU institutions, the COM and the EP. As concerns relations to the COM, EFAH and ENCATC in particular point out that they maintain

regular daily contacts. Within the COM the two networks mainly approach the Directorate-General for Education and Culture (DG EAC).<sup>115</sup> The contact takes the form of correspondence by phone, electronic mail and standard mail and face-to-face meetings. The latter take place at specially convened private audiences or at workshops, consultations and conferences which are organised by the networks themselves, by the COM or by third parties, e.g. the European Cultural Foundation. Representatives of the COM are regularly invited to the networks' conferences and workshops and often take part as speakers. (Cogliandro 2005a: 2-3; Cogliandro 2005b; Frank 2005; Kish 2005: 1).

Cogliandro (2005a: 2) emphasises that ENCATC communicates with the COM in two different ways. On the one hand ENCATC frequently asks DG EAC staff for information on the EU's action in a specific field which it needs in order to prepare its events. When an official of the DG EAC is invited as speaker the respective person is often closely involved in the preparation of the event as concerns contents and also takes an active part in the discussions with the participating network members. For example, ENCATC is at the moment discussing the contents of an upcoming workshop on the Bologna Process with an official from the COM. On the other hand ENCATC addresses the COM, especially the Commissioner for Education, Training, Culture and Multilingualism himself, with the explicit aim of raising awareness for a specific cause and exerting influence on the decision-makers. Cogliandro is careful to make it clear that this direct advocacy action occurs far less frequently in the network's overall contact to the COM.<sup>116</sup>

As regards IETM's contact with the COM it has to be pointed out that this network far more often directly engaged in advocacy action in the 80s and at the beginning of the 90s before other organisations working for the recognition of cultural actors' needs at the EU level, such as EFAH, were established. At present a considerable part of IETM's interest representation is channelled through EFAH. (De Vlieg 2005: 1-2, 7; Verstraete 2005a: 1, 3).

Nevertheless, IETM is still in direct contact to the COM. The Secretary General, De Vlieg, writes to the DG EAC or meets directly with its Director-General, van der Pas, to comment on

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<sup>115</sup> According to Frank (2005) EFAH is also occasionally in contact with the Directorates-General for Regional Policy and for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities.

<sup>116</sup> The clear difference in contact forms emphasised by Cogliandro reflects ENCATC's foremost work focus on the exchange of information and expertise which is in contrast to EFAH's mission. Taking into account the different missions of the two networks the making of such a clear distinction is understandable. However, I do not take on Cogliandro's distinction between the different forms of contact. I also consider the first form of contact she mentions as interest representation because it does not run counter to the broad definition of interest representation laid down for this thesis (s. p. 3-4). Nevertheless I am aware of the fact that the degree of intensity varies considerably between different measures of influence which is undoubtedly the case with the two forms of contact Cogliandro distinguishes.

and discuss a variety of issues speaking on behalf of the contemporary arts in her capacity as Director-General of IETM, on behalf of the cultural sector in her capacity as Vice-President of EFAH or on behalf of a smaller group of network members depending on the issue in question. In this context both De Vlieg and Verstraete emphasize the need for the networks and other organisations in the cultural sector to closely cooperate in order to achieve recognition and influence at the EU level. In practice this means e.g. always keeping the other networks informed on relevant issues arising from contact with COM representatives. (De Vlieg 2005: 1, 4, 13; Verstraete 2005a: 5-6).

IETM's contact is not at all mainly restricted to the DG EAC. The network has long maintained contacts to the DG for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities and has recently built up contacts with the DG for External Relations in order to raise awareness with the COM officials for shortcomings in the EU's Euro-Mediterranean Partnership. For example, the network sent a declaration to the latter calling for a review of the selection criteria regulating the participation of NGOs from Arab countries in EU funded projects. (De Vlieg 2005: 7).<sup>117</sup>

Furthermore, in the same way as is the case with EFAH and ENCATC IETM staff and members regularly attend various meetings facilitating face-to-face discussions and informal palavers between European cultural actors and decision-makers from the political and administrative level.

The fact that in many issues IETM makes its members' voice heard through EFAH equally holds true for its relations with the EP. Nevertheless, at times IETM staff as well as ENCATC staff themselves engage in advocacy action towards the EP by actively responding to EFAH's campaign appeals and calling upon their own members to join campaigns (Cogliandro 2005a: 10-11; Verstraete 2005a: 2). The campaign as one specific form of advocacy action is presented in the course of the following explanations of EFAH's contact with the EP.

EFAH maintains daily contacts with MEPs: "[W]e talk to them all the time." (Kish 2005: 3). The network's key contact in the EP is the Committee on Culture and Education<sup>118</sup>. Other Committees are approached occasionally depending on the policy fields EFAH focuses on at

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<sup>117</sup> This specific focus of IETM's advocacy action reflects the network's large scope of action which extend far beyond the geographical borders of the EU: "[M]ost of our members are working in this global environment, not only the EU environment." (De Vlieg 2005: 7). IETM reflects this reality in a number of ways in its work, e.g. through the setting up of a fund in collaboration with the ECF, which facilitates exchanges between artists from European and Arab countries, s. RCF www 2005.

<sup>118</sup> In the following this committee is referred to as the *Culture Committee*.

different times. At the moment the *Temporary Committee of the European Parliament on policy challenges and budgetary means of the enlarged Union 2007-2013*<sup>119</sup> is frequently contacted since EFAH is actively putting forward its views on the EP's budgetary proposals for the next financial period 2007-2013.

Direct face-to-face contact with MEPs is achieved in three ways. First, one of EFAH's two permanent employees regularly attends the meetings of the Culture Committee and reports back to the network's members. Second, EFAH asks members of the committee for personal audiences. Third, EFAH takes part in public hearings convened by the committee and organises meetings between the cultural networks and committee members. For example, the network has for years brought together MEPs and cultural networks benefiting from the A-Line support in an annual open meeting. This meeting gives the networks the chance to present their work and discuss topical issues pertaining to EU cultural policy with the MEPs. The question of future EU funding for the networks always figures prominently on the agenda of these meetings. ENCATC and IETM also regularly take part in these meetings.<sup>120</sup> (Cogliandro 2004b: 7; De Vlieg 2005: 2; Frank 2005; Kish 2005: 3).

From the very beginning ENCATC has maintained intensive contacts with the EP. As is the case with EFAH ENCATC staff regularly attend the meetings of the Culture Committee and arrange personal audiences with MEPs. But unlike EFAH ENCATC mainly maintains contact to the Culture Committee in its own interest. It presents its activities to the committee members and explains to them the benefits it generates for its members and a broader public in order to prove its continuous eligibility for EU funding. (Cogliandro 2005a: 4).

The broader advocacy action towards the EP undertaken by EFAH is illustrated by outlining its initiative to achieve an increase in the EU budget for culture in the future. The aim of this initiative, set forth at the beginning of this year, consisted in convincing MEPs to vote for a budget of 315 million € per year for the successor programme of the *Culture 2000*-programme, *Culture 2007*. This would have meant an increase of roughly 10% from the present expenditure on culture which amounts to 34 million € per year. After having gained the support of the Culture Committee for the initiative EFAH called upon its members to search for backing of the demand with the members of the FINPER Committee who were to

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<sup>119</sup> In the following this committee is referred to as the *FINPER Committee*.

<sup>120</sup> For an insight on the topics addressed at these open meetings, s. EFAH 2003c.

take the final vote on the EP's budgetary proposal.<sup>121</sup> The appeal triggered a vivid response on the part of EFAH members who wrote about 80 well-argued letters which were directly sent to members of the FINPER Committee via e-mail. IETM members also took an active part in the appeal. The budgetary demands of the cultural sector were enforced through a campaign launched by the ECF and EFAH in March 2005. Entitled *70 cts for culture*, the campaign was intended to get as many actors as possible to embrace the vision of an EU based on its culture which actively promotes the development of mutual understanding and cooperation among its peoples. The diverse array of signatories proves the success of the campaign initiators to attain wider publicity extending beyond the cultural sector and to mobilise the European cultural actors themselves to stand up for the role of culture in the European integration process. (Kish 2005: 3; Verstraete 2005a: 2-3).<sup>122</sup>

Being asked whether they use their special expertise to advise the EU institutions the networks point to consultation processes which they are involved in but make it clear that the cultural sector so far does not benefit from any kind of regular formal consultation dialogue at the EU level (De Vlieg 2005: 4; Kish 2005: 1). Consequently, EFAH eagerly takes up the chance to advocate the needs and concerns of the cultural sector each time the COM launches a formal consultation process on specific policy issues, e.g. in the form of a hearing, a workshop or a public consultation via the internet.<sup>123</sup>

At present the only possibility for civic actors from the cultural field to regularly give formal input into the EU decision-making process is the Liaison group of the ESC established in February 2004 (s. p. 35) in which EFAH takes part as the only civic interest organisation from the cultural sector. Through this body the 14 participating civic interest groups are entitled to comment on the opinions drafted by the ESC. Although it is still too early for an in-depth assessment of the Liaison group's impact Kish (2005: 2) considers it an interesting initiative

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<sup>121</sup> In concrete terms the committee members were asked to put in amendments to the COM's funding proposal for *Culture 2007* which contained the budgetary figure of only 408 million € over the whole 7-year budgetary period.

<sup>122</sup> The title of the campaign contains its aim: to increase the EU-budget for culture to 70 cts per citizen per year. The campaign initiators, ECF and EFAH, justify their demand for an enhanced financial commitment for the cultural sector by setting forth seven core areas which are to benefit from the *Culture 2007*-programme: the mobility of artists and cultural cooperators, greater cultural cooperation within the EU and between the EU and its neighbours, initiatives to boost the cultural dimension of EU foreign policy, new platforms for European public debate and active citizenship, support for European cultural networks, information and services for artists and cultural operators, effective support for creative competitiveness (ECF 2004). For more information about the still ongoing campaign, s. ECF www 2005a.

<sup>123</sup> For an example of the latter, s. the public consultation for the development of a future cultural European programme which was carried out from April to July 2003 (COM 2003a; COM 2003b).

which might well develop into an important channel for transmitting the views of civic interest groups into the political process. So far the members of the Liaison group have commented on topics such as the COM's regulations for financial support to NGOs and the COM's communication strategy, two issues which are of high relevance for the civic interest organisations engaged in advocacy action at the EU level (ESC 2005a; ESC 2005b).

Before the establishment of the Liaison group EFAH was already involved in a formal consultation procedure organised by the ESC. This was the temporal consultative forum bringing together civic interest groups and members of the European Convention which prepared the draft Constitutional Treaty for the EU. EFAH made active use of the forum to sensitise the politicians to the need of acknowledging the significance of culture for European integration in the Draft Constitution. (Kish 2005: 1-2)

While a formal consultation procedure for the cultural sector is non-existent there is a range of informal meeting fora which the networks use to present their expertise and advice on specific policy areas to the COM and the other EU institutions. This has become obvious from the forms of contact between the networks and the two EU institutions mainly targeted by interest groups treated at the beginning of this part. Two examples of such fora are a *Dialogue* event organised by the European Policy Centre (EPC) in 2003 and the programme consultations about the design and the content of the *Culture 2007*-programme.

The first event gathered members of the European Convention, representatives of DG EAC, MEPs, representatives of civic interest organisations from the cultural sector, such as EFAH and ENCATC, and various personalities from the educational, cultural and business sectors for an informal discussion about the place of education and culture in the future Constitutional Treaty of the EU. EFAH together with the ECF collaborated with the EPC in the organisation of this one-day event and took this chance to stand up strongly for an enhanced recognition of culture and education in the future constitution and in European policies in general. Concrete demands for action were put forward to the European Convention as well as to the COM, the EP and the Council in a position paper drafted by the three organising organisations.<sup>124</sup> (Cogliandro 2004b: 7; ECF/EFAH/EPC 2003a).

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<sup>124</sup> Amongst other demands the ECF, EFAH and EPC called upon the European Convention and the EU institutions to recognise the significance of education and culture in the preamble of the future Constitutional Treaty, to retain the articles 150 and 151, TAV, pertaining to cooperation in education and culture in the future Constitutional Treaty, to promote cultural cooperation with third countries, to strengthen European cultural networks and to facilitate enhanced mobility amongst students, teachers, artists and other actors from the cultural field (ECF/EFAH/EPC 2003b). The efforts of the organisers to raise awareness for the need to put education and culture at the core of the new constitutional foundation for the European integration process were supported by numerous non-governmental organisations from the fields of education and culture which also addressed



The second example of the networks' informal advisory role is their involvement in the consultations about the *Culture 2007*-programme. In addition to taking part in the formal public consultation mentioned before (s. p. 73) members and staff of EFAH commented on the plans for the programme in numerous discussions with COM officials throughout the preparation process. The network also handed a briefing paper to the COM which provides for a detailed assessment of the COM's programme proposal from the perspective of cultural actors and sets out suggestions for key improvements particularly concerning the budget and the definition of the programme objectives. (EFAH 2004c; Kish 2005: 4).

EFAH continuously strives to sensitise EU politicians and officials to the concerns of the cultural sector by commenting on topical issues through a range of documents transmitted to the EU institutions. These include position papers on legislative proposals, commentaries and analyses of aspects of decision-making procedures and of programme management issues (Frank 2005). Like the briefing paper on *Culture 2007* a number of documents clearly fulfil advisory functions, such as e.g. the *Report on the programme Culture 2000* (Rojanski /Gordon) and the *Study on Cultural Cooperation in Europe* (EFAH: 2003a). ENCATC and IETM also submit different documents to the EU institutions for the purpose of simultaneously advocating their own aims and giving advice to EU decision-makers. Yet, compared to EFAH they are engaged in this activity to a lesser extent.

As regards the networks' ability to actually make an impact on the decisions taken by the EU institutions all interview partners made it clear that it is difficult or even impossible to pinpoint their own influence. They recognise that their advocacy action does have some effect, e.g. in the European Convention which took into account the cultural actors' urge to retain article 151 and to mention culture in the preamble of the draft Constitutional Treaty. Concerning the EP's budget proposal EFAH also regards its campaign as successful although the sum computed for culture in the final proposal clearly does not come near the demands of the cultural sector set out in the *70 cts for culture*-campaign.<sup>125</sup> (Cogliandro 2005a: 4; De Vlieg 2005: 5; Frank 2005; Kish 2005: 3-4).

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decision-makers in the European Convention and the EU institutions. Backing for this advocacy action was also provided by the *Open Letter to the Convention* written by the former German president, von Weizsäcker, and signed by numerous merited Europeans (Weizsäcker: 2003). For an example of earlier advocacy action for a strengthened position of culture in the future Constitutional Treaty, s. EFAH 2002b.

<sup>125</sup> At least the EP demonstrated its will to extend EU cultural policy by adopting a culture budget of 500 million €, i.e. almost 100 mill. € more than the figure stated in the budgetary proposal of the COM.

Nevertheless, the highly complex and entangled decision-making procedures within the EU make any chance of clearly allocating a certain outcome to the influence of a specific group of actors rather unlikely. This is evident when once more considering the negotiations for the EP's budget proposal. In view of the over 600 amendments tabled in the FINPER Committee the amendment which EFAH had pressed for can only be regarded a small part of the total influence exerted on the committee. The COM proposal for the *Culture 2007*-programme also proves the difficulty of clearly retracing the impact of advocacy action. Although the COM's modifications of its first programme drafts are in line with EFAH's interests the network cannot tell whether the alterations were prompted by its own recommendations: "The recommendation may have come from many places, it's difficult to map." (Kish 2005: 4). (Cogliandro 2005a: 4; Frank 2005; De Vlieg 2005: 5; Kish 2005: 3-5; OTM www 2005c).

As any other interest group working at the EU level cultural networks are continuously confronted with the numerous political and legal constraints which restrict the scope of action of the EU institutions (s. p. 26-27). "[Y]ou can see this illustrated very well in the recent referenda on the ratification Constitution. These texts are hugely complex and they're extremely constrained by many different technical and bureaucratic constraints within the Commission and the EU itself. In the early days we demanded things which, now we know, were not legally possible; it was not in the Commission's power to give us what we were asking because legally they couldn't." (De Vlieg 2005: 5). Consequently in order to purposefully make their voice heard at the EU level it is essential for the networks to be well-informed and knowledgeable about the internal rules regulating the interaction of political and administrative actors within and between the different institutions. Furthermore they need to have a good insight into the varying coalitions, interests and balances of power characterising the specific political environment which their activity is focused on. (De Vlieg 2005: 5; Kish 2005: 3-4; Verstraete 2005a: 6).

On the whole the interview partners positively appraise the networks' ability to act as a voice for their members and the cultural sector toward the EU institutions (Cogliandro 2005b; Frank 2005). The interviews clearly reveal their understanding of what they aim to achieve by their advocacy action. In line with Greenwood who stressed the role of civic interest groups in altering the language of debate and stimulating changes of perspective and improved understanding among decision-makers (s. p. 27) the interview partners emphasised their aim to raise awareness for culture and its potential at the EU level. (Frank 2005; Cogliandro 2005b; Verstraete 2005a: 6-7). De Vlieg (2005: 13) makes this very clear: "So many of the things that

we're talking about on the EU level are about respect or understanding or political will or more flexibility. It's not always about money. [...] And the potential: what could happen if? If there were more possibilities, if there was a greater understanding, how much more could be done.”

The investigation into the role of the cultural networks in the decision-preparation phase of the EU policy cycle shows that the networks continuously bring the views of European cultural actors into the political process. In fulfilling their function as a voice for the cultural sector they aim to achieve recognition for the needs and concerns of the group which is most affected by EU-decisions pertaining to cultural policy. From the perspective of *participatory governance* the participation of cultural networks in the processes of drafting and preparing political decisions, such as the COM proposal on the *Culture 2007*-programme, is highly justified since the networks represent the main addressees of the respective policy. As concerns the *Culture 2007*-programme it is European cultural actors who will bring this programme into life through their action. In addition the networks contribute considerable expertise to the consultation process which enhances the chances for an effective implementation of the policy in question. In consequence the cultural networks do contribute to enhancing the *input-legitimacy* of the EU.

In the following the involvement of the cultural networks in the implementation of EU policies is examined. I concentrate on revealing how the networks contribute to the *output-legitimacy* of the EU by enhancing the successful implementation of specific programmes through their expertise.

### **5.3.5 The networks' role in the policy implementation phase**

Whereas the last part dealt with the contribution of the cultural networks to generating *input-legitimacy* for the EU this part focuses on their role in enhancing the *output-legitimacy* of European policy-making. *Output-legitimacy* has been defined as a system's capacity to produce beneficial policy outcomes for its citizens (s. p. 9). Thus, the acquiring of *output-legitimacy* necessitates the setting-up of effective and efficient procedures for public problem solving. The producing of beneficial public policies through formalised forms of interaction between public and private actors is the basic assumption of the *governance* approach. Its main emphasis has from the beginning been on *output-legitimacy* with the dimension of *input-legitimacy* only gaining recognition in recent years, e.g. in the concept of *participatory governance* (s. p. 19).

Governance arrangements are not only intended to facilitate institutionalised co-operation between public and private parties in bringing about binding political decisions but also in implementing these decisions (s. p. 13). In this part I examine how cultural networks are involved in the implementation of EU policies pertaining to the cultural field. I intend to answer the question whether their involvement enhances the effectiveness and efficiency of the implementation process thereby producing beneficial outcomes for the policy addressee, European cultural actors. This analysis allows for conclusions about the networks' contribution to legitimising the EU from the output side. My focus is on two EU-projects which ENCATC and IETM are or have been engaged with, the *Eurocult21*-project and the On-The-Move-project (OTM).

ENCATC was involved in the implementation of EU research policy pertaining to the cultural sector by taking part in the *Eurocult21*-project<sup>126</sup> which was realised under the *Environment and sustainable development programme/City of Tomorrow & Cultural Heritage* of the DG Research. The project had four main aims: First, to promote discussion, identify challenges, exchange best practices and diffuse knowledge concerning the current role of culture in urban governance; second, to identify new research and funding needs on urban cultural policy; third, to formulate innovative cultural strategies and fourth, to prepare a clear set of recommendations on cultural policy to the European institutions and Members States. It was

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<sup>126</sup> The full title of the project was *Urban Cultural Profile Exchange Project in the 21st century*.

designed and implemented from March 2003 till March 2005 by a project consortium consisting of 19 public authorities, seven academic and research institutions and two European networks from 12 EU-countries. The project was financed by the DG Research for about 1, 2 Mill. €. (Cogliandro 2004a: 14-15; Eurocult 21 www 2005).

ENCATC fulfilled a twofold function in the project. First, the network was part of the scientific committee which was responsible for leading the scientific research part of the project. The most important tasks of the committee consisted in determining which cultural statistics and indicators to use for depicting the state of urban cultural policy in the participant cities and how to design a compendium of cultural policy profiles of the respective cities. Two representatives of ENCATC, the Secretary General GiannaLia Cogliandro, and the President at that time, Lluís Bonet, took part in almost all the meetings of the scientific committee and brought their expertise and knowledge about urban cultural policy into the discussions. The other board members of ENCATC were also involved in the project by giving additional advice to the scientific committee. (Cogliandro 2005a: 6).

Second, ENCATC continuously disseminated information about the project to its members by reporting back in the network's own newsletter and on its website the outcomes of the scientific and management committees' meetings, the different training events and the national workshops. Thus it undertook the task of multiplying the circles of actors from the cultural field to benefit from the results of the project: "Our network is in a very privileged situation because we're in contact with so many members in 35 countries so we can really disseminate the outcome of any European projects easily." (Cogliandro 2005a: 6). ENCATC members benefit directly from the information about *Eurocult21*, e.g. by using the large amount of expertise compiled in the different project reports in developing study modules for their curricula (Cogliandro 2005a: 7).

In sum ENCATC contributed in a significant way to the effective implementation of this part of EU research policy. The practical expertise in urban cultural policy manifest in the various project reports is available to the COM officials who draft proposals for EU action in this field (Cogliandro 2005a: 7). Incorporating this expertise in future EU funding programmes is likely to increase the appropriateness and effectiveness of these measures.

IETM is involved in the implementation of EU cultural policy by establishing and maintaining the web-portal On-The-Move (OTM) with financial support from the EU. The rationale behind setting up this project was to pool information extending across the spectrum of mobility in the cultural sector and to make it available to professionals from the artistic field and a wider

audience of interested actors in the EU member states and its neighbouring countries. The web-portal, entitled *The Performing Arts Traveller's Toolkit*, provides information about international activities, projects and grant programmes in the areas of theatre, dance, music and other performing arts disciplines. It comprises databases on information sources, funding opportunities, administrative, legal and fiscal information and practical tips for travellers. In addition a special section of the webportal gives practical advice on various aspects related to working in an international environment. Furthermore, the web-portal facilitates the direct contact and information exchange between arts professionals through an open news and announcements-section and the possibility to join or open up a discussion group. (De Vlieg 2005: 12; Verstraete 2005a: 5, 14; OTM www 2005a).

At the moment OTM is developed as part of a larger EU funded project on providing information about transnational cultural cooperation via the internet.<sup>127</sup> By disseminating a great amount of information and advice about possibilities of transnational mobility in the performing arts sector and providing actors from the field with an electronic means to communicate and to network IETM makes an active contribution to attaining the aims of EU cultural policy outlined in the *Culture 2000*-programme (EP/Council 2000), in particular the following two objectives of the programme: the promotion of creativity and the transnational dissemination of culture and the movement of artists, creators and other cultural operators and professionals and their works; the highlighting of cultural diversity and the development of new forms of cultural expression.

The illustration of these two projects exemplifies the beneficial outcome of involving the cultural networks in the implementation of EU policies. Making best use of their members' considerable knowledge and thorough insight into the real-world situation in the respective policy field the networks are able to design and carry out EU funded projects which are most appropriate to the needs of the policy addressees, the European cultural actors. The basic assumption of *participatory governance* that effective governance is based on civic participation in the political process proves its relevance in the case of the cultural networks. By playing their part in the attainment of an effective and efficient implementation of EU policies they contribute to enhancing the *output-legitimacy* of the EU.

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<sup>127</sup> This larger project is called *Gateway to Cultural Cooperation* (G2CC) and is carried out by four partner organisations: ECF, the European Institute for Comparative Cultural Research (ERICarts), the cultural foundation Fondazione Fitzcarraldo and IETM. From December 2004-December 2006 G2CC receives grants from the *C2000*-programme under the funding line for pilot projects. (De Vlieg 2005: 12; ECF www 2005b).

### 5.3.6 Constraints on the legitimising role of the networks

In this part I examine two external problem areas which restrict the networks' contribution to enhancing the EU's legitimacy. These are shortcomings in the civic infrastructure in some of the EU member states and constraining factors at the institutional level of the EU.

As has been pointed out in the theoretical part of this study (s. p. 19) the existence of an intact civil society is the precondition for legitimising governance arrangements. The *holders* which are to participate in the making and implementation of political decisions within the EU have to be firmly grounded in an active associational body in the member states in order for EU policies to gain legitimacy.

From the information about the networks' membership gathered in the interviews it is clear that the quality of civil society and the opportunity structures for civic actors' participation in transnational networking vary greatly across the EU and are deficient in certain groups of member states. A look at the membership composition of all three networks reveals that members from Southern EU member states and from the new member states<sup>128</sup> are clearly underrepresented. Only about 20% of ENCATC's members from EU member states come from the new EU member states. For IETM the corresponding figure is only about 10%. Concerning EFAH it is not possible to figure out the geographical membership composition by simply taking the location of the members' secretariats as determining variable.<sup>129</sup> Nevertheless a similar imbalance in membership is recognisable with EFAH, too. Kish (2005: 6) states that 60% of EFAH's members come from western European countries and 40% from elsewhere.

Considering the reasons for this imbalance in the networks' membership composition the relatively low number of members from CEE countries can be explained in general by the fact that civil society in the new EU member states has not yet attained the same level of organisation as in the old ones. Yet, specific reasons are evident which pertain to both the

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<sup>128</sup> In the following I refer to the ten states which acceded to the EU on May 1, 2004 as the *new* EU member states. Accordingly the other 15 member states are designated as the *old* EU member states.

<sup>129</sup> This is due to the fact that as a *network of the networks* EFAH joins together a number of organisations which are themselves composed of members from different countries. Therefore it is in many cases impossible to draw any conclusion about the member organisations' own membership composition from the location of their offices. For this reason determining EFAH's membership composition on the basis of the secretariats' locations produces a distorted picture of reality. Nevertheless I have included EFAH in the breakdown of the networks' membership composition which is based on the aforementioned criteria s. tables 1-3, appendix. In order to give a comprehensive picture of the networks' membership composition the tables also contain the number of members from non-EU-states.

Southern and the new EU member states. These causes concern the recognition of organised civil society at the state level and the financial situation of civic interest groups from the cultural field. The first reason is identified by all interview partners as a lack of public support for the activities of non-state cultural organisations (Cogliandro 2005a: 9; De Vlieg 2005: 8). In contrast to the situation in the old EU member states, in particular in the Scandinavian countries, there are hardly any public subsidies in these countries which would enable cultural organisations to take part in the activities of the cultural networks. Kish (2005: 6-7) illustrates this point: “[T]he governments of those countries tend to support networks and foundations better [...], e.g. we’ve got at least ten members in Holland because the Dutch government has a funding system for European networks in Holland but the Hungarian government doesn’t. So it’s harder for us to have a member in Hungary than it is in Holland.”

In the absence of public support it becomes even more unlikely that organisations would engage in transnational networking since their weak financial position does not leave any margin for extra expenses. Their meagre resources constitute the second reason for the low membership numbers from these countries. Cultural organisations do not have the financial means necessary to use their membership in a network to the advantage of their organisations. Paying the membership fee is only the beginning. Only through continuous involvement will an organisation be able to reap the benefits of transnational networking. However, in practice being active means participation in the respective network’s conferences and meetings and in cooperation projects initiated and carried out by network members. These are activities which the organisations cannot pay for. “To get connected is also to use those connections that you have. And to use those connections probably involves even more travel.” (Verstraete 2005a: 13). (De Vlieg 2005: 10).

As regards the new EU member states De Vlieg (2005: 8) highlights the different expectations of cultural actors towards networking which are a direct result of the tough financial imperatives beginning to reign in the cultural sector after the fall of the communist regimes.<sup>130</sup> Their meagre resources force them to quickly attain financial gains, so they seek immediate economic benefits from networking, e.g. by finding partners for setting up a project consortium for a finite project. Although such kind of cooperation is by all means possible in the framework of a cultural network and often arises from it the search for immediate concrete projects and outcomes is not the prevailing mode of interaction in the networks. Instead, “in IETM the way of working is to find people who share common interests, to establish

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<sup>130</sup> This difference in attitude towards networking is also pointed out by Minichbauer/Mitterdorfer 2000: 8.



relationships and to slowly build a project based on trust and knowledge.” (De Vlieg 2005: 8). As a matter of fact the harsh economic reality cultural actors are facing in these countries clash with the spirit of networking which often does not produce clearly discernible material benefits right from the start. Consequently many a cultural organisation from these countries might not find appropriate answers to its needs through joining a cultural network.<sup>131</sup>

In view of these problems ENCATC and IETM have taken certain measures to facilitate membership of organisations from these countries, in particular from the new EU member states. Both networks are to a limited extent able to financially support individuals from these organisations through their own travel funds (Verstraete 2005: 14; Cogliandro 2004a: 8). Furthermore they take into account the organisations’ difficult financial situation by charging them reduced membership fees: ENCATC contributes to the membership fees of some members through so-called *matching grants* and IETM has devised reduced rates for members from CEE countries. (Cogliandro 2005a: 9; Verstraete 2005a: 13-14).

Nevertheless, these small measures are not to be considered the determining factor in an organisations’ decision to join a network. De Vlieg (2005: 8) emphasises that an organisation is likely to become a member despite financial difficulties if the respective network is able to respond to its needs. All three networks recognise the importance of developing a more geographically balanced membership base. Consequently they address this issue in reviewing and developing their membership policies striving at ways to make their organisations attractive and meaningful to organisations from under-represented countries. (Cogliandro 2005a: 9; De Vlieg 2005: 8-9).

The second external factor which limits the networks’ ability to take on a legitimising role in the European integration process lies in their restricted access to decision-making processes at the EU level. In the interviews this problem was outlined with regard to the COM. In general all three networks characterise the climate of cooperation between themselves and the COM as good and respectful on both sides (Cogliandro 2005a: 4; De Vlieg 2005: 4; Kish 2005: 3). De Vlieg (2005: 4) even states an enormous improvement in the mutual contacts compared to the situation some years ago which is to be ascribed to the internal changes within the DG EAC brought about by the new Director-General, van der Pas: “Before, when we were called by the

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<sup>131</sup> Cogliandro and Kish draw attention to a third reason for the geographical imbalance in membership which is to be distinguished from the structural reasons explained so far. According to them the weaker engagement with the networking mode of cooperation observable in Southern EU member states might in part be accounted for by differences in mentality. (Cogliandro 2005a: 10; Kish 2005: 7-8).

DG X, as it was called, for so-called *consultancy*, they would sit us in a room and we would listen to them for an hour. Under van der Pas, they ask for papers, they ask for letters, they ask for people, they put things on websites and ask for comments, they call individuals, they form think-tanks and small committees; it's a much more open DG now." The other interview partners also describe the DG EAC as very open and receptive to the different forms of input from the cultural networks.

However, Kish (2005: 3-4) identifies constraints in the networks' chances to participate in the decision-making processes within the COM. The problems pertain to the COM's transparency in terms of insight into consultation processes and information transfer in general. First, it is impossible for the networks to follow how the COM deals with their recommendations and with the input of other civic interest groups in a consultation phase. The process is not transparent since the COM often does not give any feedback to the networks which would enable them to assess what their possible impact on a decision might be in relation to the advocacy action of other actors. Taking the consultation process on the *Culture 2007*-programme as an example Kish (2005: 4) puts the COM's usual reaction to the networks' input in the following words: "[EFAH's briefing paper] was formally presented to the Commission and at our request we had a discussion but then what they say is 'Thank you very much.' And then they shut the door and then they produce the paper, so that's how it works." Second, the COM does not pro-actively inform the networks about policy initiatives or programme drafts which concern their fields of activity and expertise. As a consequence the networks have to search out by themselves all available COM documents on the policy matter in question which proves to be highly complicated at times. According to Kish (2005: 4) weak outward communication is a feature of the COM which is widely perceived among civic interest organisations.

As has already become clear from Kish's statement the shortcomings in the COM's transparency and openness require the networks to be highly active themselves and continuously search for opportunities to transmit their views to the political decision-makers. This is also stressed by De Vlieg (2005: 5) who makes it clear that although the changes in the internal workings of the DG EAC have been much to the networks' advantage being successful in making their members' voice heard at the EU level depends on their own initiative. With view to the insufficient ability of the DG EAC to meaningfully involve civic interest organisations in its work EFAH and the ECF have emphasized the need for improvement in the *70 cts for culture*-campaign by clearly expressing the demand for

reinforcing the administrative capacity of the DG EAC to organise consultation processes and to support voluntary platforms of member states and civic interest groups in order to explore and develop thematic cooperation (ECF 2004).

These two external problem areas limit the cultural networks' capability to convey the views of their *holder* community, the group of civic actors which is most affected by EU cultural policy, to the political decision-makers. Since they are restricted in their function to act as civil bridging agencies due to the deficits in the civic infrastructure of some EU member states and in the openness and transparency of the EU institutions their abilities to open up an additional form of representation and thereby constitute an important factor in legitimising the EU is clearly limited.

With regard to the first problem area it has to be stressed that the networks are clearly aware of the special nature of their representative function (s. p. 67-68). De Vlieg (2005: 1, 6, 11) and Kish (2005: 1, 4-5) in particular make it clear that depending on the issue in question and the specific kind of advocacy action undertaken their networks represent a group of their members, their membership as a whole or the interests of a broader public belonging to the European cultural sector. Consequently, it would be wrong to claim that due to the shortcomings in the civic infrastructure mentioned before the cultural networks are not representative of the cultural sector as a whole because that is not their aim. Rather they aim at pooling the concerns and comments of as many cultural actors as possible and to voice these at the EU level in order to convey to the decision-makers the most informed picture possible of the real-world situation in the cultural sector and of the impact of EU legislation on it. It is precisely for this reason that the networks continuously strive to develop their membership base and try to compensate by their own measures the unfavourable conditions for networking in some EU member states. Only by incorporating cultural actors from across the EU will they be able to reflect in a balanced way the interests and knowledge of the cultural sector in their advocacy action and in that way contribute to the legitimacy of the EU in its input- and its output-dimension.

The second problem area directly concerns the need for better involvement of civic interest organisations in the political process which has been recognised by the COM in the WP (s. p. 30-31). The constraints to their advocacy action constantly faced by cultural networks illustrate at the same time a weak commitment to civic actor involvement on the part of COM officials and the COM's lack of resources which keep it from setting up a coherent approach

to consultation and cooperation with organised civil society. In order to further advance in their missions the cultural networks actively monitor and take up any initiatives from EU institutions which are intended to provide for a more direct and regular participation of civic actors in EU decision-making. EFAH's commitment to the work of the Civil Society Liaison group established by the ESC (s. p. 73-74) is a good example of this endeavour.

#### 5.4 Cultural networks: An important voice for the cultural sector in the EU

European cultural networks have been called “the communications infrastructure for cultural collaboration in Europe” (De Vlieg 2001: 3). The analysis of three cultural networks revealed that those networks live up to this label in a twofold way. First, they act as communications infrastructure for the cultural sector itself by gathering and disseminating hugely diverse information and by facilitating and stimulating manifold processes of information sharing and exchange among the cultural actors. The terms *resource* and *platform*, which EFAH uses to characterise itself, accurately reflect this function. Second, the three networks exemplify the broader communications infrastructure built up by European cultural networks which extends to the institutional level of the EU. Going beyond their functions within the cultural sector they have taken on the role of a permanent link between the cultural actors and the EU institutions. In this capacity they are committed to keeping their members and a wider public informed about EU developments and to constantly communicate the comments and concerns emanating from the cultural sector to the decision-makers at the EU level.

In this chapter the latter function of the three cultural networks has been analysed with respect to their contribution to legitimising the EU. The analysis has revealed the networks’ capacity to enhance the legitimacy of the EU in its input- as well as its output-dimension. The three networks play an important part in generating *input-legitimacy* because they ensure that the interests of the group of actors which is most affected by EU cultural policy are represented in the decision-making process. This is achieved by identifying and mapping out the interests of the cultural actors in highly open internal communication processes and by transmitting them to the EU institutions through different formal and informal procedures. The networks always bear in mind their specific representative nature in deciding upon the form of advocacy action used to convey the cultural actors’ point of view on the policy issue in question. As civic interest organisations they cannot claim to represent the cultural sector as a whole. Rather they carefully determine the interests of which specific group they advocate at the EU level.

At the same time as the networks represent cultural actors at the EU level they are able to take on an advisory role towards the EU decision-makers due to their detailed knowledge of the real-world circumstances prevailing in the cultural sector. Making use of the networks’ advice in preparing legislative measures does improve the chances of effective policy implementation which is needed in order to generate *output-legitimacy* for the EU system. As has become evident from ENCATC’s and IETM’s commitment to EU funded projects (s. p. 78-80) the

networks are predestined to be involved in the implementation of EU policies because they possess the expertise and direct link to the grass-roots players needed in order to assure an efficient and purposeful use of EU funding. They are able to produce highly beneficial policy outcomes for the main target group of EU cultural policy, the European cultural actors, and thereby contribute to the system's *output-legitimacy*.

From the analysis of the three networks it is evident that they possess the capacity to make a considerable contribution to devising and implementing an EU cultural policy which is directly geared to responding to the needs and potential of the cultural sector. In contrast to the political symbolism still accounting for a large part of EU action in the field of culture (s. p. 47-48) the cultural networks advocate the need for a cultural policy which facilitates enhanced transnational cooperation between a broad range of cultural actors and enables them to play their part in the European integration process. Strengthening the involvement of cultural networks in the decision-making processes at the EU level enhances the *input-* as well as the *output-legitimacy* of EU action in the field of culture. Simultaneously it provides the chance of a reorientation of EU cultural policy towards a more grass-roots level approach which could enhance the role of culture in efforts to gain the citizens' support for the integration process.

Although the cultural networks are constantly proving their high ability to act as a link between the grass-roots and the EU level, so far their value has not been fully recognised by the EU institutions. The lack of acknowledgment is obvious from the constraints on their involvement in the political process which have been illustrated by referring to their limited access to and participation in the communication processes in the COM (s. p. 84). This point is further underlined by the fact that the cultural networks are not included in any regular formal consultation mechanism except for the Liaison group of the ESC which still has to prove its capacity to provide for an effective means of involving civic actors into European politics.

In addition the cultural networks' struggle for recognition is evident from a look at their financial situation. Over the past years the EU has continuously reduced the amount of operational support granted to them and a renewed increase in the budgetary provisions for the networks is unlikely. With membership fees not in the least allowing for a sufficient financial base the networks are dependent on other funding sources. However, alternative funding sources are not easy to open up since the networks' distinct character as transnational organisations often precludes them from obtaining support from national foundations or public bodies (s. p. 63). Even though the decline of EU support does not endanger the networks' existence the lack of structural support clearly prevents them from realising their full potential

as civil bridging agencies voicing the interests of European cultural actors at the EU level.<sup>132</sup> In the light of this situation EFAH and IETM in particular have for years stood up for the need to set up a coherent funding system for cultural networks based on clearly specified funding criteria.<sup>133</sup> But the limited openness of the COM has become evident when it only recently refused to involve the networks in consultations on this issue (Kish 2005: 6).

Summing up, it is clear that the limited recognition the cultural networks have received by the EU institutions so far does not correspond to their important work which significantly enhances the legitimacy of EU-action in the field of cultural policy. Frank (2005) states in this regard: “The EU increasingly recognises its responsibility to consult with organisations representing civil society, and European cultural networks take advantage of this trend. However, the EU still has some way to go in recognising the value and function of EU cultural networks.”

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<sup>132</sup> The lack of financial resources keeping the networks from further strengthening their responsiveness to the members’ needs and enhancing their advocacy action at the EU level is reflected in the interviews: Cogliandro 2005a: 2; Kish 2005: 7.

<sup>133</sup> The following documents give proof of this commitment: De Vlieg 2001; Staines 1996.

## 6 Conclusion

Cultural networks and democratic legitimacy in the European Union: examining this subject-matter from a *governance* perspective has been the aim of this thesis. Following the analysis of the networks' involvement in EU politics I am able to draw conclusions about their role in achieving the ultimate aim of governance arrangements: the generation of legitimacy for the respective political system. The focus on the cultural networks was taken in order to exemplify the significance of civic interest groups in providing for an additional tier of representation within the EU system and thereby opening up a complementary source of legitimacy for the system. In concrete terms the research question was what contribution cultural networks make to legitimising the EU.

This research question made two specifications necessary at the outset. First, the notion of *legitimacy* was to be approached from its two dimensions in order to operationalise it for the analysis of the empirical findings. These dimensions are *input-legitimacy* and *output-legitimacy*. Whereas *output-legitimacy* is defined in accordance with traditional democratic theory as the capability of a political system to produce beneficial policy outcomes for its citizens, the definition of *input-legitimacy* deviates from the principle of representative democracy. In line with the theoretical approach of *participatory governance* *input-legitimacy* is not only derived from parliamentary representation but also from the representation of other collective societal interests. Second, the focus on the activities of three specific cultural networks made it necessary to restrict the scope of the analysis to one policy field: EU cultural policy. Consequently, any conclusions made about the networks' contribution to enhancing the legitimacy of the EU refer solely to the performance and policy outcomes of the governance arrangements made in this policy field.

From the perspective of *participatory governance* the three cultural networks could be regarded as deriving their right of participation in the making and implementation of political decisions from two distinct qualities. First, they participate in the name of a specific constituency which is composed of their members and a larger group of cultural actors, depending on the issue in question. Second, they possess an enormous amount of knowledge, the sum of their members' expertise, skills and experience, which is needed by decision-makers in order to design effective policies. It could be shown that by voicing the interests of their members and the broader interests of European cultural actors the networks are realising



the basic principle of *participatory governance* which consists in ensuring an adequate representation of the most affected policy addressees in the political decision-making process. The examination of the networks' concrete forms of involvement in the decision-preparation and the implementation phase of the EU policy cycle revealed that they make a considerable contribution to legitimising the EU with regard to its *input-* as well as its *output-legitimacy*. They achieve enhanced *input-legitimacy* by constantly conveying to the EU institutions the views of the cultural actors concerning EU policy measures pertaining to the cultural sector. Their contact and communication with the political and administrative decision-makers takes manifold forms ranging from direct contact at conferences and personal audiences to the production of position and campaign papers, programme evaluations and reports. Their diverse advocacy action is based on open and inclusive internal communication processes guaranteeing all members an equal chance to get involved in discussions and projects and to pronounce their position on the issues in question. In order to further improve their ability to voice the concerns of the cultural actors the networks permanently develop their internal workings and their membership and thereby enhance their knowledge about the real-world situation within the cultural sector.

The networks' contribution to the *output-legitimacy* of EU action in the field of culture is obvious from their involvement in the implementation of EU programmes. Due to their long experience in transnational cultural cooperation they are highly capable of advising other actors in the realisation of EU funded projects. Furthermore their insight into the situation on the ground enables them to design and carry out projects which best meet the needs of the cultural actors. By taking full advantage of their direct links to the cultural sector and of their expertise the networks enhance the effectiveness of EU cultural policy thereby producing beneficial outcomes for the main policy addressees, European cultural actors.

Apart from deficits in the civic infrastructure of some EU member states, which account partly for imbalances in the networks' membership composition, the networks' legitimising role is constrained by the lack of openness and responsiveness on the part of the EU institutions. The first constraint has been illustrated with regard to the networks' contacts to the COM. Although improvements in the attitude of the DG EAC towards input from civic actors are clearly visible the networks are frequently confronted with nontransparent communication processes and restricted access to consultation fora which limit their advocacy action. The latter point is evident when considering that so far none of the civic interest groups from the cultural field is involved in a regular formal consultative dialogue with the COM. In addition

to the limits faced at the institutional level the shortage in financial resources prevents the networks from fully realising their potential to act as a spokesperson for cultural actors at the EU level.

These problems are exemplary of the deficits recognisable in civic actors' involvement in EU politics. Together with other civic interest groups the cultural networks continuously stand up for achieving enhanced recognition for their work with EU decision-makers. Recently their endeavour has met with support from the ESC providing them with an institutionalised mechanism to make their voice heard within the EU system by establishing the Liaison group. Nevertheless, given the weak competences of the ESC within the legislative process its initiatives will not be sufficient to firmly establish civic interest representation as additional source of legitimacy in the EU system.

The COM for its part has for years acknowledged the significance of civil society involvement for generating legitimacy for the EU. The WP figures among its latest attempts to reflect on the deficits in the EU system and to raise awareness of the need for internal reforms with the other institutions. The need for strengthening participation of organised civil society in the political process is particularly emphasised in the WP. Though the deficits in the EU's approach to input from civic interest groups have been repeatedly stated in COM documents, until now the COM has not engaged in setting up a coherent and comprehensive consultation system. In order to set up such a system it would be necessary to decide on definite selection criteria clearly establishing which civic interest groups to involve in specific governance arrangements and to grant financial support to. This would require specifying the criteria of representativeness and accountability which the COM has repeatedly stipulated as preconditions civic interest groups have to fulfil to be involved in decision-making processes. The representativeness and accountability of collectivities engaging in functional interest representation cannot be measured by the same standards as applied to parliamentary representation. This fact could be affirmed by analysing the work of the cultural networks. As was emphasised by the interview partners the networks do not lay claim to representing the cultural sector as a whole. Depending on the issue in question they even refrain from claiming to represent all of their members. It is this loose claim of representativeness which gives reason to doubt the networks' suitability for being included in governance arrangements at the EU level. Without disregarding the valuable input they make in the decision-preparation phase it has to be questioned whether they are able to obtain the authority and acceptance within the cultural sector which is a precondition for being included into governance arrangements. Only

if they are able to commit their constituency to the binding political decisions arising from governance arrangements will they be considered suitable for being involved. These doubts about the sufficient representative function of the networks were clearly pronounced by Max Fuchs (2004), the president of the German Culture Council, at a conference on European culture. In particular he questioned the networks' ability to effectively bring together cultural actors across the EU in order to carry weight in the decision-making on those political issues whose long-term importance for the cultural sector largely exceeds the significance of manifest EU cultural policy. Those issues comprise e.g. legislation pertaining to the position of cultural goods in international trade or to copyright.<sup>134</sup>

As is evident from the discussion of the issue of representativeness, determining which civic interest groups to include in decision-making processes and which rules and procedures to lay down for specific governance arrangements will be decisive for the strengthening of *participatory governance* in the EU system. So far the COM has refrained from setting up a clear cut accreditation system for civic interest groups because it does not want to confer privileged status on certain groups. By doing this it would block its own chances of gaining new coalition partners for driving policy goals against the will of the member state governments. In addition, building up institutionalised relationships with certain civic interest groups would disregard parts of the ever changing civil society thereby impeding the broadest range of civic interests to be represented in the political process. Nevertheless, a more systematic approach towards civil society involvement is necessary since the sheer amount of input from civic interest organisations presently flooding the EU institutions is detrimental to establishing meaningful governance arrangements which are capable of enhancing the legitimacy of the EU system.

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<sup>134</sup> By questioning the representativeness of the cultural networks and pointing to cultural associations as alternative advocacy groups for culture Fuchs addresses the controversy among European cultural actors about which organisational form to be considered more apt to make the voice of the cultural sector heard at the EU level: the international association regrouping national associations or the network whose membership is not only restricted to national associations. A look at the list of EFAH members from Germany reveals that some German national artists' associations do recognise the cultural network as their advocacy group at the EU level. Although a sceptical attitude towards European cultural networks is observable among some German national artists' associations it has to be pointed out that networks are probably more able to voice the concerns of cultural actors across the EU because they have a longer track record of advocacy action at the EU level and because their open structures are more adaptive to the diversity of artists' organisations across the EU member states than the often rigid structures and membership criteria of associations. Looking into this controversy would require a separate study providing for a broad presentation of cultural actors' collective interest representation at the national and the EU level.

In view of the difficult questions about how to involve civic actors in EU politics it becomes obvious that governance does not provide for ready-made solutions to the widely assumed legitimacy problem of the EU. Although the COM's WP might make the reader believe so, governance is not the "remedy for everything" (Gbikpi/Grote 2002b: 273). Setting up governance arrangements which are able to generate additional legitimacy for the EU requires not only improvements in the internal workings of the EU institutions such as expanded administrative capacities for handling input from civic interest groups. First and foremost broader questions about the modalities and benefits of institutionalising functional interest representation in the EU will need to be answered. I outline these questions as starting points for future research and also point to a possible research topic focusing on the cultural networks.

First, in order to realise *participatory governance* within the EU system it is necessary to determine which instance should be entitled to select those civic interest groups granted the right to participate. Furthermore, the relevance of specific governance arrangements and their design in diverse policy fields has to be decided upon. Institutionalising an additional form of representation by introducing elements of *participatory governance* will have direct impact on the institutional balance within the EU system. In particular, the position of the EP is likely to be affected by the strengthening of functional representation. Thus, the relation between *participatory governance* and representative democracy in the EU presents itself as an intriguing subject for future research.

Whereas the value of organised civil society for generating legitimacy for the EU has to be acknowledged it is essential to emphasise that its involvement in EU politics will not compensate the serious lack of interest and participation on the part of individual citizens. Even an improved recognition of civic interest organisations at the EU level, which would enable them to strengthen their legitimising role, would not lead to significant advances with regard to the social legitimacy of the EU, i.e. the acceptance and recognition of the EU system by the citizens. This is evident in view of the absence of a European public sphere made up of an EU wide media infrastructure, European political parties and a political, economic and intellectual elite committed to shifting the frame of reference of societal discourse from the national to the European level. The former Polish foreign-minister, Geremek (2004; in: ESC 2004a: 14), underlined this point at an ESC-conference by stating that "the objective is not just giving voice to existing civil society organisations. Moreover, a trans-national public space is needed to make Europeans aware of common concerns and to support their readiness to get

engaged. Only a revitalisation of a public discussion and the articulation of controversial positions within our societies will truly make them civil societies.”<sup>135</sup>

Addressing the need for participation on the part of the individual citizens opens up an interesting perspective for possible future research on cultural networks. Following from the analysis of the networks’ advocacy action as an example of the legitimising function of civil society groups it could be asked to what extent cultural networks contribute to strengthening the social legitimacy of the EU. Answering this question would require a broader focus on the cultural networks which does not merely concentrate on the main addressees of EU cultural policy, the cultural actors, but also on their audiences and the participants in their projects. Furthermore, far more attention would need to be given to the contents of the policies and projects which the networks are involved in.<sup>136</sup>

Cultural networks have been build up on the principles of solidarity, trust and openness and have a long track record in promoting transnational cultural cooperation, innovation and intercultural understanding across and beyond the EU member states. Through their wide-ranging and diverse activities they constantly enable cultural actors to explore new perspectives on their work and to learn from each other. Their work reflects their endeavour to highlight and advocate the value of culture as a force of social development whose impact goes far beyond the small field delineated by cultural policy.<sup>137</sup> The networks’ specific way of working and the philosophy behind their work account for their high ability to contribute to preparing and implementing an EU cultural policy which allows citizens to develop an awareness of their similarities and differences and the mutual understanding needed for working together.

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<sup>135</sup> Mak (2005, in: Klačic 2005: 54) depicts the absence of a European public sphere with a striking example: “A more serious problem is that there is little or no opportunity to have a good discussion or debate: there has never been a European coffee house, an ‘agora’, a place where Europeans can form their opinions, give birth to new ideas, and test their views. Which means that whoever wants their voice to be heard in a much-vaunted ‘European Debate’ will have to search hard: after half a century of European integration, still only a very small proportion of the national elites are actually taking part in that discussion. As an illustration of the seriousness of the situation, here are the words of European chronicler Garton Ash: ‘When I want to reach the broadest intellectual European public, the best thing I can do is write an essay in *The New York Review of Books*. [...] [W]ithout meeting-places and coffee houses, any further political process will be left hanging in the air. Without such debate, Europe will continue to be just a flow of catchphrases, a democracy in name only [...]’”

<sup>136</sup> De Vlieg (2001: 8) likewise points to the need to determine the socialising function of networks by enlisting the following questions: “How does the network facilitate debate on the European level? What subject areas are covered, and how are they linked to key EU issues such as enlargement, anti-racism, migration, disadvantage, employment, relations with third countries? How does the network contribute to citizens’ understanding of EU issues and common European values?”

<sup>137</sup> Kish (2005: 9) emphasises this point: “[W]ithin the EU policy itself it’s about looking at all of EU policy as an integrated whole, and [...] having cultural policy play a more central role in that. So that when you have a development policy you’re also talking about the cultural aspects of that development policy. And that’s the second goal, it’s to have a more integrated policy at EU level across the policy areas.”

Peise (2003: 26) states that until now only intellectuals, scientists and politicians have set out to explore a larger European perspective on their societies through a variety of discourse and exchange. In contrast the majority of the EU population is excluded from or unresponsive to these processes and does not testify any deeper sense of belonging to the political entity called EU. In view of this situation Peise (2004: 19) emphasises the need to provide the citizens with possibilities to individually experience what the idea of Europe means in practice and thereby to build up “[ein] auf eigener Erfahrung basierende[s] Europabild[...]”.<sup>138</sup> Giving citizens the chance to experience European integration in real life, and to knowledgeable and critically engage with its political manifestation is an important precondition for generating social legitimacy for the EU. For this reason EU cultural policy needs to shift its focus from symbolical public relations activities to projects which encourage the ordinary citizen to experience dialogue and cooperation among European peoples.

Klaic (2005: 73-74) states in this context: “Rather than invent an ideology of Europe-hood, European intellectuals would do better to expand the quality and inclusiveness of Europe-wide intellectual debates, and also advocate the development of European cultural policies at all levels, from the municipal to the EU, so as to stimulate intercultural relations, mobility and international cooperation. In a greatly altered world – liberated from the clear-cut divisions of the Cold War, grappling with the cultural consequences of economic globalization, affected by migration and the aging of Europe’s population, speeded-up by the digital revolution, and shaken up by terrorist assaults – cultural policies in Europe do need a major overhaul.” European cultural networks can play an important part in such a redesign of cultural policy at the EU level.

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<sup>138</sup> “A perception of Europe based on their own experience.” (translation: LM).

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# **Appendix**

## **1 QUESTIONNAIRES**

**1.1 European Forum for the Arts and Heritage (EFAH)**

**1.2 European Network of Cultural Administration Training Centres (ENCATC)**

**1.3 Informal European Theatre Meeting (IETM)**

## **2 INTERVIEWS**

**2.1 European Forum for the Arts and Heritage (EFAH)**

**2.2 European Network of Cultural Administration Training Centres (ENCATC)**

**2.3 Informal European Theatre Meeting (IETM)**

## **3 TABLES: MEMBERSHIP COMPOSITION OF THE NETWORKS**

# 1 Questionnaires

## 1.1 European Forum for the Arts and Heritage (EFAH)

Questionnaire filled in by Sabine Frank, EU Policy Adviser of EFAH, 19.05.2005

|   |
|---|
| <b>D) Information about the network</b>   |
| <p>1) Please describe shortly the aims and mission of your network.</p> <p>a <u>platform</u> monitoring and discussing cultural policy development in Europe : for action and reflection, for monitoring and feedback; a rallying point for cultural operators in Europe; a networked organisation which stimulates genuine debate and policy development.</p> <p>a <u>resource</u> : a source of targeted, tailored and filtered information which aims to empower members and the cultural community. A pool of collective expertise and experience, well-positioned to advise, anticipate and evaluate.</p> <p>an <u>advocate</u> : an active, articulate champion of its core beliefs which seeks constructive dialogue with institutions and policymakers, acts as a channel of communication to voice concerns arising from the community and creates opportunities to advance the debate on the role of culture in Europe.</p> |
| <p>2) What are the admission requirements for members?</p> <p><i>Cultural networks and organisations involved in influencing policy about culture. Individuals can also become members. Members should be non-governmental organisations.</i></p>   |
| <p>3) Which members are most effective for your network in achieving its aims?</p> <p>Members who respond to mobilisation appeals and who lend their individual voice to EFAH's campaign work.</p>  |
| <p>4) How do you decide on the admission of new members?</p> <p>The secretariat has discretionary power, and refers to the board if there is a question or doubt as to the eligibility of an organisation.</p>  |
| <p>5) Do you actively recruit new members? If yes, which kind of organisations do you approach?</p> <p>So far no but the membership policy is currently under review.</p>   |



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| <p>6) Do the members come together at meetings other than the General Assembly during the year?</p> <p>General Assemblies are the formal meetings but subgroups of members meet to work together on specific topics or to respond to specific policy developments. Occasionally there are national meetings.</p>  |
| <p>7) How are the members of the Executive Committee appointed?</p> <p>Members of the Board are elected from, and by the membership during the General Assembly.</p>  |
| <p>8) What is the term of office of the Executive Committee?</p> <p>The Executive Committee is elected annually, but individual members of the committee may serve for up to three years.</p>   |
| <p>9) What is the task of the Executive Committee?</p> <p>Retrospective task:<br/>Sign off the past activities through the annual report and the financial report.</p> <p>Prospective tasks:<br/>Supervise and monitor the work of the executive office<br/>Responsible for fundamental guiding decisions about the work plan and work priorities</p>   |
| <p>10) What is the annual budget of your network? From which institutions do you receive grants to cover operational and project costs?</p> <p>2005 budget: 180 000 euros<br/>European Commission<br/>European Culture Foundation<br/>Vlaamse Gemeenschap (Flemish Ministry of Culture)<br/><i>One institution per year supports the General Assembly (e.g. Région Nord Pas de Calais in 2004 and the Hungarian Ministry of National Cultural Heritage in 2005)</i></p> |
| <p>11) Do you engage in fund-raising activities to obtain financial support from other institutions than the ones supporting you so far?</p> <p>Yes</p>   |
| <p><b>II) Cultural networks and the EU</b></p>  |
| <p>12) Which goals do you aim to achieve through your interest representation at the EU level?</p> <p>Supporting the implementation of Article 151 of the European Treaty giving culture a major role in all its action related to European construction, especially ensuring that culture is taken</p>   |

into account in other policy areas.

Supporting the principles of enhanced mobility and cross-border cultural cooperation applied within the EU and beyond.

Ensuring efficient, transparent and accountable management of all the culture actions of EU

Supporting the increase for EU financing of cultural actions

13) Who in the Executive Committee or the office is mainly responsible for leading your network's advocacy activities at the EU level?

The task is shared by EFAH's two permanent employees.

14) Which EU institutions have you been in contact with during the last three years?

European Commission: in particular Directorate General for Education and Culture but also Directorate General Regional Policy and Directorate General Social Policy.

European Parliament: Committee on Culture and Education and Temporary Committee on policy challenges and budgetary means of the enlarged Union 2007-2013 (FINPER)

European Economic and Social Committee (ECOSOC): NGOs liaison group

Committee of the Regions

15) How have you contacted the respective institutions (e.g. correspondence by phone, fax, e-mail; face-to-face consultation; contact at workshops and conferences; membership in/contact to advisory committees; other)? (please specify the institution)

EFAH takes part in public meetings, in organised events requiring registration and in formal consultation procedures. EFAH also communicate comprehensively by phone, email and letter and has numerous face-to-face meetings.

16) What has been the frequency of your contact to the respective institution? (please specify the institution)

Regular, often and daily contacts especially with the European Parliament and the European Commission.

17) Do you provide the EU institutions with studies, project reports, statements, initiatives, comments etc.? (please specify the document and the institution/s to which it was sent)

EFAH produces position papers on legislative proposals, commentaries and analyses of aspects of decision-making procedures, programme management issues and institutional initiatives.

18) Please describe shortly your main activities in relation to EU cultural policy during the last three years. Which issue/s has your network actively debated and commented upon? (please specify one to two issues)

EFAH monitors and seeks to influence any development related to EU cultural policy. Our thematic focus has been:

Culture and Social inclusion will be the emphasis of the EFAH's 2005 Annual Conference in Budapest ("Inclusive Europe: Culture democratisation and cultural democracy").

Culture and European Regions was the main focus of the 2004 EFAH Annual Conference (3 workshop themes: Region of the mind, Region of policy and regions of practices/publication of a preliminary research into regional cultural policy)

European Cultural Framework programme (C2007) EFAH produced evaluation and briefing papers on past and future proposals for the EU funding programme

19) Which specific goals did you aim to achieve in the respective case/s?

See answer 12

20) How did you discuss and formulate a common position concerning the respective case/s within the network (e.g. members' reaction to information sent out by the office; initiation of discussion and proposals by members themselves; open discussion at network meetings; other)?

EFAH positions are formulated on the initiative of the executive office, the board or members. Consultation with members are both formal (with deadlines) and informal depending on the nature of the position.

21) Which EU institutions did you contact in the respective case/s? How did you contact the respective institution?

EU Parliament and Commission in both cases

22) Which results did you achieve with your activities? Did you reach the goals you had set yourself?

We can demonstrate, for example, that in the case of the C2007 programme, the Commission took on board many of our recommendations. We are currently awaiting the Parliament report, which we know will also explicitly take up our budget recommendations.

23) In general, how do you estimate the capability of cultural networks to influence decision-making concerning European cultural policy at the EU level?

The EU increasingly recognises its responsibility to consult with organisations representing civil society, and European cultural networks take advantage of this trend. However, the EU still has some way to go in recognising the value and function of EU cultural networks.

## 1.2 European Network of Cultural Administration Training Centres (ENCATC)

Questionnaire filled in by GiannaLia Cogliandro, Secretary General of ENCATC,  
09.05.2005

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| <p><b>I) Information about the network</b></p>  |
| <p>1) What are the admission requirements for members?</p> <p>Here you will find the necessary requirements:<br/><a href="http://www.encatc.org/downloads/Membershipscheme.pdf">http://www.encatc.org/downloads/Membershipscheme.pdf</a></p>  |
| <p>2) Which members are most effective for your network in achieving its aims?</p> <p>The majority of our members contribute to reach our objectives. Of course each of them contributes according to their own local context and current priorities. Ex: One member can be extremely active one year and then being a “sleeping member” for the next one. One could help us in an efficient way once a year and another can be very very active but only in taking and not doing for. So as you see it is difficult to give you a clear answer about this point.</p> |
| <p>3) How do you decide on the admission of new members?</p> <p>Once the applicant sends us the application, the Board of ENCATC analyses the request and it can approve or reject it. From a legal point of view all the applications are endorsed by the General Assembly that meets once a year.</p>   |
| <p>4) Do you actively recruit new members? If yes, which kind of organisations do you approach?</p> <p>Yes. We approach all the institutions which are eligible according to our membership scheme. For this we organise national meetings, we attend many events, we invite potential members to our events, we try to invite potential members to have an active role during our events etc.. Also our Board is very active and it helps the central office by promoting our network at national level when they meet their colleagues.</p>                         |
| <p>5) How are the members of the Board appointed?</p> <p>They are elected by the General Assembly (Full members)</p>  |
| <p>6) What is the term of office of the Board?</p> <p>2 years</p>   |

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| <p>7) What is the task of the Board?</p> <p>The Board decides, the leading force of the association. It decides the working programme and the budget for its realisation (of course this is endorsed by the GA). It also appoints the Manager of the network. For the whole list of its tasks please see our Statutes in our website.</p>  |
| <p>8) What is the annual budget of your network? From which institutions do you receive grants to cover operational and project costs?</p> <p>In 2005 our total budget is about 115.000 Euro<br/>Funds comes from our members and the European Commission.</p>   |
| <p>9) Do you engage in fund-raising activities to obtain financial support for operational and project costs from other institutions than the ones supporting you so far?</p> <p>Yes. We are quite active in fundraising. Our projects are mainly supported by UNESCO, Council of Europe and the European commission.</p>  |
| <p><b>II) Cultural networks and the EU</b></p>   |
| <p>10) Which goals do you aim to achieve through your interest representation at the EU level?</p> <p>See in our network the document WHY to join us. You can find there a list of points including the answer to this.</p>  |
| <p>11) Who in the network's secretariat and/or board is mostly responsible for leading its advocacy action at the EU level?</p> <p>The Executive Director</p>  |
| <p>12) Which EU institutions have you been in contact with during the last three years?</p> <p>Commission and Parliament</p>   |
| <p>13) How have you contacted the respective institutions (e.g. correspondence by phone, fax, e-mail; face-to-face consultation; contact at workshops and conferences; membership in/contact to advisory committees; other)? (please specify the institution)</p> <p>European Commission and Parliament, UNESCO, : Correspondence by phone, fax, e-mail; face-to-face consultation; contact at workshops and conferences</p> |
| <p>14) What has been the frequency of your contact to the respective institution? (please specify the institution)</p> <p>Weekly basis for all of them</p>   |

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|--|
| <p>15) Do you provide the EU institutions with studies, project reports, statements, initiatives, comments etc.? (please specify the document and the institution/s to which it was sent)</p> <p>YES on regular basis</p>  |
| <p>16) Please describe shortly your main activities in relation to EU cultural policy during the last three years. Which issue/s has your network actively debated and commented upon? (please specify one to two issues)</p> <p>Please see our reports on line. You can find a session European Policy development.</p>   |
| <p>17) Which specific goals did you aim to achieve in the respective case/s?</p> <p>Please see our reports on line. You can find a session European Policy development.</p>  |
| <p>18) How did you discuss and formulate a common position concerning the respective case/s within the network (e.g. members' reaction to information sent out by the secretariat; initiation of discussion and proposals by members themselves; open discussion at network meetings; other)?</p> <p>Open discussions during our main events (Academies, workshops, annual assembly)</p> |
| <p>19) Which EU institutions did you contact in the respective case/s? How did you contact the respective institution?</p> <p>See previous points 12 &amp; 13</p>  |
| <p>20) Which results did you achieve with your activities? Did you reach the goals you had set?</p> <p>Please see our reports on line. Here you find a clear answer to your questions.</p>   |
| <p>21) In general, how do you estimate the capability of cultural networks to influence decision-making concerning European cultural policy at the EU level?</p> <p>I think that the last years demonstrated that networks were able to influence the EU policy. This is due mainly to the fact that networks are today more organised and they are also more professional.</p>          |

### 1.3 Informal European Theatre Meeting (IETM)

Questionnaire filled in by Katelijn Verstraete, Communication, Information and Training Officer of IETM, 21.04.2005

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| <p><b>I) Information about the network</b></p>  |
| <p>1) Please describe shortly the aims and mission of your network.</p> <p>SEE WEBSITE under 'about ietm'.</p>  |
| <p>2) What are the admission requirements for members?</p> <p>SEE ATTACHMENT</p>  |
| <p>3) Which members are most effective for your network in achieving its aims?</p> <p>see general text about what attitude is expected from members</p>   |
| <p>4) How do you decide on the admission of new members?</p> <p>we do internet search, research with other members from the same country, we don't stop people to become member, as this is an open network</p>   |
| <p>5) Do you actively recruit new members? If yes, which kind of organisations do you approach?</p> <p>not directly, discussion been on this issue. we ask board members to make a list of interesting people, and would then invited them to our conference<br/>sometimes as contributors to a working group, so they see how ietm works and makes them want to come. People who are willing to contribute in our conference, are the type of interesting members we need.<br/>we only approach organizations in contemporary performing arts...as is in our mission or for associate members, institutions like goethe...</p> |
| <p>6) How are the members of the Board appointed?</p> <p>see attachment</p>   |
| <p>7) What are the terms of office of the Board of Directors and of the Daily Board?</p> <p>BoD:<br/>DB: attachment</p>   |



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| <p>8) What are the tasks of the Boards?</p> <p>BoD:<br/>DB: see attachment</p>  |
| <p>9) Do you engage in fund-raising activities to obtain financial support for operational and project costs from other institutions than the ones supporting you so far?</p> <p>yes, we all got training on it and the general secretary intensive training<br/>most of our projects are outside found funding</p> |
| <p><b>II) Cultural networks and the EU</b><br/>The following questions were answered orally in the phone interview on April 28<sup>th</sup>, 2005</p>   |
| <p>10) Which goals do you aim to achieve through your interest representation at the EU level?</p>  |
| <p>11) Who in the network's secretariat and/or board is mostly responsible for leading its advocacy action at the EU level?</p>   |
| <p>12) Which EU institutions have you been in contact with during the last three years?</p>   |
| <p>13) How have you contacted the respective institutions (e.g. correspondence by phone, fax, e-mail; face-to-face consultation; contact at workshops and conferences; membership in/contact to advisory committees; other)? (please specify the institution)</p>   |
| <p>14) What has been the frequency of your contact to the respective institution? (please specify the institution)</p>  |
| <p>15) Do you provide the EU institutions with studies, project reports, statements, initiatives, comments etc.? (please specify the document and the institution/s to which it was sent)</p>   |
| <p>16) Please describe shortly your main activities in relation to EU cultural policy during the last three years. Which issue/s has your network actively debated and commented upon? (please specify one to two issues)</p>   |
| <p>17) Which specific goals did you aim to achieve in the respective case/s?</p>  |
| <p>18) How did you discuss and formulate a common position concerning the respective case/s within the network (e.g. members' reaction to information sent out by the secretariat; initiation of discussion and proposals by members themselves; open discussion at network meetings; other)?</p>                   |
| <p>19) Which EU institutions did you contact in the respective case/s? How did you contact the respective institution?</p>  |

20) Which results did you achieve with your activities? Did you reach the goals you had set?

21) In general, how do you estimate the capability of cultural networks to influence decision-making concerning European cultural policy at the EU level?

## 2 Interviews

### 2.1 European Forum for the Arts and Heritage (EFAH)

#### Interview with Ilona Kish, Secretary General of EFAH, 10.06.2005

LM: Are you in a rush or can I ask you a number of questions?

IK: I've got about half an hour.

LM: Sabine presented EFAH as a platform, a resource and an advocate. Could I first ask you about the terms? Would you call EFAH a *lobbying organisation*?

IK: Yes.

LM: Would you say that you represent your members?

IK: No, we try to represent cultural sector interests in general, as a sort of public sector lobby, but many of our members of course are representative of that. But we don't lobby on behalf of our members always. Sometimes we lobby on issues that our members don't work on.

LM: So it depends on whether you explicitly ask your members to express their views and then you would transmit them?

IK: Sometimes, yes.

LM: Okay. I'm mostly interested in your lobbying activities. Sabine has written that you've got regular contacts to the Commission, the EP, ECOSOC and the CoR and she mentioned that you're involved in formal consultation procedures. Could I ask you what kind of formal consultation procedures these are?

IK: There's on the one hand whenever the Commission would launch a formal consultation process and that could be, it can happen in a number of ways, they can have workshops, they can have questionnaires and all of that kind of things. We make sure that we do participate in all of those procedures on the first hand. There's recently set up an NGO Liaison Committee in the ECOSOC. We're a member of that and that's the sort of consultative lobby, so we work with that.

LM: What kind of a forum is that, this Liaison Committee?

IK: It's a cross-sector NGO meeting which meets five times a year and we're the only cultural member of that. We sit there as the cultural sector if you like, with environment and development and other sectors like that. There is not a lot of formal consultation in culture. Not a great deal but some. That's probably it. There's sometimes consultative hearings, but the cultural sector doesn't really have a formal consultation dialogue.

LM: So, would the new ECOSOC Liaison Group be the only formal consultation process? Because with the Commission you're not involved in regular contact, it depends on the Commission's invitations?

IK: No, we request to meet them, too. We normally meet with the Director General of EAC, twice a year: once with the members and once just me and the president. That's not part of the formal consultation process, it's because we want to tell him what we think and

the way things are going. And the same with other parts of the Commission as well. We have a lot of regular contact with the Commission.

LM: So it's not just the DG EAC that you're in contact with?

IK: Mostly. Pretty much mostly, yes.

LM: This Liaison Group: what is the purpose of it? Is it that through the ECOSOC you get your views into the proposals for legislation?

IK: Yes. The ECOSOC is a consultative body anyway. It means that we have an opportunity to give formal input into ECOSOC's opinions. So the ECOSOC would draft an opinion and the Liaison Committee is part of the consultative process for their opinion drafting.

LM: And it's quite new, hasn't it only been started lately?

IK: It's quite new, yes. It's only in September last year that it was established.

LM: Do you see there is potential in this channel?

IK: Yes. It's early days but it's interesting, definitely.

LM: I also found on your webpages this Civil Society Contact Group and I understood that that was still a different body?

IK: Yes. That's an informal network which kind of grew up of the work on the Constitution actually, so there you had sectoral platforms present and there were six official members of the Contact Group of which EFAH is one. So that's an informal meeting.

LM: Was that the group that tried to get the members of the Convention sensitised to cultural issues?

IK: No, it is a cross-sectoral group as well, it covers other policy areas apart from culture. Yes, there was also this aspect in that. But it was more about citizens' consultation of the civic convention, forum of the citizens. That's how that group started.

LM: Was that your way to be involved in the deliberations on the Constitution?

IK: No, the ECOSOC had a consultative forum there as well. There was a formal consultation procedure that took place in the Convention so that was sth. different.

LM: Were you actively involved in having this Art. 151 retained in the Constitution?

IK: Yes, we lobbied for that.

LM: Are you satisfied with the result? I read somewhere that the cultural sector is not satisfied with having it only as a supporting measure in the Constitution?

IK: Yes, I think reasonably satisfied. The term *supporting measures* is kind of a new term. What we'd like to see is cultural policy being strategically better recognised but we were pleased to have some mentions of culture in the preamble of the Constitution as well. Not that it matters now anyway.

LM: Yes, it's a big question mark now, the Constitution.

IK: Yes.

LM: And what about your contact to the European Parliament. Sabine wrote that it's mainly the Culture Committee and the FINPER that you're in contact with?

IK: At the moment, yes.

LM: But your contacts are not restricted to these two?

IK: It's more on a sort of project basis but really our key contact is the Culture Committee. And then FINPER, of course, because financial perspectives are happening at the moment, so if we were going to do a project that was really going into another Committee's policy area then we would cultivate contacts there but no, it is pretty much restricted to those two at the moment.

LM: Do you arrange personal audiences with specific members of the Committee?

IK: Yes, we talk to them all the time.

LM: Could you explain about the *70 cts*-campaign? Did you address the members of FINPER and the Culture Committee or in general all the members of the parliament?

IK: No, only the Culture Committee and FINPER. It wouldn't awake an interest in the rest of the members. It's a very complicated process, the voting process, but we had a meeting with the group coordinators at the Culture Committee and got their support for the initiative at group level and then we directly addressed the FINPER Committee because they were the ones that adopted the budgetary position.

LM: Has the FINPER taken into account your recommendations?

IK: To a limited extent. It was quite a confused process. It's a complicated process, it's a process of reporting and submitting amendments and the way it works is that you can ask somebody to put an amendment in for you but then lots of the members will put in their own amendments anyway. In fact in our case what happened was that there were several amendments relating to the cultural budget from several members put in, budget recommendations that were in line with our request. And then the rapporteur makes what's called a *compromise amendment* and the rapporteur elected to put in a specific budget figure which is quite unusual, maybe not what we would have wanted at this stage and recommended an increase but much less than we asked for. And that was the rapport that was adopted so the recommendation was for 500 mill. instead of 408 mill. So it's clear that we had an influence on increasing but not as much as we would have liked.

LM: I phoned IETM a couple of weeks ago and Katelijn Verstraete told me that EFAH encouraged all its members to write letters to members of the parliament. Was that exactly the situation in which you tried to influence those members that were preparing the amendments?

IK: Yes. About 80 letters were sent in 15 different languages. So that's good.

LM: So, is it in general that your members are quite actively responding to your campaign appeals?

IK: Yes. If it's a specific request like that.

LM: Okay. In the questionnaire Sabine also mentioned the Committee of the Regions. Is it only in specific cases that you contact them or when you organise conferences?

IK: Yes. Very rarely. We don't follow what they do at the moment.

LM: Do you see any problems in your contacts to the Commission specifically? Do you get information in time and is the Commission in general open to your proposals and to your recommendations?

IK: Yes, they are. In general the Commission is very open but in general the consultation process between the Commission and civil society is complicated. Always they're willing to have an opinion from us but it's difficult to know what they do with it because

that part of the process with them is not transparent. If they run a consultation process we don't know what the input is, we know what we tell them, we don't know what everybody else tells them so we don't know, we can see whether they take on board a recommendation from us but if they don't they don't say why or they don't say what other recommendations they've rejected. So that's not a fairly transparent process. And in our case the Commission won't pro-actively inform us, we're not a privileged, they don't do that with anybody though, they're quite poor communicating. So it's up to us to find out the information, to go and look for the information, it's that kind of thing. But that's the same for the Commission everywhere.

LM: Yes. Because that's what's also written in the *70cts*-campaign paper that you'd like to see more capacities of the Directorate General to get into contact and to organise consultation processes.

IK: Yes. That would be good.

LM: I asked Sabine whether you submit reports or statements to the EU institutions and she mentioned institutional initiatives. What did she mean by that?

IK: I don't know, I'm afraid. I'm not sure what she had in mind there.

LM: Okay. I also asked her whether she sees concrete results and there she put that in the case of the *Culture 2007*-programme the Commission took on board many of the recommendations. How did that process come into being? Did you send the briefing paper that you prepared on *Culture 2007* to the Commission and then on the basis of that they contacted you and reflected on that with you?

IK: No, they would never do that. The *Culture 2007* consultation was quite a long one and many of our members were involved in the consultation in various points and there was also a lot of discussions with various Commission officials at various points. The briefing paper is a kind of summary of a lot of that. Of course, it was formally presented to the Commission and at our request we had a discussion but then what they say is 'Thank you very much.' And then they shut the door and then they produce the paper, so that's how it works. But there were lots of recommendations, so lots of consultation documents went to the Commission including the official evaluations.

LM: Yes. So I could not have a look at the *Culture 2007*-programme now and there I could find directly where your recommendations have been taken into account?

IK: It's been a while since I've looked at it now. I can't remember. It's actually not over yet, that programme consultation, not at all because the Commission has made its first proposal, it's now with the parliament and it's that the parliament will put in next week its proposal. So I'm not sure if there is a really, really clear, specific recommendation. There was a lot the Commission didn't do which we would have liked to have seen them do and the reasons why they don't do that are complicated, financial, legal, whatever. Because the consultation was very broad it's very difficult to say whether it was this recommendation that made them do that. The recommendation may have come from many places, it's difficult to map.

LM: Yes. Also I asked about your members, in what way the members are involved in drawing policy papers or proposals and Sabine mentioned formal and informal deadlines for the members, to get in their answers and reactions. Do you set a deadline till when people can react and if they don't do that you can't integrate their answers to the papers you draw up?

IK: It depends. In the case of *Culture 2000* there were lots people who would have known a lot so that would have been a more informal consultation, they'd give us their opinions and then we'd prepare sth. A more formal one is when you ask for a sign-up. But we have a lot of members so we don't often do that since it's very difficult, you can't draft with a group of 80 people. So you ask people to agree or not to agree. And that happens a lot less often. And in that case then, it's very, very rare that we'll send our statement on behalf of all of EFAH but it will tend to be, we might have a specific issue which concerns a specific group and then we'll ask do they agree to the text and do they agree to sign the text and that's a different process.

LM: Yes. Was that for example the case with the *Parliamentary Platform*?

IK: Yes.

LM: So there you had a formal consultation?

IK: Yes.

LM: Are those often done at the General Assembly?

IK: No, because they tend to happen at other times of the year, via e-mail.

LM: Okay. Could I now ask you about your budget?

IK: Yes.

LM: Sabine wrote about which institutions you get funding from. Could I ask you what percentage of your budget is made up of membership fees and EU support and other possible grants?

IK: Yes. Roughly, 50% comes from the EU, about 15% comes from the members and then the rest comes from, so that's at least 20, 25%, and that comes from other grants, basically the remaining income. We have a grant from the European Culture Foundation, for example, and other bits and pieces. That's what's the split.

LM: Have you got financial support from the EU from the beginning, from '94?

IK: I think so, yes, but under a different funding line than it is today, it's changed, but yes.

LM: I've heard about the A-Lines. Can I always refer to them as *A-Lines* in my paper or do I have to write *B-Lines* also for some?

IK: No. You need to refer to them as *former A-Lines* because they're no longer A-Lines either. They were B-Lines, then they became A-Lines and in fact this year they probably should call for proposals and it's a competitive tendering process for the 2006 budget. So A-Lines is dismissed, over, this is the last A-Line year, 2005.

LM: I read about two possibilities: either the Commission makes the decision or the system of the A-Lines is kind of continued in that the parliament still decides which organisations get this support. Were you involved in advocacy to get your views on this through?

IK: Yes. We lead that work actually, to a great extent. About 15 of our members receive that funding, so it's quite important for them.

LM: Did you drive that line that a normal call for tenders would be the best?

IK: Yes. Although .... (bad recording) some of our members preferred the parliamentary system for these reasons but we felt that a call for tenders would be more democratic.

LM: It will be more competitive also.

IK: Yes.

LM: Do you see any problems for EFAH, do you see EFAH will get the same amount of money from the Commission from 2006?

IK: No. I don't see long term structural problems but it's a very complicated case because there was a three years budget voted of which 2006 is the last year but when the budget was voted the tender wasn't foreseen and there was lots of compromise budgets made which meant that actually the total amount available went down. In fact 2005 was 20% less than 2004 and 2006 will be again 20% less than 2005. So the total amount available in 2006 is much less than it was in 2004. So for the 2005 budget every organisation already had a 20% cut in that grant and it's likely to be the same again next year. So we'll certainly receive less money next year. And that will unfortunately create a sort of precedent or base line for future year funding so I think it will be difficult for us to get more funding from that grant in the future. We're a very eligible organisation for that funding, of course, but that's not guaranteed of course, it's a problem for us. We've lost 45 000 Euros.

LM: That's a big sum. So from 2007 when the operational support will be integrated in the new *Culture*-programme you don't foresee better funding possibilities?

IK: No, I really don't.

LM: And have you had any possibility to advise the Commission on setting up these evaluation criteria?

IK: In that case we're giving an opinion which I'm working on today actually, funny enough, but it was one where the Commission had to say that we weren't allowed to have a discussion about it because we're obviously a biased participant in this case. So we can put in a written position but not an informal one, we can't discuss it with them. The Commission has not set up a consultation process for this, there's no formal consultation. We'll give our opinion anyway, I'd give it in writing, but the Commission hasn't foreseen a formal consultation process.

LM: Are you cooperating with other networks on this issue for example, or on other issues?

IK: Yes, we are. Typically because many of our network members receive this funding we've got cooperation on that.

LM: Yes. Also Sabine mentioned that you're engaged in fundraising activities. Which other institutions are you aiming at in the future in this regard?

IK: We're looking at more foundation funding, if possible, and looking at ways to have more sustainable funding via increasing membership and different types of membership structures, maybe more institutional members for example. That's sth. we're trying to explore at the moment. We're working on that.

LM: Could I ask you about your membership now? I found in your documents that you'd like to develop a more diverse membership. Which regions are not represented in your network at the moment?

IK: It's a difficult question because many of our members are European networks. So they have members across the geographical spread. The under-represented regions are the same for many areas which is Southern Europe and the new member states. But that reflects to some extent the development of the civil society infrastructure and



associations. So there's two areas where I'd like to see more participation, definitely. 60% of our members are in Western Europe, 40% elsewhere. But that's because the governments of those countries tend to support networks and foundations better so that's why they're there.

LM: Pardon, they tend to support networks...?

IK: ...better, e.g. we've got at least ten members in Holland because the Dutch government has a funding system for European networks in Holland but the Hungarian government doesn't. So it's harder for us to have a member in Hungary than it is in Holland. But the members in Holland may also be running transnational networks anyway. So the geographical location of our members isn't so critical. Maybe some sectors are more under-represented, we don't have many visual arts members for example, we don't have very many members in the heritage sector for example. There's specific reasons in each case why that is. That would be sth. for us to focus on as well.

LM: But so far you haven't introduced any specific measures to get under-represented sectors more involved?

IK: Specific measures is difficult. It's a small community to a great extent and a lot of it is about discussions, informal relationships, e.g. I have a board member who happens to be on a visual arts organisation so I'm in discussion with them about what would help them to participate and whether they would want to or not want to join EFAH and why. But we haven't ever had a formal membership drive yet. We don't have a formal membership recruitment plan yet. We've never really done that. It's more kind of open policy and letting people come to us rather than we would go and look for people. And that's partly a time and resource question to be honest. It's sth. I'd like to do but doing it in the right way it would require quite a lot of work.

LM: Yes. So, at the moment interested organisations are approaching you and then you decide whether they're eligible or not to become member?

IK: Yes.

LM: I didn't find any information about membership fees. Are there different fees for full-fledged and associate members or don't you make any differentiation there?

IK: We do. I'll send you a membership form and that will help you. I decided not to put it on the website because, as I say, membership is upon approval. Mostly people make contact with us, we have a discussion and then I send them a membership form with more information but that will change in the future, I'll change that. We're putting a new website on-line actually later this year and that will have more complete membership information. I'll send you a membership form. At the moment it's all very simple, it's based on turn-over of the organisation, so ability to pay. And there are three bands of membership fees. That's it and individual members, it's pretty simple. I'm probably going to put a new membership structure in place next year which will be much more complicated.

LM: So then you would not have this band system anymore?

IK: No, we'll do it differently. Probably in terms of type of organisation and other things.

LM: Okay. You were talking about the structural reasons why some organisations are not becoming members because there's not enough funds. Are there also attitude problems, that e.g. in the South or in Eastern Europe organisations prefer to work in small and local networks?

IK: Possibly. I think that's more likely in Southern Europe. In Eastern Europe it's more a question of basic infrastructure development. Post-communist countries don't have very strong civil society and association structures yet. That's still a developing sector. I think it's different per region, it's more in the South, it's more insular. The new member states are much more keen to cooperate but they just don't have the structures yet. But in the South it's more a question of insularity and maybe less willingness or less awareness about cooperating. That's a very general statement though. It's certainly not the case all the time. I think sometimes the Scandinavians find it harder to..., Scandinavia has a very strong association culture, lots of people join associations in Scandinavia and they don't in other countries, for lots of reasons and particularly in the South apparently.

LM: Yes. But at least I can say that differences are visible in attitudes.

IK: Yes, I think that's possible. You want to be careful about cultural stereotyping if you want to say why but there is broad trends not just in the cultural sector either. Many people who are on associations have said that they struggle with participation from Southern countries for example.

LM: So now when I still talk about members can I ask you how big is the percentage of members that take part in the General Assembly?

IK: It tends to be about 60%. It depends from year to year.

LM: Have I understood it right that there is one General Assembly per year?

IK: Yes.

LM: So membership meetings are held twice a year and then one of them would have the General Assembly integrated in it?

IK: No. There's one members' General Assembly. From time to time we organise members' meetings on a national basis but that's on an *ad hoc* basis. If there's a reason to do it or there's a member in that particular country who really wants to do sth. and so on.

LM: In general when organising these meetings, do you normally have one of your members who's there and with whom you're organising it?

IK: Yes. I have a local partner.

LM: So, also for this next General Assembly in Budapest? Do you also have one of your members who is local there?

IK: Yes.

LM: I read about EFAH's subgroups and you were mentioning them also. How do these subgroups work?

IK: If we have a particular topic that we want to produce a paper about or an opinion about we'll ask among the members who is interested in working on that, typically maybe four, five key contributors and then we'll agree on what the time frame is, what the purpose of the group is, is it to prepare a lobbying statement etc. and then we'll agree on a sort of drafting committee and either have a mailing group or phone conferences from time to time and then try and meet them together at the General Assembly to discuss it.

Lisa, I have to finish up. Is there anything else really urgent?

LM: No, there is just one question about the future of EU cultural policy. What do you think, what can EU future cultural policy do what is not done by the member states?

IK: There's two aspects to consider. One is I don't think you should look at it in terms of what national member states can do or can't do because that's not only the logic of the EU. You have the federating and coordinating function of course but I think in culture on the one hand it's about promoting transnational cooperation and that's where the EU cultural policy has the key role to play. On the other hand within the EU policy itself it's about looking at all of EU policy as an integrated whole and, this could be a question for national cultures as well, is having cultural policy play a more central role in that. So that when you have a development policy you're also talking about the cultural aspects of that development policy. And that's the second goal, it's to have a more integrated policy at EU level across the policy areas. That's the two most important things, I think.

LM: Okay. Thank you very much. I'll send you the transcription.

IK: Please. And also do send us the paper when you've written it as well.

LM: Yes, I will.

IK: You put a lot of effort into this and we'd really like to see it.

LM: Yes, for sure I will do it.

IK: Okay. Thank you very much, Lisa.

LM: Thank you very much. Bye.

IK: Bye.

## 2.2 European Network of Cultural Administration Training Centres (ENCATC)

### Interview with GiannaLia Cogliandro, Secretary General of ENCATC, 09.06.2005

LM: Thank you very much for all the information you've sent me so far. Would it be okay if I ask you in a bit more detail about the answers you gave and if I then ask you some other questions about the network?

GC: Yes, okay.

LM: Okay. I read the mission of ENCATC again and thought about what I should call ENCATC. In the mission, with regard to the activities of ENCATC at the EU level it said *advising European bodies on education and training policies in the field of cultural administration* and *representing the interest of European cultural administration training centres at a European level*. I also found *contribute to a broad debate on cultural policy*. So, would you call your network a *lobbying organisation*?

GC: Yes, we're European because the members of it who set up this network in '92, they were at that time all from European, in the sense of political type, they all belonging to the European space because of course there is always this difference between what you call European, if it is the 25 member states or if it is in geographical terms. So, in our network we use the definition *European* in geographical space so this is also because you can see that we have Russian, we have Serbian, Montenegro, we have many countries which don't belong to the European Union. So we're European in the sense that we welcome in our network all these structures which belong to this European space in geographical terms.

Do we have to extend and welcome in a very active way people and institutions from America, from Africa and so on or should we focus our reflection at European level? We discuss very often this dilemma. But it is difficult to find a good compromise. And just because otherwise you never can go deeply in the discussion and it's very difficult to address all the questions that you have in such a geo-political level so it was a very clever choice at that time but also today because in our discussions it's always a question first to understand and be understood between each other. So this is why we decided that still we have to keep our priorities at a European level.

It is also important to stress that we are co-financed by the European Union. This means that the 'European dimension' needs to be demonstrated in order to have the right to get funds from the European budget.

Today this discussion is a hot topic for many networks. Should we remain European or should start to be global. What does it mean today to be European in a globalising world?

LM: Yes. So your focus is still on the European level. And could I ask you: what do you call your network? Do you say it is an *advocacy network* or is it a *lobbying organisation*?

GC: ENCATC is first of all a platform where our members can exchange expertise, they can find partners, they can know what's going on in the other European countries. However, when we meet each other we find that some problems, some concerns are the same in different countries, so we try to show these concerns at European level. For a question of time, in these last years we didn't have a lot of opportunities to do lobbying. We are a

small office so we can't address all the activities that we would like to do so we are currently focusing our time mainly on information exchange, best practice exchange, people moving, then advocacy. Today I think that the lobby activity is five percent of our time. However we contribute to the enhancement of culture and education in Europe since we are partner of EFAH and we know that because they are an advocacy network they could do this lobbying better than us. Maybe this will change in the future since we feel now that it is important to advocate more for a better recognition of the role of cultural managers and of the management itself in Europe.

LM: Yes. So you're only sometimes in contact with the EU?

GC: No. We work on a daily basis with the European Union for different reasons. We have a good and strong cooperation partnership with them. For instance representatives from the DG EAC take part to our activities on regular basis, they come to all our meetings. You told you already took a look to the website, you see that we have at least one major conference once a year and then we have an academy once a year and two workshops once a year. During all these activities the Commission works with us, they come from all the different departments because sometimes it's the cultural department, sometimes the education department, so they really work closely. Even I can say that THEY correspond with US, they send us material, they prepare with us the workshops and so on. But this is different than lobby. To summarise: we work sometimes with the Commission at political level, i.e. the cabinet, but we work on regular basis with the Commission in order to implement our working programme, i.e. our activities and events.

LM: So when you're in contact with the Commission on a daily basis, does that mean that you invite members of the Commission to take part in your events?

GC: Yes, well, it's not just inviting them, just asking them 'What are you doing in this field? What is your position in this field? Could you please send me the documents that you prepare?' Then we present our programme or we ask them 'What do you think about this?' And then some part of the programme they are prepared in cooperation with them, then they also come. It's not just making a phone call asking 'Do you want to come in our events?' and that's it. So it's really working with them, finding with them all the documents that are available at this level, read together, find how we can prepare a specific part of the workshop with them, what do they bring to us, what can we bring to them and so on. And also we're financed partly by the Commission, there is also all these bureaucratic parts of filling in documents, sending them, mid-term, final report and so on.

LM: When you prepare a workshop together with them, do the members of the Commission also take part in the workshop?

GC: Yes, they also take part. As I said to you, it's not a question just to come but also to shape workshops together.

LM: Yes. Could you give me an example? So e.g. the workshop on the Bologna process?

GC: For the Bologna conference, now we invited the Commission, of course, it has to be confirmed, together with the member states, so we have two days in all for this workshop. And we invited to this workshop the Commission of course but also the other major stakeholders. So we already contacted the DG Education and Culture that leads the Bologna process and we ask them 'This is what we wanted to do, what you have as the main documents to send to us?' So they send us their main documents, we read these

documents and we contact them and say ‘Okay, there is this point that we would like, that you can stress during our workshop.’ But not only, ‘We would also like because we noticed that our members have several difficulties in building joint programmes, we would like that you come and explain also how to work with the programme that you set up to facilitate the mobility of students’ and so on. So this is the way in which we try to work with them.

LM: Yes. Is that the workshop that will come this year in December?

GC: Yes.

LM: Okay. And do you also plan to prepare a policy paper and to give to the Commission?

GC: Yes.

LM: Could I ask you about the recommendations in this paper? Are they recommendations which you have discussed with all your members?

GC: Yes. These recommendations will be the outcome of the workshops that will be organised in Grenoble. This workshop is the end point of a series of workshops that we have already organised on the same subject in other countries. So it’s a kind of a process because of course it’s not just one workshop of two days that can bring a very good political document. It’s really the result of a series of collecting information at national level, at European level.

LM: Yes. I found that your member organisations were not satisfied with the *Culture 2000*-programme because some could not get access to the programme because they were referred to the education programme instead, is that right?

GC: Where did you find this because this I didn’t see. The whole cultural sector is not satisfied with this programme. Our members are mainly universities or training centres, so they rarely apply for funds under *Culture 2000*. But of course they know the content of the programme, they know the philosophy of the programme, so probably they express from time to time concern about the policy, the vision that is behind the programme itself.

LM: Okay. So when your members apply for grants from the European Union they apply for the education programmes?

GC: Yes, because the members of ENCATC are universities, training centres, educational centres, researchers, etc., so they’re much more interested in programmes that allow them the mobility of students/teachers/researchers such as: Comenius, Lingua, Erasmus, Mundi-Erasmus. And they really apply for grants under these programmes.

LM: Do your members also tell you whether they see problems with these educational programmes?

GC: Yes. There are very few things that come up to my mind now, for instance when we discussed about these joint European programmes that they try to set up, for instance they told me that they have a lot of difficulties in the exchange of students because sometimes the period of the universities, they don’t correspond country by country. For instance, if they want to send their students from France to Germany, when the schools finish in Germany they start in France and the other way around. So from a practical point of view there are these really practical difficulties in the organisation of these exchanges. Also they found difficulties in getting the right partners, they don’t have this knowledge of who is the same organisation, which they can trust and share with them

their programmes, for instance. And this is the value of our network because we have a kind of overview and so we can give them some contacts of people that we know that are valuable and then they have similar programmes. Just a few hours ago I was answering to a colleague from France asking me that she wants to establish a joint Master in the UK and Spain if I can send her some suggestions, for instance. So this is sth. that we do on a regular basis.

LM: So you give advice about which other university could act as a partner.

GC: Yes, ENCATC, in this specific case plays the role of mediator.

LM: Could I now come back to your contact to the Commission? Do you transmit to the Commission the opinions of your members, e.g. on the educational programmes and also on the Bologna process?

GC: As I told you this is the idea, at the end to prepare a policy paper that we hand to the Commissioner. So we collect all this information and after, so in this case it will be in December after the workshop in Grenoble to hand a policy paper to the Commissioner but also of course to the director of the DG Education. Last year also we did a workshop on Bologna and the final report with all the recommendations we also sent to the Commission. So of course when we do this kind of exercise we also try to present our ideas and concerns to the Commission. So this we do.

LM: Yes. And in the questionnaire I asked you about whether you think the cultural networks can influence the decision-making. And now with regard to the Bologna process, have you found that the Commission takes into account your opinions and your views?

GC: I'm sure that they read our document since we had some discussions later on. It is always very difficult to verify if it was thanks to us that things changed.

LM: And do you think that your contact to the EU Commission is working well?

GC: Yes. We have good relations and contacts with the DG EAC

LM: And the administration is open to your recommendations?

GC: Yes. We have a very good contact with them, they really like our job, they appreciate the quality of our job since the beginning, so on that we're very lucky. So when they get a paper from us they trust. They take on board, at least they listen to what we said, so this is a good feeling that we have.

LM: So for the future, there is no need for any improvement?

GC: You can always do better.

LM: Okay. Could I now ask you about your contact with the European Parliament? I found in your activity report that you're every month in the European Parliament.

GC: Yes, so this is sth. that on the contrary we did always, since the beginning in a very good way for different reasons. For us is important to present our activity to the MEPs. As for all the other European networks financed by the Commission, for ENCATC it is very important to be known by the EP Cultural Committee members in order to have the chance to be in their *shopping list*. This means 'list of networks recognised as efficient and active by the members of the CC of the Parliament'.

LM: Do you take part in the meetings of the Culture Committee?

GC: They're open meetings. Everybody can attend these meetings.

LM: Do you have the chance to speak up yourself in those meetings and to give comments?

GC: No. The rule is that you can attend the meeting organised by the Committees of the parliament but you cannot take the floor unless you did a specific request to the head of the Committee previously. This is very exceptional.

LM: So if you want to present your ideas and comments to the members of the European Parliament you have to organise your own policy dialogue or sth. similar?

GC: You can always take the opportunity of these CC meetings to meet at the end of the session one or several MEPs. They are in Brussels quite often and they can receive you without any problem.

LM: Yes. Has ENCATC done that also?

GC: Yes.

LM: I have heard about this shopping list before. Are you referring to the A-Line?

GC: Yes, it's the A-Lines. But they're not called *A-Lines* anymore, it's *B-sth.*, but everybody still continues to call them the *A-Lines*. I just say that because if you need a precise terminology for your *mémoire fin d'études* they're not A-Lines anymore so you can call them *x-lines* but yes, this is the budget line.

LM: Yes. And since when you have got this support from the EU?

GC: 2001.

LM: Do you think you will continue to get this support in the future?

GC: Nobody knows what will happen in the future.

LM: Okay. Could I ask you about your budget and about your finances?

GC: Yes.

LM: What percentage of your budget is made up of the contributions from your members?

GC: Yes. 60% of our budget is money coming from our membership fees. And about 40% of the budget comes from the Commission.

LM: Are you supported by the Commission in different ways or is it this general support that you get in the framework of the B-Lines?

GC: No. What is really exceptional in these B-Lines is that you get funds for your operating costs. You know that the Commission always gives grants to projects but never to operating costs of structure so I should say that the exceptional thing of these B-Lines is that for the first time at the European level you have some money that goes for your operational costs (staff, phone, rent etc..)

LM: So these 40% you were talking about are support for the operational costs?

GC: Absolutely, yes. You have your budget, and we take when we present our final report, 40% for the Commission.

LM: And do you also get support, grants for specific projects you do?

GC: Yes.

LM: Could I ask you how you have financed the ENCATC activities at the beginning?

GC: With the membership fees of our members.



LM: Okay. You wrote in the questionnaire that you're always active to get funds raised from somewhere.

GC: Yes, absolutely. That's one of our tasks.

LM: Which institutions do you address? You mentioned UNESCO, the Council of Europe and the European Commission that support your projects. Will you also address other institutions?

GC: Yes, the European Cultural Foundation.

LM: Do you plan to address or approach other foundations or institutions for support in the future?

GC: Yes, we're working on a list of foundations and institutions where we can apply for funds. Of course, we know very well all these methods, you cannot address foundations that act at national level.

LM: I found on your website that you have different categories of membership and there I found that you also have a category which is for so-called *supporting members*.

GC: Yes, that we don't have yet. We don't have yet any supporting members.

LM: So this category is there in order to give you a framework.

GC: Yes.

LM: Yes. Could I now ask you sth. about *Eurocult* and then about your members?

GC: Yes.

LM: Great. I found on your website that you're involved in the implementation of EU programmes. And you've just mentioned this *Eurocult*.

GC: *Eurocult*, yes. But it's not programme, it's project.

LM: Okay. I would be interested to know how ENCATC has participated in this project.

GC: In two ways: One that we've been part of the scientific committee, that means that we attended all the scientific committee meetings giving our expertise on cultural policy, cultural research or the different topics that were addressed during these scientific committee meetings. So this is one level and the second level was the dissemination of results. Our network is in a very privileged situation because we're in contact with so many members in 35 countries so we can really disseminate the outcome of any European projects easily. So our role was to publish on our website and in our newsletter the results of the project as well as to stimulate our members to use this project.

LM: Yes. So none of your members has itself participated in this *Eurocult21*-project?

GC: No, our members were invited to join the project also on personal basis. For instance our president from the University of Barcelona, attended many meetings, he gave information and his expertise, helping the project partners to define the indicators of culture at local level. All the board of ENCATC was also involved in the sense that we discussed our role and our participation and our position during our board meetings. So at least there are seven other people informed and giving advice and in some specific case we asked the advice of a specific member.

LM: Have you found that your members are interested in this *Eurocult*-project?

- GC: Part of them, yes. Part of them, they use the results of this project in their programmes and they read the outcome and so on. Of course, our membership, they're all unified by the interests of the cultural management but they're divided in subcategories, some are more interested in cultural industries, some are interested in cultural policies, some are interested in heritage and so on. The members that were interested in the project were the ones that are interested in cultural policy because this was the focus of the project. So, there are always in some way a percentage of the members. So we never can attract all our members in a topic.
- LM: Yes. Have I understood this correctly that you took part in the *Eurocult*-project by giving your expertise and helping with the dissemination of the project results?
- GC: Yes.
- LM: Okay. Do you know whether the Commission is continuing to deal with urban cultural policies, is the Commission using the results of this project in a specific way?
- GC: Yes, I think so. There were two parts in your question. If the Commission is continuing to work on cultural policy. Yes, because there is a mission on that and there is a specific unit working on this. They're very much involved in urban policy, it's one of their priorities. What was exceptional in this project was that it was a research project with this urban angle that for the first time was dealing with culture because usually in this *City of Tomorrow*-framework of the research programme you always have projects dealing with environment issues, transport issues, research issues on e.g. the protection of heritage, yes, this you have for instance, but you don't have a reflection about cultural policy at urban level. So this was the exceptional point of this project. The Commission was very interested in the project implementation and they attended all the meetings organised by these people, even people from the urban audit attended many project meetings. So it was a really very, very strong exchange, learning from practitioners and they were present, so I'm sure they took on board many of these ideas of realities that were discussed during this project.
- LM: Did the main cooperation partners of *Eurocult* address you and ask you whether you could take part or did you ask yourself?
- GC: Before joining ENCATC I was running the cultural committee of EUROCITIES and I was the one who wrote the project and who discussed with the Commission the finances of the project and so on. When I was there I was looking at the time for partners able to disseminate easily at university level the results of the project. This is why ENCATC is one of the partners of the project. Later on I moved from EUROCITIES to ENCATC
- LM: I understand because EUROCITIES was also very involved in this project.
- GC: They're the project leader. The project finished last march 2005 but it will continue in the framework of EUROCITIES.
- LM: Okay, so then I've got a lot of information about this project.
- GC: Yes, but you can find everything on the EUROCITIES website.
- LM: Yes, I've had a look, it's an enormous website.
- GC: Yes.
- LM: I also found another project in your activity report, it was called *Culture Capital Creation*. I'd like to know whether this project is a part of a larger curriculum development project or what kind of project is it?

GC: It's a project that was started by the Business School in Copenhagen under the framework of the *Leonardo da Vinci*-programme. Once again we were invited for the role that we have of dissemination of results but again since the first meeting it was clear that the expertise that we had was extremely high compared to all the participants. So in this way in the end our role was really to bring them all the expertise and contact that we have on this specific topic. We had four members following very closely this project, attending meetings, evaluating, preparing questionnaire forms, so each of them was chosen in relation to the expertise they have.

LM: Has this project already come to an end?

GC: Yes, it finished in March and the result is that they set up a joint programme bringing together all these funds from the project that will be run by the Business School in Copenhagen.

LM: Okay. I had thought that this workshop that is being organised in Helsinki in September about setting up a new programme for...

GC: But this is not the same. This is two different things. *Culture Capital Creation* is a project and the workshop in Helsinki is one of the training activities that we offer to our members. So they're completely separated things. So *Culture Capital Creation* is a two-year project that has finished in March and it has its own life cycle and so on. And this workshop in Helsinki is one of our annual activities, it's the training that we provide to our members.

LM: So this workshop in Helsinki is not connected to any programme?

GC: No. If you are free you can join us in Helsinki.

LM: Thank you.

Are you at the moment involved in any other EU funded project?

GC: No, for the moment we're not, we have just submitted, as partner, two applications but we will get the results end of June. So, we'll see but not at present.

LM: Yes, now when you talk about these two applications, I remember that I have read sth. about a project called *Networks as learning experience*?

GC: Yes, this is one, the other one is the organisation of workshops on training people working in architecture.

LM: Yes.

Now I'd like to ask you about your members. I've read that ENCATC was particularly interested in reinforcing the network and to get new members from Central and Eastern European countries. In one of your activity reports you write that you encourage the active participation of institutions from these countries. In which way have you tried to get new members from the new member countries of the EU?

GC: What we did is organising last year a conference in Poland and of course when we organise conferences we always look to potential members in the area. And this was a paying experience because we got several new members from Poland and the Visegrad-countries. So this was very positive and I have to say that now our concern is not so much Eastern Europe that is, of course we don't have all, but we have many organisations but now we're mainly concerned, especially this year, from the South of Europe because we miss members in Italy, Spain and Portugal. As usual it's really a question of time. We should contact them, present the network and so on. The reasons of

not having more members in these countries are many but mainly I should say first, because they don't know us and our activities and second, because it's not in the mentality of this area, the South of Europe, to network. So it's normal that in all the networks we have many members from north and central Europe than the South. The North of Europe invests a lot in networking activities. The budget that the educational sector has for travel costs is quite high compared to the South regions where it's quite zero.

LM: Do organisations from Central and North European countries get more grants and funds from institutions or from ministries?

GC: Yes. For people from Central and Eastern Europe as well as from Nordic countries it is much easier to get grants for mobility.

LM: Okay. So if you think about the reasons, it's mainly the structural problems?

GC: Yes.

LM: Do you think you've got a good representation of members from the new EU member states?

GC: Yes.

LM: And concerning your membership fees: Is it right that each year you decide anew on the membership fee?

GC: No, it's not right. The decision on that is taken by the General Assembly and for instance this year we raised up the membership fees but it was last time three years ago. This is according to the inflation. So it's not each year.

LM: Okay. Have you ever thought of reductions for specific members?

GC: We do what we call *matching grants* for members from Central Europe with difficulties in paying the full membership..

LM: Yes. Talking about how active your members are, I have found that you have set up a working group on the Bologna process last summer. Could I ask you about this working group? How does it work and how many members does it have?

GC: So, how does it work: There is a working group leader, that is Mireille Pongy, from the University of Grenoble. So it's mainly an electronic exchange of information and then they meet on a regular basis but for the moment it's not too often. They meet for instance at the national level three, four times a year and this year they met in Potsdam and they will meet again on a physical level in Grenoble in December. So it is sth. that started at the end of last year, so it is still in the process and at present we have more or less ten members that are active but of course all our members are interested by the topic. So this is it.

LM: Will this working group contribute a lot to the policy paper that you're planning to prepare?

GC: Yes, this is also the aim. But this is the final aim and the visible one I should say, but actually what is really important is to try to find solutions to common problems. So they meet together and say 'We've got this problem in Germany, you found this to solve this problem', so this is what they really discuss about, just to know what they did in this country or how they solved sth. but then, these are discussions. At the end what is the most visible task of this is a policy paper.

LM: And is the working group also informing the other members of ENCATC about the results?

GC: Yes.

LM: Are there any other working groups at the moment?

GC: No, because it was not in the structure in the past but it's sth. that I think we will try to develop in the future.

LM: So this is the first time that you've started a working group?

GC: In such a structured way, yes.

LM: For what reason are you planning to set up more working groups?

GC: Our members, are all interested in cultural management. However each of them has a specific interest in a specific area, e.g. heritage, museums, tourism etc.. Thanks to the working groups people that are close by interest in a specific area they can meet on a regular basis so they can address specific subjects and they can have all the necessary time for deepening the debate.

LM: So it's because sometimes at the Annual Conference there is not enough time to go into detail?

GC: Each year the topic of the Annual Conference is different so for instance this year we had *The value of culture*. If one of the members is interested in a very specific topic, let's say cultural tourism, he could not find anything about this specific topic.

LM: Yes. And how big a percentage of your members are taking part in the Annual Conference and in the General Assembly?

GC: Let's say 70% is the percentage of our members coming.

LM: And then there are the other meetings and events in the course of the year, these workshops and national meetings...

GC: Yes.

LM: How do you get the ideas of which workshop is regarded as necessary?

GC: The activities organised by ENCATC are proposed by our members directly and discussed and approved by the Board.

LM: And do you think that the internal working of your network is sufficient to answer to the needs and the wishes of the members?

GC: No. We are two full-time people and from time to time we have one stagiaire. It is evident that we cannot answer to everything. There are ambitions and there is a reality and we try to face as we can to close the gap between these two extremes.

LM: Yes. And do you get a lot of feedback from your members?

GC: Yes, our members are very satisfied, so this is true.

LM: Okay. Now I've only got one more question about your cooperation with other networks and organisations in the field of culture and education.

GC: We are very active with EFAH and we have a close look to the activities of the major networks at European level. So again, it's a question of time, we cannot attend their meetings, events on regular basis but many of them are based in Brussels so we have

very frequent meetings or contacts and so on. The only network that we follow really closely, attending their General Assembly and their major events, is EFAH.

LM: Are you also taking part in campaigns that EFAH is initiating?

GC: Yes..

LM: Yes. Also I found that ELIA is also very involved in the Bologna Process.

GC: Yes. People from ELIA are always invited to our conferences/events to share with us the results of their own research, actions etc.. But we address two different levels, so they're mainly primary school till final of secondary school and we come after. So this is the big difference.

LM: So you've got different target groups.

GC: Yes, but of course we're concerned for many common problems.

LM: Yes. But there has not been any project in which you have cooperated?

GC: No.

LM: Okay. At the end, could I ask you for some documents?

GC: Yes. Normally all our documents are published on our website. We try to do that, just to avoid to waste time, unless you have a very specific document but I don't see which document you could be looking for that is not on our website.

LM: Would it be possible to have a look at your budget?

GC: I will send you one only for your personal information.

LM: Yes. I would have a look at it to compare the budgets of the different networks that I focus on.

GC: Of course. Yes, I will send to you and just you can speak about percentages and so on but not to publish it as it is since it needs to be discussed internally by the Board.

LM: Yes, that's great. And I suppose that the new board will be on the internet soon?

GC: Yes, my assistant is working on it. It's just a question of technicalities. He already asked that to our website provider to update. So it will be in tomorrow or at least on Monday you will have everything on the website.

LM: Great.

GC: Yes. So is your final work in English or in German?

LM: It will be in English.

GC: Ah, so would you mind to send it because I would be interested also to take a look.

LM: Yes, of course. I will send it to you as soon as it is finished and I will send you the transcription of this interview for you to check if there is sth. which is not correct.

GC: If there is sth. to add or to change. Okay. Thank you. Have a nice final job and we will stay in contact.

LM: Thank you very much for taking time for this interview.

GC: It's a pleasure.

LM: Bye, bye.

## 2.3 Informal European Theatre Meeting (IETM)

### 2.3.1 Interview with Mary Ann De Vlieg, Secretary General of IETM, 30.05.2005

LM: Katelijn talked about EFAH and IETM and said that EFAH was far more engaged in advocacy action before EFAH was founded. According to her EFAH had taken over a lot of IETM's work.

MD: We should be very precise about the language we use and how we describe events. IETM is one of several founders of EFAH. EFAH was founded quite precisely because there was a need for a different kind of a group, a platform for all the arts, not only the performing arts like IETM. We needed something which would have the principal and unique role of bringing all the sector together and being a voice for all of the arts on the European level, directed at the supranational institutions. So EFAH did not take over work that IETM or any other organisation was doing, although at that time, IETM was very active in voicing the needs and concerns of the contemporary performing arts sector. IETM and other organisations founded EFAH so that there could be one organisation which was totally dedicated to that work. A very positive move and indeed it happened in a very positive way.

LM: So now, when you get into contact with EU institutions you do it in your function as Vice-President of EFAH rather than saying you're from IETM?

MD: It depends on the circumstance. Sometimes I'm there to speak on behalf of the contemporary performing arts, sometimes to speak on behalf of contemporary arts in the Mediterranean because I'm also a founder of the Roberto Cimetto Fund and have been quite active in Euro-Mediterranean issues. Sometimes I'm speaking on behalf of the whole sector in my role as Vice-President of EFAH; for many years I was a sort of unofficial spokesperson in EFAH for all the networks and wrote many discussion and advocacy documents on networks.

LM: Could I first ask you about terms? Katelijn wanted to make sure I don't call IETM a *lobbying organisation*, so that I retain that term for EFAH. Would you agree on that?

MD: Yes, in EFAH we don't use the word *lobby*, we use *advocacy*. *Lobby* is translated in different ways in different languages and can have a quite pejorative meaning. In the United States it involves a lot of money to influence influential people - people see it as almost corrupt. In EFAH we say *advocacy* which is also difficult linguistically but it is much softer. It signifies the voicing of the cultural sector; we make the voice of the cultural sector heard. We're not taking people out to expensive dinners or giving them holidays or gifts to try and influence them but we're calling or writing to them and saying 'Do you realise this is what's happening, do you realise that if you make this legislation, it will have that effect on the cultural sector; do you realise how important culture is in Europe?'. EFAH was formed with a mission, purpose, reason to be this voice, to have this advocacy role. The purpose of IETM was to be a network for the contemporary performing arts. Those are two different missions and two different reasons for forming the associations.

LM: Yes. I actually also thought of not using *lobbying* in my thesis, I'm talking about *advocacy* and about *interest representation*.

MD: Before EFAH was formed IETM was extremely active because there was little else and no one else to do that work. IETM was the first organisation to publish directories of all the EU programmes which could or did fund cultural activities: Info Box in 1990; Bread and Circuses in 1991, More Bread and Circuses in 1994. You could ask the question ‘Why should IETM do that?’. as the book was about all art forms yet IETM is a network of contemporary performing arts. But because there was no one else doing these things IETM was often able, or wanted to step in to do something, and to say to all the rest of our colleagues ‘We should be doing this.’

Another example: some years ago we commissioned the first scientific research study on the effects of networking. Once again, why should we do that? It could perhaps have been a project of the Forum of European Networks, which was founded by the Council of Europe, but they decided not to do it, and we felt, in that moment of time for the networks, that a job of advocacy had to be done. So we did it. Often IETM has done things a little bit before others because we felt that it needed to be done. But strictly speaking our single mission, our unique and founding mission is to bring the contemporary performing arts professionals together.

LM: Yes. Could I ask you at this point about the cooperation within the cultural sector, like the cooperation between the networks? I got the impression that it’s sometimes hard to get everybody to work together. You mentioned in your e-mail you had difficulties with the evaluation paper and Katelijn mentioned that there might be the impression of competition and not too much solidarity and that the networks have only during the last years began understand the value of working together.

MD: I have to say that in eleven years of working for IETM, I never felt this competition. Other people may have felt it but personally I never have. For example, I can remember the first year that EFAH organised a special summer event for the Members of the European Parliament – something that EFAH has done more or less each year since. It was for and with the networks which got an A-Line subsidy - in those years some of us had what was called a B-Line - but also for other networks which wanted to come along. We established a method of presenting our case: no one was allowed to ‘self-present’ - we all got together beforehand to discuss, debate and agree on common issues; we presented each other and all of our work together. What I have stood for, what I believe in and what I have always tried to do is to bring people together. Sometimes the new people on the scene don’t understand it, they’re fighting for themselves, but they soon understand. For eleven years I’ve been fighting for the fact that ‘We’re much stronger when we’re together’.

For example, in 2006 these running costs subsidies, the so-called *A-Lines* will be attributed according to an open call for applications. The A-Lines are important because they are a rare opportunity to have subsidy for operational costs, thus crucially important to networks. For years, since the early 90s, EFAH has been advocating that the A-Lines should NOT be attributed according to what was called the ‘shopping list’ – the list put together by the MEPs. At that time, first ECA, the European Council of Artists, and then EFAH were beneficiaries. EFAH discovered in about 1996 or so, that there was a budget line for *Organisations which promote the idea of Europe*, and publicised this information, asking its members to apply for it in hopes that the amount available would grow to match the demand. We always said to the Members of the Parliament that decisions should be made on the basis of some sort of evaluation system, a transparent and open system where everyone has a chance to apply. This is why I wrote several



documents, always in consultation with colleague networks, on how we could together formulate a fair evaluation system.

LM: Could you explain, I didn't understand the term *shopping list*.

MD: Do you know the history of the A-Lines and the B-Lines?

LM: I yesterday tried to find out where they belong to. Are they a parliamentary administrative line or do they belong to the Commission's administrative lines?

MD: They've changed over the years and you need to really research them. My knowledge of them is somewhat vague and covers only those first years. It seems that that the Commission could give running cost subsidies to organisations which 'did the same work that the Commission WOULD have done', except the Commission perhaps didn't have the personnel or the expertise to do it. This, I believe, was the basis of the A-Lines. Whereas the B-Lines were budget lines supporting project costs. So for example, *Kaleidoscope* would have been considered a B-Line subsidy programme. EFAH would discuss with the Members of the Parliament who would say to us 'Do you really trust the way the Commission is making decisions on Kaleidoscope?' – at the time it was a very bad decision-making process! We would say 'No' and they would say 'So why do you want then to create what you call a transparent and open application , when it will be the Commission who decides and you will have the same mess which you have with *Kaleidoscope*. Let us decide, we're politicians, we're representatives, we're in a representative democracy and you can give us the right to decide on these A-Lines. This was really a different perspective on what is transparency and what is democracy, very interesting! Those who didn't like the fact that the Parliament was deciding on the A-Lines, called it the *parliamentary shopping list*. So it was a very rude term! And I must say that in EFAH we also, even though benefiting, also believed 'No, we don't like it because it shouldn't be about political nomination, it should be a democratic, open, transparent application process. All these years later, let's say ten years later, we finally have achieved this!

LM: Yes. Did I understand correctly that for 2005 there are certain networks who are getting the A-Line support and from next year there will be open calls?

MD: Yes. For the last three, four years we've really tried to get them to establish evaluation criteria and to open it up but of course everything happens in a very slow time scale in the Commission and in the Parliament because so many series of decisions, discussions and amendments are necessary as it has to do with the EU budget. If the time scale is interrupted, we have often had to wait for a whole year.

LM: So from next year on, you as IETM, you would also have to apply to get these operational subsidies.

MD: Yes. And I think that's good because the best, the most interesting networks, or new ones that are coming from the east and central part of Europe or the new member states or who really show a different way of working, should, of course, be supported.

LM: From which year did you get this support actually?

MD: Our first support was, I believe, small contributions from the Culture DG in about 1990 or '91 for meetings IETM held in the CEE countries. I think that the first year we got B-Line support directly from the Parliament was in 1997. From 1994 – 1996, we still had a *Kaleidoscope*-grant for which we had to apply like everybody else. Sometimes we got it, sometimes we didn't. In '98 we got A-Line support but it was very little, 40.000, and

not based on any analysis of our budget or our work. We also got a *Kaleidoscope*-grant for our projects, meetings. In those years two other networks for national institutions, the European Theatre Union and the European Theatre Convention, which are networks for the national theatres, were very heavily subsidised by *Kaleidoscope*, receiving over 300 000 Euros each year.

LM: So at the moment you can't be sure by what amount of grants you will be supported from 2007 onwards?

MD: No. From 2006.

LM: Yes. I'm sorry, from 2006.

MD: You should really ask EFAH, not me, about all the different steps towards this change because EFAH is following the process very closely, especially Sabine Frank. She goes to all the Cultural Committee meetings and between them, Ilona Kish and Sabine Frank follow the process closely.

LM: Yes. I will contact them and ask them about these things.

Could I now ask you in more detail about your contact to the EU institutions that you have in the framework of EFAH? Katelijn mentioned that IETM takes part in advisory committees through EFAH and I would like to know which form does your participation take? Are you part of consultative bodies to the Commission?

MD: But really, once again, if you have an EFAH question you should ask EFAH, you shouldn't ask me. I represent many different things and for example I have written many times to the Commission over the years on very specific aspects or actions which were being taken or could be taken. So, often the Commission or Parliament has invited me to comment on the basis of a paper or letter that I wrote or an area of specialisation such as *mobility*. Sometimes this is considered as representation on my own name, sometimes on the basis of EFAH and sometimes on the basis of the Mediterranean, it really depends very much on what kind of expertise they need at which moment. I don't have any official status with the Commission, of course.

This DG EAC under Nikolaus van der Pas, is the most open one we've had. Van der Pas has completely changed the whole atmosphere of that DG. Before it was very closed and confrontational with the sector- and the sector was very confrontational with it! When Van der Pas came in he changed a lot of staff, he changed working methods so that the DG were really asking people in the sector for their opinions. Before, when we were called by the DG X, as it was called, for so-called *consultancy*, they would sit us in a room and we would listen to them for an hour. Under Van der Pas, they ask for papers, they ask for letters, they ask for people, they put things on websites and ask for comments, they call individuals, they form think tanks and small committees; it's a much more open DG now.

LM: Yes. That was also one of the questions I still had about what the climate of cooperation is between the Commission and the cultural sector.

MD: Well, I've been here for a long time! - but it's a hundred times better than it used to be.

LM: So now there's more regular contact and the staff of the Commission is more open to invite you and to listen to your views?

MD: Yes, but it also depends on us. I mean, if you are asked for an opinion, or even if you know that opinions are welcome, it's up to you to respond and in what degree of detail

you respond. It would be quite wrong to just sit there and wait to be called. You have to also be active yourself.

LM: Would you say that you've been able to get your points across, e.g. in connection with the design of the new *Culture*-programme?

MD: Well, what we learned over the years, is that you have to be extremely patient; it's a very complicated political process. Let's say there's a political text, I mean you can see this illustrated very well in the recent referenda on the ratification Constitution. These texts are hugely complex and they're extremely constrained by many different technical and bureaucratic constraints within the Commission and the EU itself. In the early days we demanded things which, now we know, were not legally possible; it was not in the Commission's power to give us what we were asking because legally they couldn't. So now, over the years, we learned that we have to inform ourselves about the internal regulations of the Commission. And then when we ask sth. we know that it's going to be at least possible. This is essential.

The second thing is that it's a very political environment. There are the different European political parties, the *European political groups* - the group of Socialists in Europe, the group of Liberals in Europe etc. There are different personalities on the Committees and they accept or reject different ideas according to what they think, their own country, who they feel they should be representing, what experience they already have, how well they're informed about the issue, the political party at home and the political group in Europe etc. So once again, you have to become extremely well informed about what is possible, who would be likely to support what you're saying and who would be already likely to reject what you're saying and then how best to phrase your demands. One also has to know the time-tables and processes of changing texts, amending propositions. The kinds of amendments which will change these documents can be tiny - sometimes you're changing one word and that's already a success, sometimes you have two words which you change, then it's fantastic. One or two words can completely change the sense of a text. One has to be very informed and knowledgeable about the working situation.

LM: Yes. What I would also be interested in is ... now that the *Culture 2000*-programme is running out slowly, there have been these mid-term evaluations and then at the end there will be, people are waiting for another evaluation of that programme to come out. Have you taken part in evaluating the administration of the *Culture 2000*-programme and have there been reforms or changes that will now be integrated into the new *Culture 2007*-programme which have been initiated by the networks for example?

MD: Well, yes. It's a broad answer but once again on many different levels. I've written papers, I've gone to speak to people personally, EFAH has made many actions, we've had many different working groups in IETM and also in EFAH over the years to see what the problems were; the Culture Contact Points have been very active and both IETM and EFAH have worked closely with the Culture Contact Points to see how to make the programme easier. Yes, I think the new programme is much better. It will never satisfy all the needs because most of the needs really come down to improving the member states' own cultural policies. What we ask from Europe also has to be guided by what level Europe should and can act on. For example, very small initiatives often complain that the European programmes aren't suitable for them. Well that's true but perhaps very small initiatives should be funded by their own countries. If a small initiative has a specific reason to be funded by Europe then it should go to Europe, if not, it should be funded by the member states themselves. My opinion is that the

member states are not doing enough for pan-European or multilateral European projects; they're acting in a national way or in a regional way or in a local way and they put the blame on Europe to fund more European-level things... but then they vote AGAINST any increased culture budget in the EU! So I conclude that they're using Europe as a scapegoat and as a place to put initiatives which they don't want to fund, then when it comes to trying to give a reasonable budget they vote against it. Once again, this is a political game.

LM: Yes. Because EU cultural policy is aimed at supplementing the national cultural policies.

MD: Of course. And it has a tiny budget. This budget would be laughable in a big major city or in a big national cultural institution. One of the documents I prepared last year is an *Action Plan for Mobility*. Mobility has been on the priority list of some of the European presidencies. My paper was an argumentation that the Member States should be working together with the European institutions and the cultural sector itself; they're not doing that enough.

LM: Do you think that all of the points that have been made in the course of the campaign for *70ct for culture*, do you think that most of those aims might be realised in some way?

MD: I think in the long term they will, but things move very slowly on the European level. The *70cts*-campaign was launched by EFAH, of course from the beginning, together with the European Culture Foundation. We always knew that it would be a long-term aim as well as a short one.

LM: Okay. Now I have two more questions that concern more your internal workings and your contact to your own members. I've also talked with Katelijjn about that a little bit already, about your members' involvement in EU issues. From Katelijjn's answer I understood that there are three ways that your members participate in discussing EU issues and how they're interested in it: they react to get information about funding, they contribute to reports that IETM is writing or commissioning so they act as interview partners and then also they support campaigns.

MD: Well, first of all we've got to look at precise language again. IETM not, strictly speaking, a representative organisation, we're a network. IETM can never say 'We represent all of our members.' We are a network of member-organisations who must speak individually for themselves. The first way that they can react, therefore, is that they can react on their own names, by their own selves and organisations. We give them tools to do that. We make them aware of issues when we think it's appropriate, and we also send them names and contact details of people that they should contact if they wish to do so. Often, very often as I said before, it's really at the member state level that you can have some influence - after all, the European Union is a union of member states, it's the member states who vote on things. So we're often telling our members that if there's a European issue coming up they should be in touch with their own Ministries of Culture and their own Members of the EU Parliament : these are the issues and this is how you get in touch with those people. This is the first and very basic level. And yes, sometimes we're acting also on the level of IETM: we have working groups to allow IETM members to express their opinions or learn about issues. In that case, I can go to the EU with messages from the IETM members. Then, finally, yes, we can ask them to contribute to papers that we're writing and presenting.

LM: Are the members interested in EU cultural policy?

MD: It's very diverse. Some of them don't seem to be much at all concerned and others are extremely active.

LM: So the ones that are really active, they would also by themselves bring up certain issues, like e.g. in case they're not satisfied with a certain aspect of the *Culture 2000*-programme, would they bring up the respective issue and ask you whether you could do sth. to try to do sth. about it?

MD: It used to happen a lot but I can say that that hasn't happened in a long time in IETM. This probably has to do with developments in the landscape like the creation of the Culture Contact Points, like EFAH. For example, what we've been doing nowadays is trying to get the EU to really take seriously its relationship with what is called *third countries*: countries outside of the EU. This is a direct result of the fact that most of our members are working in this global environment, not only the EU environment.

LM: Yes, I think Katelijn was also mentioning about the *Euromed*-programme and that there was an initiative to open up the programme but I wasn't sure which programme she was referring to whether it was Neighbourhood Policy or whether it was in the framework of *Culture 2000*.

MD: It's basically just the fact that there are various *Euromed*-programmes and initiatives such as the EuroMed Civil Forum and we want to make sure that the cultural aspect is taken into account in all of those. The last thing we did was to work with an IETM member who's very active in that area - she and I put together a kind of a declaration or demand that the regulations for people coming from the Mediterranean countries, particularly from the Arab countries, be made more flexible because at the moment one cannot apply for EU funds unless one has non-profit association status. Now, in some of those countries it's virtually impossible to have that status. So the only ones who can have that status, who can apply, are national institutions. In the context of civil society this is quite limited, it's constraining, it's virtually against what the notion of civil society is supposed to be about. That declaration was posted on our website, it went to the EuroMed Civil Forum and was approved by all the participants, then was put forward to the EU institutions. That's a typical pathway: one of our IETM members comes to us in the secretariat, we work together on a text, we analyse how the text can be used to be the most influential. Then we diffuse it, ask people to sign and send it.

LM: So your contact to the EU is not restricted to the DG EAC.

MD: Not at all. For years we had, not a lot, but, contact also with the DG for Employment and Social Affairs, for example. This will probably start again with the current interest in mobility.

LM: Would that be the same with regard to the European Parliament? Are you not only in contact with the Committee on Culture and Education?

MD: No, it depends what the issue is.

LM: Okay. I had a look at your membership list and I noticed that you don't have too many members from the new EU member states. What are the reasons for that?

MD: We're looking into that at the moment. But, whereas you say we don't have many members from this region, if you look at it as a percentage of our overall membership it's quite high, it's about 15% - 20% which probably is quite good compared to other networks. When you count the number of member organisations we have from that region alone, it's probably about 50 organisations, so it's not that small really; there are

many networks which would only count 25 members in their whole network! We're most interested in the youngest generations. We think, because we've been studying this, is that the belief in the spirit of networking and what networking brings you, has really changed over the years in the CEE countries because the financial imperative is so strong. There are relatively few public cultural subsidies and the professionals are obliged to be as economically commercial as possible just to find and to make money in order to exist. That's their first concern. Networking of course brings slow benefits and needs at least 3 to 5 years of personal investment. We think that the youngest generations are forced by policy and economic environments to seek immediate benefits. So if they do join a network they're much more likely to join what I call a *project consortium*: to get together with a limited group of other organisations to apply to a foundation or to the EU, to get a subsidy for making productions or sth. like this. Whereas in IETM the way of working is to find people who share common interests, to establish relationships and to slowly build a project based on trust and knowledge. So, it's a bit the inverse.

LM: Does *consortium* mean that the whole project would be rather short-term?

MD: Yes, based on a finite project, a tour, a festival, a joint cooperation, sth. like this.

LM: So, without the intention to build up long-term cooperation?

MD: Well, that could also be there, but there's an immediate need for a concrete project as well. Whereas in IETM the first need is the contact and the sharing, more an intellectual contact which then builds up a sense of trust and forms the foundation to make projects together.

LM: Okay. And do you have any special means or policies to increase your presence in these regions?

MD: You're asking me a question which I can answer next year! We are just now asking people to look into this, to have discussions, to research how our network could change to become more meaningful to those people.

LM: Yes, and also Katelijn told me a little bit about one concrete step, that you've got different levels of membership fees, so then you also take into account the different financial means of organisations.

MD: Of course, we have had that since the beginning. But I firmly believe that the membership fee does not make a difference between whether an organisation becomes a member of IETM or not. When people really want to join the network, they will. And to be honest, we have nine different levels of fees and different ways of paying, but the principle is the same: the network is a manifestation of solidarity so everyone must contribute so that the network exists. But how they can contribute, that's always sth. which can be discussed. We're interested in whether they find what they're looking for in the network. Is it easy for them? If it's not, then we have to do sth. about it.

LM: Now you already go into my last question about whether you feel as a network that you're receptive enough to the needs and wishes of your members.

MD: Well, we certainly hope so. If we weren't we should close down. That would be absurd. We're not an institution, we're not a hierarchical institution and if we can't be receptive to our members we have no reason to exist.

LM: In your internal workings, do you think there's any problems for you that might keep you from being in contact constantly to your members and receiving their wishes?

MD: Not really. Once again it's a little bit what I was saying before - you can't just sit back and ask the European Commission to contact you, you also have to do some work, make an effort. This is the same in every network and is sth. which we have been saying in IETM since the very early days, that the network IS its members: they have to be active! If you're a member of a network you should be active in it. Very typically, someone might raise their hand in one of our meetings and say 'We should have a working group on such and such a subject.'. We always say 'Great, you can organise it next time.' Often the person is quite surprised but we say 'It's your network. We're not here to make decisions on your behalf.' Of course, since 2002 we have a new mission which gives us the responsibility to be pro-active, to *stimulate* our members, but we need to be in contact with them to know in fact what could stimulate them. What are they thinking of, what are they not thinking of, what could they be thinking of. Our working group topics always come from the members. Our satellite meetings, our different initiatives, come from ideas from the members. There's very little we could do without reflecting the members' interests.

LM: So you don't see any danger of having a tendency to passivity of the members?

MD: Sure, that's always a danger and that's why one always has to be vigilant but I think that's the same in any kind of organisation of humans, especially any democratic organisation. You have to be vigilant, you have to make sure you're listening for the minority voices, make sure that the big ones; the ones who know how to speak well, don't monopolise the conversation and that you're always scratching underneath the surface to see that you're observing what's really there.

LM: Yes. And could I ask you one more thing, a practical thing about the working groups? Do they normally meet at the same time when you've got your Plenary Meeting or do they also have independent meetings?

MD: It's up to them. A typical pathway of a working group is that someone says they're interested in sth., so we organise what we call a *meeting group* - not quite as well-prepared as a working group. Somebody says 'I'm interested in this topic, is anybody else?' We see how many people come along and what their interests are. Maybe it's very dynamic and we say 'Okay, next time we make it a real working group, we invite four, five people to prepare it, we have kind of a small seminar, we perhaps commission a small publication about it. Sometimes the group says 'Yes, we liked this so much, we liked the people that we met, this is important, we want to continue.' Then perhaps we organise a satellite meeting, for 20 people, 50 or 200 participants, a couple of days concentrating on this subject. Sometimes these groups have become EU funded projects on their own. The *Comedia* network is a good example, also the contemporary dance network in the Mediterranean, *Danse Bassin Méditerranée*. They may decide to form a project consortium and make productions together or sth. like this; this is very common, there are many examples.

LM: Yes, so there is not one and the right route of how a working group develops, it all depends on the members.

MD: Everything in IETM is very organic, it develops by itself and how it wants to develop and it's based on the personalities and the interests of the people involved. What is STRATEGIC is how we organise the networking opportunities and services in the network to favour this kind of result.

LM: Do you see that many members are involved in the work or is it rather restricted to a certain group of members who are always active and who would always be part of the Board?

MD: Well, once again, I think it reflects basic human behaviour. As always, there's a minority of people in any group who are willing to be more active and take responsibility, to be on the board for example. Of course the membership of the Board changes, we try to make sure that one third of the Board changes every year. But that's not to say that people who don't volunteer for the Board are not active because being active in a network can also mean using all the contacts that you make in that network. You don't have to pass through the office set-up or the Board set-up in order to be active. We have people who are extremely active in IETM meaning that they make a lot of contacts during the meetings and they use these contacts to organise exchanges or collaborations. So there can be other ways of being active.

LM: Yes. Okay.

MD: Did Katelijne send you the book about networking that the Italian researchers made, *How Networking Works*?

LM: Is that the one that was published by the Arts Council of Finland?

MD: Yes.

LM: Yes, I've got that one.

MD: They found that the rate of communication between IETM members outside the network meetings is very high. That's also a way of judging it.

LM: Yes. I will have to make sure that I define my terms right that when I talk about activity it's not only the activity that you would know of because you as a secretariat would get any information of it.

MD: Yes. Sometimes we don't get any information.

LM: And also about expressions: Could I once more ask you about the terms *representing* and *voice* because now you've mentioned twice that you don't represent your members. Did I understand it now right that you regard yourself as a voice of your members and that you represent...

MD: In EFAH we say we're the *voice* of the cultural sector. EFAH uses the voicing metaphor very strongly. IETM is a network of individual, independent organisations. Unless I specifically ask the members, I cannot go to the EU and say that I am speaking on their behalf on a specific issue. Sometimes we do ask, especially during the IETM Plenary Meetings, 'Do you accept this?' Or 'What are the most pressing issues concerning this policy?' etc. We presented the *70 cts for culture* during an IETM meeting and asked, 'Do you accept that we as IETM, as a network, supports this?' and they said 'Yes'.

This is different from managerial responsibility. As a Secretary General of IETM I can sign a legal or financial document on behalf of the association. I'm signing it based on the fact that I'm the Secretary General of an association and the board has given me certain delegated powers.

But IETM is not a representative organisation, it's not a union. For example when you're on the board of IETM, it's not your organisation which is on the board, it's you as an individual employed by your organisation which is the member-organisation of IETM. That's in our statutes.



- LM: So when you say that ‘I represent my members’, that would only be on specific issues that you’ve brought up in a meeting.
- MD: Yes. Well, e.g. it’s different to say that ‘In our experience, in all the discussions that we’ve had with our members it seems to us that the *Culture 2000*-programme should change to make it easier for them. It should do this or this or that.’ That’s one thing. That’s like saying ‘We have looked at the way the majority of people are behaving, we have analysed it and we have come to this conclusion’. And it’s sth. else saying that the thousands individuals who are active in IETM and millions of audiences which they represent are behind such and such an initiative. That I would never say. It’s a fine distinction.
- LM: Yes, that’s also important to know. Would it be possible to get the statutes of IETM - turning of the tape - I was searching e.g. about the procedure for electing the new board and about the number of members who have to be present in order to have a regularly convened Plenary Meeting and these things and I think they’re only in the statutes.
- MD: Yes, so I can send you the statutes. But our statutes are rather vague on purpose, as we’re a very flexible organisation, we also have internal rules and most of the details are regulated by the internal rules and not by the statutes.
- LM: Yes. I’ve had some internal rules from Katelijjn, so I’ve had a look at them also already. Okay. I think now I would have enough information of your work.
- MD: Let me just check because I did make some notes about some things that Katelijjn has mentioned in her interview that you very kindly typed out, that’s really a lot of work. First of all she says that I’m almost never there. In fact what she means is not that I’m almost never there but that I’m travelling a lot. At that I was really laughing.
- LM: Yes, I saw the point, I’ve thought already that you would be out quite a lot.
- MD: Yes, I don’t have a lot of time off. And then she says some members of IETM had the idea to set up EFAH. In fact, it was a number of different people, it was one person from IETM, Hilde Teuchies, who got together with a number of other people from other European countries, although the IETM office did act in the beginning as host for EFAH, just as we have been host for many different organisations but there were other organisations who were equally committed to this conception.
- LM: Okay, I will make sure to write that it’s not only IETM who founded it.
- MD: Yes, you need to speak to the EFAH people. Katelijjn also said ‘We don’t have as IETM ourselves clear goals of what we want as an organisation in culture in Europe.’ I think what she’s trying to say there is that, once again, IETM is trying to reflect the reality of its members whereas we don’t have an official IETM political programme that we would publish and lobby the politicians with. We reflect the reality and the importance of culture.
- LM: Yes. I also looked into that. I tried to find in the documents whether you’ve got some aims specifically on the EU level and there I found in the guidelines for membership which Katelijjn sent me that IETM is asked to represent its members, participate in reflections and advise international and European institutions on matters relating to the sector.
- MD: Yes, but it’s different than having a political platform with very clear aims and objectives which we don’t.

LM: Yes. And that would also distinguish you from EFAH?

MD: Yes. Let's see what else. Yes, she's talking about On-The-Move and she said that the portal has given us a lot of exposure. Well, actually we didn't make it just for exposure! We made it because we were increasingly asked for advice and information which we knew existed, but we didn't have the specific information ourselves. Typically somebody from France would ask us a question; we knew the answer for it would be in France. It seemed absurd to us that, with a very small team, we were spending huge amounts of time telling people where to go for the information that they were looking for. So we had the idea to put it all on a website. As most of these questions, indeed almost all of them, were related to issues which are now under the umbrella of mobility, we said 'Okay, let's make a web portal for that.' Nobody asked us to do it, it's not at all that we were asked to do it, but we did it ourselves in 2002 and then in 2003 we happily got some funding for it.

LM: And that funding was provided by the EU but not in the framework of Culture 2000?

MD: No, it was in the framework of *Culture 2000* but it was not a part of the official application process. The Commission has a right to fund initiatives under certain circumstances under the rubric of *experimental measures*. We used the same application form as *Culture 2000* but it was decided by a different process. And Katelijn says here 'I believe that Van der Pas has said to Mary Ann sth. like 'Okay, there is the possibility to apply', no, that's totally untrue. Mr van der Pas never spoke to me about this project!

LM: Yes. Okay, so it was through an application procedure.

MD: It was through an application procedure, yes. And it was through this special process that they have for funding pilot projects. And then she says 'Right now we're also indirectly funded by the European Union, again for On-The-Move activities.' We're not indirectly funded, we're directly funded, we have a project together with our three other partners and we're getting funding for that.

LM: That would be the LAB project?

MD: The project is called G2CC, *Gateway to Cultural Cooperation*. The LAB is a much larger concept. This is what we could either call an independent sub-project of the LAB or a type of prototype for the future LAB.

LM: Yes, I have read about it. And that would also be the form in which On-The-Move will be funded in the future?

MD: No, just for this year and next year, 2005 – 2006.

LM: Okay. I'd like to come back to mobility in the cultural sector. I was confused when reading about mobility and the *70 cts*-campaign because on the one hand there's this sentence in the material on the campaign stating that 'the mobility fund which could be established should be administered indirectly', i.e. not by the Commission, and then in another sentence it says sth. about the expenses that would arise for the Commission in connection with the mobility fund.

MD: Be careful because there's a difference between mobility funds which might be very specific and which could be very small, more a project or association or a national initiative, a city initiative or a region, sth. like this and mobility in the wide sense. Mobility in the large sense means everything from travelling exhibitions to touring of productions to the possibility for a young graduate to get a job in another EU country, to the possibility to go and have a temporary job in another country or to live in one

country near the border and go daily to work in the country next door. Mobility is a vast subject.

LM: Yes, so there's different levels.

MD: Of course, yes.

LM: Where there some other things in the interview?

MD: I'm just looking because I made a copy of things that would need more precision. Yes, so she says here 'If Mary Ann goes to see Van der Pas she won't go there without letting know Ilona that she's going there.' That's very important, the sector works together and that we're not working against each other because of course everybody, also EFAH, is looking for money like every network. But of course money stands for sth. and I really don't like to say 'everybody is looking for money'. We're all looking for the possibility to do sth. that we believe in and sometimes that possibility to do sth. depends on some kind of financial support, sometimes it doesn't, sometimes it just needs the political will or recognition or an understanding. So many of the things that we're talking about on the EU level are about respect or understanding or political will or more flexibility. It's not always about money. And I'm very much against it when people just say it's about money, it's not.

LM: Yes, so it's also about raising awareness for the needs of different sectors.

MD: Yes. And the potential: what could happen if? If there were more possibilities, if there was a greater understanding, how much more could be done.

Okay, so let's see. Katelijn is talking about the IETM meetings here. You already talked about the members, what I've said also that the membership fees are the least of the commitments that members make. They also have to make a time commitment, they have to pay, as she says, the travel and accommodation at the meeting but they also have to commit themselves to using the network in a good way. And then she talks about meetings, she says 'One was called a *plenary* and the other was called a *forum*.' Actually they're exactly the same now, yes, in the early days we differentiated between the spring meeting and the autumn but now they're exactly the same.

LM: Okay, so they're all plenaries now.

MD: Yes, in fact *plenary* means bringing everybody together, that's all it means.

LM: And then, because at that point I asked her exactly in which meeting the Board is elected, is there an election every year?

MD: Yes. The mandate is for three years but every year the members have to approve and as I said we try to change the board by 30% every year so every year there should be some new people coming on and old people going off. This is done in the General Assembly and the General Assembly is just one session of about three hours which is held in the spring Plenary Meeting.

By the way there is no statute for a network. We, the networks, discussed this some years ago: we all have to have the statute of an association. In order to exist legally we have to have a statute which is not exactly suited to our reality. So we have to have a President and we have to have a Board, we have to have these rather bureaucratic things because that's the only way to be a non-profit association. But for instance in IETM we don't vote, we decide things by consensus and even if we're there for hours discussing,

then we're there for hours discussing until everybody agrees. This makes us a little bit different.

LM: That's very good you bring that up because that would have definitely gone wrong in my thesis.

MD: Sometimes we've had situations, very rarely, I must say only once during the time I was here, that one person didn't agree. And then we were there for hours discussing it until finally a compromise was made which that person could agree with. It's not a majority vote. But usually we don't have anything very controversial to discuss!

LM: Would you have opted for another form of organisation if it wasn't for the statute of association which forced you in a way to have this structure with a Board etc.?

MD: Of course I don't know for sure but I would guess that if there had been another possibility, we would have taken it. Because we really try to be as non-hierarchical as possible. But we have a board, in fact we have a small board, the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors, a big board, the Board of Directors, a president and the staff, why? Because that's the only way to show that you're a kind of democratic, accountable organisation. If there had existed another statute which was less hierarchical, I think we would have adopted it. Having said that, the decisions for the network are always discussed by all the members and some kind of consensus is made from it. It would be rather unusual if the board took a decision - which it could do, legally - that the members did not agree with. It never happened but I'm sure if it happened then the board would be dissolved and there would be a new election.

LM: And also the organisations which give you financial support, they require this specific statute, so e.g. that ministry for education and culture, they can only grant funds to organisations which are...

MD: Most public as well as private funds can only be given to an organisation with a non-profit status statute.

LM: Could I ask you one more thing?

MD: Yes, of course.

LM: I'd be interested in your fund-raising activities. Is it difficult to get other national ministries interested in the work of networks?

MD: Yes. Being an international network is one of the most difficult, almost impossible type of organisations for which to get funding. Cultural funding at the moment in Western Europe is based on a nation or a city or a region. So, if you're an international network, you're not working only for the artists in that city or region or nation, you're doing it for everybody. Now the only supranational, international organisations which have a mission to look after culture are UNESCO, which doesn't give money for funding networks, the Council of Europe, which doesn't give money for networks and the European Commission which has, over the years, created a small pot of money which can help networks. So it's really difficult. Foundations are still, even when working internationally, funding national organisations who have an international mission. Funding also is still very much on a bilateral level and we're multilateral, so to find funds for networks is extremely difficult. So this is why it's rather wrong for the Member States to say 'Yes, the networks, they're great but we don't want to fund them, they should be funded by Europe' and then in the same breath 'We don't want the funding in Europe to rise, we want the budget to be limited.'

LM: Yes, it doesn't help the networks in any way.

MD: No.

LM: And have you thought of raising funds with other institutions, national ministries for example?

MD: Yes, from time to time we've had national funds and we still continue to do so. When we have a project which is particularly interesting to that nation or which takes place in that country. And I have to say that if you counted what I called the *global budget* of IETM - which is our own Brussels-based budget plus the budget all of our activities made in collaboration with partners, the budget would be literally doubled. For example the two big Plenary Meetings that we have per year each cost at least 150 000 Euros or more. That money is found from national, regional and local sources. Money is given to our co-organiser based in that country, in that city and it pays the costs of the IETM meeting. In that sense we get money from those national sources every year, even though most of it does not pass through our Brussels office.

LM: But for operational costs, that's then really the expenses which you get grants from the EU for.

MD: Yes, but we also have two small operation grants from Flanders and the Netherlands. In the very beginning, IETM had a very large membership from those two places. But we have to apply and make the right arguments in order to keep this support. Especially when the more liberal politicians say 'Why should we do this? What are you doing for Dutch artists? What are you doing for Flemish artists?' Then we have to make a strong argumentation again: 'What we do is good for everybody and you're supporting us because we're good for you, you are also seen to be supporting us and your artists and cultural operators are benefiting.' etc.

LM: So, it never ends.

MD: It never ends. Luckily we're a big network because we have quite a lot of membership income but for the small networks it's extremely difficult.

LM: Yes, I've noticed that also, I will also ask ENCATC and EFAH about that. And from Katelijn's other statements everything else is alright?

MD: Yes, I think. I might have worded some of her answers a little bit differently but I think you understand what she was saying anyway. Here you ask about since when have we got financial support from the EU. I believe the first financial support that we got from the EU, I wasn't here at that time, was in about 1991. We might have had some money in '89 sth. like that but these were just one-off, very small amounts, a couple of 1000 €. Since '89 when the Wall came down, we've always had a lot of activity in the east and central countries which is why indeed we have so many members from these countries.

LM: Yes, that's true. Compared to other networks, I think you would be at the top of membership from the CEE countries.

MD: Yes. And even from developed countries, we don't have enormous numbers from every country. IETM isn't for everyone and we wouldn't want it to be, it's for particular organisations who want to work in this multilateral way across national borders and who're interested in contemporary performing arts. There's nothing wrong with being a contemporary performing arts organisation who only wants to work on a national or local basis. That's fine, there's also a good place for them in the world! Even from the big countries we often have no more than 35 members, so when we have seven or ten or

four, five or two from smaller countries or countries which aren't so interested in international collaboration that's still okay. We're not trying to be huge, we wouldn't want to be. We're already quite big and some people say we're too big!

LM: Yes. But you still try to get suggestions from members for new members?

MD: Sure, because we like to have the interesting people. We say 'We don't want more members, we want interesting ones.'

LM: Could you now give me an advice on how to contact the DG EAC in case I would like to get some more information about the evaluation criteria?

MD: Well, that's interesting. I have to say that this was also a learning process - for years we thought that we could work with them to make an evaluation process which had some meaning for us, the networks, also. But we realised that in their context, they have to use only quantitative methods. They really can't run an evaluation which would have a good deal of profound meaning for us, it's not in the culture of the EU. But start with Fabienne Metayer at DG EAC.

LM: I think I've got her on this directory.

MD: She's an angel. I call her *saint Fabienne* because she really tries to respond to everybody.

LM: Ah, that's lovely. She's on this chart, yes.

MD: She's a really wonderful person. If she doesn't respond it's because she's totally overworked.

LM: Would you also have her e-mail address?

MD: I think it's like all the rest of them, probably 'fmetayer@...'

LM: Yes, and then it would be this '...@cec....'?

MD: Yes.

LM: Okay. I will ask her about what the Commission is doing at the moment. Also because I'd be interested in how they will choose the networks from 2006 onwards.

MD: If not, write a letter to Mr Hartung and post it. I believe that the people in the Commission have a responsibility to answer. But usually the kind of answer that you get back is not very interesting, they just say 'Thank you for your letter, this is an interesting question'.

LM: Yes, I'll try both ways.

So then, thank you very much for taking time for giving me all this information.

MD: Okay, good luck!

LM: Thank you. Bye, Bye!

MD: Bye!

### 2.3.2 Interview with Katelijne Verstraete, Communication, Information and Training Officer of IETM, 28.04.2005

LM: Thank you for all the information you've sent me so far. Is it okay for you if we first go through the rest of the questions now?

KV: Yes, that's fine.

LM: Okay.

KV: Unless you have other questions. You mean the rest, the Europe-related questions? Yes, that's fine.

LM: I mean I've also got some other questions. We'll see whether we run out of time.

KV: Okay.

LM: So, if we talk about your activities at the EU level, what are you trying to achieve there?

KV: Well, first of all, maybe I give you a little bit of background, because most of the team here in the office are new. We've only been here two years, that means that the relationship that we have with the EU is far different from when IETM was set up. You know, Mary Ann de Vlieg, who is the coordinator but she's almost never there, she's been very much involved to it, lobbying towards the EU at the time that EFAH didn't exist yet. You know EFAH, yes?

LM: Yes.

KV: So have you interviewed EFAH already?

LM: Not yet.

KV: Okay. Because I think what is important is that some members of EFAH were at that time also, well, before EFAH existed some members of IETM actually had the idea to set up EFAH and that was the result to of course, what happened, what IETM was actually doing on the European level at that time, because Europe 10 years, 15 years ago looked completely different from what it is now.

A lot of things right now are very formalised. You know you have the *Culture 2000*-programme, there are calls for tenders, there is, even, people are thinking of setting up a real cultural policy for Europe, although it is being commissioned outside but still. So there happened a lot in structuring things around culture in Europe in the last, I would say, *Culture 2000* was from 2000, so since '99, since '98 a lot of things happened. So that means that of course EFAH has been taking over a lot of the lobbying work towards the European Union, as they are the platform actually. They are there basically to lobby and for all the member organisations and if you look at their member organisations, a lot of them are networks themselves.

What is important is that e.g. Mary Ann de Vlieg is the Vice-President of EFAH, so that means that IETM as such is a very important part in the activities of what EFAH is doing but it's basically EFAH doing it. So EFAH people are going every week to the parliament. Wherever there's a cultural meeting EFAH is going there, we're not going there, because it's their role to do that, so kind of part of the activities that a lot of networks were doing before, if they existed at all, is now being taken over by EFAH and they report back, they lobby basically. They push us e.g. to go and write letters to MEPs

like e.g. the last week or so we were asked to write a letter to the local MEPs, although we're a European network we were asked to people we know, e.g. I'm Flemish and I wrote to the Flemish MEP to push them for more money for culture in Europe and that was as a result of the conference that took place in Berlin last year. That was a conference that was a civil initiative but they managed to get a lot of European, you know, big persons or expert persons in culture and in European politics to be in that conference and on that conference Barroso e.g. said that culture is important and that there should be more attention to culture. So, of course EFAH at that conference has also been speaking in the name of the networks, in the name of the culture and heritage field, so after that what they did is also to set up a campaign which is called *70 cts for culture*, you know about this campaign, I can imagine?

LM: Yes.

KV: So the *70 cts for culture*-campaign is also sth. of course we as a network are very much involved with because we've been stimulating our network to spread this information of *70 cts for culture* to the members in all the countries so that they can go to their local governments and ask for that, because of course in Europe you have to work via your own country to get sth. done from Europe. And that's for example a recent very important initiative.

Another important initiative that we also work together with EFAH and with La Monnaie, that's the opera theatre here in Brussels, there was the initiative *the artist appeal* which was basically also the same type of initiative, is pushing artists to go and request for more, basically from Europe in terms of culture and that was a petition we've been organising, EFAH, IETM and then La Monnaie to get as much signatures from really very important people in the cultural sector and also from less important people and to bring this petition also towards the Culture Commission of the EU.

So these are the things, that initiatives are either right now taken by EFAH and then kind of spread out to all the networks in which IETM then takes quite an important role as IETM is the Vice-President of EFAH, Mary Ann de Vlieg is the Vice-President. So in that sense we're very active but we don't have, as IETM, ourselves, clear goals of what we want as an organisation from culture in Europe, but we have it as a sector, so we're kind of solidary with what the sector wants to achieve in Europe and which is of course, it's getting more, I think did I send you, I don't know if I sent you, because the things that we're striving for together with the sector is for more mobility within the EU for artists because there is a lot existing, of course, for students, there is a lot existing for professors, in general. There's a lot of instruments that exist, but let's say for artists there's not so many instruments existing so it would be good to have e.g. mobility funds. And then it would not necessarily have to be one big fund so like centrally organised, like the ERASMUS was before or is, but we were saying that we need different mobility funds that are responding to a need and that these mobility funds are being given to the sector to manage, that's e.g. one thing we're very much pushing forward, too and this is actually part of a, I will send this to you, an action paper which Mary Ann de Vlieg wrote for another conference that we attended to, in Rotterdam last year and that was a conference which was called *Sharing Cultures*, you know the *Sharing Cultures*-conference?

LM: I've had a look through the reader of that conference.

KV: Yes, because there, Gottfried Wagner who is the director of the European Cultural Foundation, he asked Mary Ann de Vlieg to write this document, action points for



mobility of cultural operators in Europe. I will send this to you so that you know what we're basically striving for and this is not just IETM, this is really sth. that the sector will go for because though it's for mobility in the sector but it's also for more money in the sector because if you see what's the budget for culture, it's just absolutely peanuts compared to other budgets. So it's striving for a more important position of culture in the European project. That's sth. that we of course are pushing forwards.

So the goals that are there are goals for the sector and not necessarily for performing arts in Europe, because IETM wants to be, is a network organisation which means we don't represent the sector but we're a voice of the sector, that's very important. So it's not because we have 400 members that we say 'okay, now we represent the whole contemporary performing arts in Europe', no, we are a voice. I mean if 400 people want to be members of an organisation and these 400 people have, I don't know how many people work in their organisations, but it's quite influential, I think this is a voice that should be heard on the European level and that's why we're also pushing towards Europe. If you read *70 cts for culture* you should really read what it stands for, it's on the EURO CULT website. Do you have time to look at that?

LM: Yes, sorry, which website?

KV: Eurocult.org, that's the ECF website.

LM: Okay.

KV: Yes. And there there's one section up on the website which is called *70 cts for culture* and under that there's a paper which writes for all the things that people in the cultural sector are actually striving for, so there are like seven or eight points, I think. And these are the seven or eight points that we of course also want to stress and one of the points in that is also talking about the importance of networks as such in the European project. I think because of the fact that we're a voice of the sector and that, we can speak for the people we represent in terms of our members.

LM: I will have a look at that.

KV: You'll have to look at that because these are kind of very important things that happened in the last two years and that let's say that the cultural sector is kind of waking up a little bit because of the fact that the 2007-2013 new plan kind of came out and that the reactions are coming to it. There is a lot of reaction coming towards that new plan, the new *Culture 2007* plan and that's also sth. that EFAH is pushing through us so as I was just saying that we have to write letters to the members of parliament was a specific request from the culture sector, from the networks to strive for more money for culture. I think there was one amendment towards the proposal of the new law, or how to say it, proposal towards the 2007 programme, that there was one member of parliament who was also pushing for more money for culture and that later on in the text it wasn't taken up, so we were pushing the members of parliament during a meeting last week to really go for it and to say 'Okay no we want this in, there has to be more attention to culture' and so on. And this is sth. that EFAH asked all the networks, all the members, to write letters, so that's the lobbying group, active lobbying, let's say, that EFAH is doing.

So while before IETM has been very pro-active in terms of European..., we're more let's say working with other organisations like EFAH now and supporting them. So we as such as an organisation let's say I'm not really going to the Cultural Committee meetings, Mary Ann is also not going there because there is somebody going there from EFAH and she's a wonderful person, she's just reporting everything in two languages

and writing what's going on, what the feeling is during these meetings who is saying what, it's just amazing, it's very good. So let's say that in that sense the sector is getting more organised too, which is very important, take this back 10 years, apparently, I mean it was before I was here, there was nothing. IETM, Mary Ann de Vlieg at that time, she was basically doing a lot of suggestions for the programme, the *Kaleidoscope*-programme which was before the Culture 2000 programme. IETM has actually got a very big influence in that text and I said to Mary Ann it would be interesting for you actually to look at that, what kind of influences did networks have on the European level before.

IETM did a lot of mediating roles between our members and the European Community, or the sector in the Community. IETM has published the first book which is called *Bread and Circuses* and that was a whole book on funding opportunities within Europe for artists, very important at that time because there was nothing existing. IETM created an info box, let's say that *Bread and Circuses* was a type of info-box, sth. where people could find out about funding, because there was no culture programme at that time. So people had to look for sth. if they wanted to do European projects. And the first people who actually got these *Kaleidoscope*-programmes, who got the money for it, were actually IETM members because they knew how to do it. So IETM did a lot in terms of waking up the sector and at that time was very pro-active, but then with EFAH, let's say we don't have to have such an active role anymore, both from inside because there is EFAH and both from outside because Europe is getting organised themselves also. Now it is important to keep of course the messages across and to really work on that and that's happening through attending a lot of conferences. We do attend a lot of conferences regarding mobility because IETM created this web-portal which is called On-The-Move. I don't know if you know it?

LM: I've had a look at it, yes.

KV: Yes, you had a look at it. And that's, let's say, the only tool that exists in performing arts, for mobility. The rest is all very scattered but this web-portal is really innovative in a way that it brings together the whole spectrum, the whole landscape of opportunities and possibilities and obstacles to mobility. Let's say this web-portal has given us a lot of exposure. We were funded in 2003 by Europe for this web-portal, because actually we were almost asked to do it. We had the idea to do it and we had already set up part of the website but then we approached the Commission and I believe that Van der Pas at that time had said to Mary Ann like 'okay there is actually a possibility to apply for money now, you can do it'. So we did that and it is a wonderful tool that exists.

LM: Which EU programme did you get the support from, for On-The-Move?

KV: You should have a look on the websites, because it all has different ....

LM: But it belongs to the *Culture 2000*-programme?

KV: Not really. Let me just see. I'll have to look at the sponsors. It was Education and Culture but it was not *Culture 2000*. Let me see. It wasn't called *Culture 2000*, I think. I should check that, I'm not sure. And right now we're also indirectly funded by the European Union again for On-The-Move activities, not just the web-portal but also other activities we do around it, which is training regarding mobility and intercultural competences and also innovation and that's more bringing different worlds together, the worlds of the web artists, of the cultural managers and the world of the webmasters and technical people setting up websites. And that's also being funded through another

project that we're working together with the European Lab of Culture. Information on the European Lab of Culture you can find on the ECF website.

LM: Yes. That's the ECF who is mainly responsible for this Lab, isn't it?

KV: Yes, they have set it up and there are working a lot of stakeholders in it and funders and one project of the LAB is called G2CC, *Gateway to Cultural Cooperation*, and in this G2CC there are four partners, one is ECF, one is ERICarts, one is Fondazione Fitzcarraldo and one is On-The-Move. So we are in that sense also funded by the EU indirectly for this project, because this is the only real existing example actually around mobility in Europe in the cultural sector. So that's why it's quite important. This kind of things of course give IETM and On-The-Move, On-The-Move is a project of IETM, since the 1<sup>st</sup> of January, we have created an independent association for it because we want it to have like an independent life. Right now mostly IETM is working on it, but we want of course other people also to work on it, so, we do work with partners. But that's a project that is quite important and is also a tool towards lobbying actually.

LM: Would this On-The-Move be the first step in setting up a mobility fund? When you've said that that is one of the aims of the cultural sector.

KV: It's a way to inform people. Let's say it can show the obstacles and the possibilities for mobility, but what is interesting to see is that if you go on On-the-Move is that you won't see that many real mobility funds. They are not existing, I mean the ECF is doing one, then you have a few others which are truly not bilateral, but truly multilateral, so, that you can apply from many countries, to go to the specific countries they kind of indicate in their mission. And then there is the Roberto Cimetta-Fund which is also a mobility fund which works between the Mediterranean countries and the rest of Europe. So there aren't that many real mobility funds. There are a lot of local funds, *local* I mean like national funds and then there is *Culture 2000*, but like independent funds ...you can look for them on the sites, they are existing, but not so many. So, of course, let's say, On-The-Move as a portal is not a lobbying instrument. I think it would be wrong to say that, but it shows that mobility funds and mobility is very important in Europe and that's I think a strong message towards the European Community, towards the Commission actually.

LM: To raise awareness?

KV: To raise awareness, yes, that's right.

LM: Could I also ask you sth. about ...when we were talking about influence you said that before EFAH was founded IETM was really active and had a lot to say to politicians and had a lot of influence in some way. Do you think that EFAH has now taken that role? Well, you said that IETM had quite a say in the *Kaleidoscope*-programme. So, have you been involved in designing this new Culture programme in some way?

KV: Through Mary Ann who is part of EFAH, yes of course, and the board meeting of EFAH is representing a lot of people from important cultural organisations in Europe. And the board is basically, is deciding what is going to happen, so we have, but we don't have the direct line necessarily, but we have influence, of course. I think EFAH is only strong when they have good members who are part of EFAH, and there IETM is a very active member, you can ask this to Ilona. So it's that we don't necessarily need that very direct line and we do everything in correspondence with the rest. So, if Mary Ann goes and sees Van der Pas, she won't go there without letting know Ilona that she's going there. That's very important, that the sector works together and that we're not working against

each other. Because of course everybody, also EFAH is looking for money with the EU, like every network right now.

Towards 2007, there was I think one of the MEPs who brought forward that..., the networks are all being funded by what is called the *A-Lines*, you should ask Ilona more what actually the *A-Lines* really means but it was a pot of money that existed a while ago, I think four or five years ago. It wasn't really clear what happened to that money until people actually thought that it's possible, especially like European organisations in the culture, applied for money from it so a lot of networks like ELIA, IETM, EFAH are getting money from that pot of money, from the A-Lines. And this pot will actually disappear and they want now to gradually diminish the money that they give to us like by 20% a year, we've been also lobbying against that and then to be taken up I think in the normal *Culture 2007*-programme by 2007. You need to ask Ilona far more about this issue if you want to know more about this, but let's say of course we're all in some sense also competitors for money, but at the same time we're also very complementary in what we do. So that's why the sector, at least those organisations are really working together towards a strategy and I think that's very important. Like in other sectors, I think the cultural sector is more known for being not so solidary I would say and right now I think through this kind of initiatives it's getting more and more solidaire and seeing that there is a win-win-relation in working together towards the EU. So, these are things that, of course are being worked together on the EFAH Board and with EFAH, so of course they have a very strong... that EFAH, I mean, how long does it exist, I don't know I'm just saying sth. now but I maybe since 1995/6, I don't know, but not longer than that.

LM: Yes.

KV: Yes, and that's interesting to see how important before networks were directly then. EFAH is also a network of course but they're kind of a 'supernetwork' in the sense that they have a lot of networks as their members. But we are indirectly and directly, because we also write letters to the MEPs, we are at very important conferences and so on, so let's say that everybody works on their own level and on their own specific sector then.

LM: And how lively is the reaction of the MEPs? You've said that you've written to a Flemish MEP. Are they aware of cultural issues or is it only the ones, the MEPs that are members of the Committee on Culture, Youth etc.?

KV: We do send most of it to the specific committee that these issues are being discussed in, which is mostly the Cultural Committee. And we do sometimes get reactions, I've got reactions actually. There is via e-mail mainly, there is a direct, from us, from IETM out. We only send e-mails, we don't go and call MEPs, but of course EFAH, they sit together with certain MEPs and e.g. the new person who is working in EFAH, Sabine Frank, she used to be working with an MEP, so she knows from internally how that works which is also very important of course, to read through how things are happening. So, in terms of how we contact them because that was also one of your questions: by telephone we personally not directly unless Mary Ann sometimes has, maybe twice a year a discussion, like a lunch or so with Van der Pas. So, face to face, yes.

LM: Excuse me, is Van der Pas, he's in the Commission?

KV: He's the head of Culture.

LM: Of DG Culture?

KV: Yes.

LM: Okay.

KV: Nikolaus van der Pas. So, correspondence by phone, not really, that's more EFAH doing it. Fax, not being used any more, I think. E-Mail, yes, for us it's all by e-mail. Face-to-face consultation, yes, but not so much, that's more EFAH doing it. Contact at workshops and conferences, absolutely, I mean the *Sharing Cultures*-Conference, one of the speakers was Van der Pas. There is social receptions and so on where you talk to people, there is now in Paris a big meeting, again for culture in Europe, all the networks are going to be there, so there is a lot of conferences where people go to and talk more informally then about issues, or formally when it is on the agenda. Membership in advisory committees, yes, what I've just explained, so IETM is a member of EFAH.

The types of institutions we've been in contact, there is also a change there, so most of it would be DG EAC, Education and Culture, but we have done actually quite a lot of things also with the Mediterranean before, now we're getting again more active in that because there is this *Euromed*-programme now and Mary Ann has before been very active in it. Actually IETM has done a lot with it before and IETM has actually pushed a lot to make that programme more open, so declaration for cultural sector to make it more open for the Mediterranean area. We've had all remarks on the text which has been written and so on. In terms of Employment DG, I think...I'm not so sure...

LM: Excuse me, which DG is it for the Mediterranean cooperation?

KV: I think it's called *Med*. I'm not sure. The Employment...I know that now, if you go on the EFAH website there's a lot happening on another committee that they're in now. Let's just go to the EFAH website, because they have their reports...let me see. They go to Civil Society...

LM: That's what I also wanted to ask you about: There is a new Civil Society Dialogue, isn't there, with the Social Committee...

KV: Yes, that's actually been pushed since Ilona is in EFAH, since that she came two years ago or so, that's a new thing that EFAH is mainly working on.

LM: So you are not yourself in contact with the Economic and Social Committee?

KV: Through of course being a member, through having... the Vice-President of EFAH is IETM, of course we are. Let's say the degree of activity in EFAH... because it's their aim, I mean if you look at their aims, it's different from our aims, and the mission of them is *through a dialogue with the European decision makers seeking to influence their understanding and action*, I mean they are, I mean *lobbying* is a big word, but they are a lobbying organisation...*via enabling members to integrate the wide European context into their daily work*, exactly what they're doing, *and sustaining a broad notion of cultural policy, seen as a factor of social development and to increase recognition of the cultural dimension of Europe*, I mean that's the mission statement of EFAH, compared to the mission statement of IETM, and it's completely different, of course.

LM: So you would not call yourself a *lobbying organisation*?

KV: No, we're not, absolutely not, not at all.

LM: Would say you're a network and a forum for exchange?

KV: Yes, that's what is in our mission: it's a *membership organisation which exists to stimulate the quality, the development and the contexts of performing arts in a global environment*. The context is of course also the European context. *By initiating and*

*facilitating professional networking and communication, the dynamic exchange of information*, which is also exchange of information on Europe, for example, what's happening, we have a special section on our website on Euro news, so that's very important. *Know-how transfer and presentations of examples of good practice*. So our network is really directed towards performing arts and creating the right contexts for our members to know what's happening amongst themselves and in Europe. So, let's say that our focus is slightly different, and in that sense the European work is only a little part of our total working scope.

LM: In this direction I'd also like to ask you sth. about your members: How interested are they in general in EU issues?

KV: I would say a lot of our members have worked together with them through *Culture 2000*-programmes, so of course they're very interested in what's happening and what are the possibilities for funding for European projects. For example, in our last meeting in Belgrade, we always invite somebody most of the time, in the last two years at least, we invite some person who would tell more about European funding, how does it work and so on, what are the pitfalls, what are the difficulties. We have somebody from our board, from Ireland, who is the Cultural Contact Point person, so the European Information Centre in Ireland. Of course, she knows a lot about European projects and about other regional funds you could apply for and so on, so we let her do a presentation towards our members and there is a lot of interest for that, especially because we do have a very western membership. Still I guess about 70% maybe are still from Western Europe, about sth. like that. But also from Eastern Europe and of course they're also very interested in knowing how to set up these projects. We've had somebody from Relais Culture Europe who is also a member. They're the European contact point in France. They've done a lot of work on regional funds, information on regional funds, and the regional funds are also open to cultural items. So, they for example, Pascal, who is the boss of Relais Culture Europe, has done a whole presentation on regional funds. So, yes, there is absolutely a lot of interest in our network for this kind of programmes. Of course, most of the people would get their first information on Europe probably from their local, from the national Cultural Contact Points.

But still it is true, networking in IETM, that you learn to know potential partners and we do have within our network meetings, say it's a possibility, to present ideas for projects, people could then feedback on it and some of those ideas grow to partnerships. It's always very difficult to speak as a secretariat of a network for the whole network, because there are 400 and more organisations and we cannot keep track on what they do, did they finally apply for money, for what and so on, that's difficult, but we do sometimes, we try to do at least once a year, kind of a survey which is focusing at one specific point and e.g. if you go on *On-The-Move*, on *publications*, you'll find sth. about tax and social security. That's somebody we commissioned, Judith Staines, to do a research within our members on what the situation is of tax and social security in their country, because it involves a lot of cross-border, if you work as a performing arts organisation cross-border then how does it work with tax, how does it work with social security, so our members are interested in what's happening also on the European level in terms of legislation and so on. And if they can find results via us, via a study that the secretariat is commissioning of course they're interested in it and there's a lot of cooperation on this kind of projects or studies. The same study was done on independent workers in Europe, what is the status of independent artists and independent cultural managers. Most of the input came from IETM members and they went really for in-

depth interviews. So in sharing your information in a network, it's sharing information about Europe.

LM: Do you always discuss Europe and EU cultural policy at the beginning, is it always a part of the conferences?

KV: We try to have always sth. as an info session, as a focus, an info session, a possibility. So, yes, it is definitely an item. And if you go on our section of news you can find, actually sometimes it's not so..., I think the red colour... it depends on how people fill it out, but if you post news as an IETM member you have to choose which type of news you put in and you can choose specifically for Euro news. So, you can see quite a lot of information that is related to Europe on our website.

LM: Do your members send comments and reactions to your website, is there a real dialogue on European issues amongst the members via the website?

KV: I would not say a dialogue. Most of our members are very busy people and they go visit our websites to find out information, but I think as such it's not so easy to create a kind of a very interactive dialogue via websites. They're not the type of people who are doing that on the website. They don't have the time. It depends on who from the organisation is actually going on the website, too, because most of our members, the person who is coming, it's the organisation as a member, not a person. So it depends on who they send from the organisation to our meetings and who within the organisation is using the benefits of the membership, going on the website. A lot of people might do it who are more in the touring part of the company. So the people who come to our meetings might be the artistic or the business director of a theatre or they might be the touring person. So it really depends, I think, also on the role and I think if the touring person who comes to our meetings, they might not necessarily be the first person who is interested in European policy and so on, but there is definitely, a lot of our members who are from their own already quite engaged in what's happening in Europe, though not all of them. Because our membership is very varied, we have very big companies, very big venues, very big choreographers, but we also have very small people who are just in the network of course to get to know other people, but who are not necessarily directly thinking about those issues. That's why they appreciate far more that this information is coming, being a focus point within our meetings. So it's in a way... our relation towards EFAH is a bit like the relation of our members towards us. We do the work, we find out for them what they can't do, what they don't have time for, what is not their focus and EFAH is doing for us what is not necessarily our direct focus. In that way, when we need them for information, they are very open to give us back information for studies and so on, but in general they are not directly involved with Europe.

LM: I've still got another question about your members. I put this question about who are the most effective and active members. What I meant was which members are most active in terms of participation in conferences or themselves organising meetings or contacting you on specific issues. From which professions and from which countries are they? Could you give a general overview about who are the most active in participating in your work?

KV: In our work...that's very ...I mean for 400 people! We've some people that are always ready to be part in a working group or speaking in a working group. We have members who are not just coming to our annual meetings, like we have two Plenary Meetings, in spring and in autumn and we organise, like you can see on our website, a lot of satellite meetings. So, some members are just coming to any kind of meeting. You have to be

able to pay it, of course, because it's quite expensive to be a member in the end because you have to pay your travel and your accommodation, so being a member of an organisation is an expensive business also. But we have members...it depends, I think the members who are the most active are the members who want to be in the Board. And there in the Board we have 20 people and it's a big Board because we wanted it big as it should represent the different facets in Europe. So in that sense those are the most active members in some way. I wouldn't say that all the Board members are very active. We have a core of the Daily Board which is very active who really thinks with us on the evolution of the network. So we have people from Holland, we have people from France in there, we have people from Germany, from Italy, from Portugal also. I would say really generally speaking from 400, if we have 50 organisations which really regularly contact us, that's probably a good...like one fourth of the members is really actively in touch with us, through inviting them to working groups, through the boards, through organising, of course, our members do organise our meetings. So our meetings depend on the initiative of a member. So if you would say that any member who has organised a meeting is an active member of IETM ...to take on the big responsibility and also the financial burden to organise a big meeting. So I think that shows the biggest involvement in the membership. - Turning of the tape-

We have two, we call it *plenary*, but it's actually one annual Plenary Meeting and the other one was called a *forum*, but in the end it's actually two Plenary Meetings. So, we're about 350 to 450 to 500 people come to.

LM: Is there a representative from almost each member organisation taking part in these two meetings per year? How big is the percentage of members who take part?

KV: In every meeting we have a very strong local attendance. That is to say there is possibilities, for local organisations who are not yet a member, they have the possibility go and see what the membership is like. And that most of them, like 20% of the people coming would be people from the local area, like from the local country. Some of them are members, some of them don't. Then we have people who are not members who can come one time and to see what IETM is like, that's maybe 10% and the rest is really members, I would say 70% of the people coming is members, but they do not necessarily come twice a year. And that's why we actually have organised twice a year a meeting, because if you're a member of IETM and you cannot make it to come to that one meeting, I mean the meeting is one of the most important things in the network, so then it's sad if you can't make it to that one meeting and that's why we have a second meeting so that at least you have once or twice a year the option to see the other members. So I would say of the membership that about ...yes, not everybody of the members is always coming.

LM: But at least once a year the members make it to the meeting?

KV: Yes, absolutely, otherwise it's not really...I mean, it's in the membership meeting that you see the other people and the physical contact is still the most important sth.. If you see how of course the network has also changed through the changes with internet and so on, I mean the website we have right now is quite old, I'm working on a new one, but that was done I think in '99 or so. So before that you can imagine how a network works without internet and therefore at that time the physical meetings were even more important.

But now there is a lot of opportunities to go and look for other partners or so on, but still people find that crucial to come to a network meeting like that because there are two



things you can get there: It's one from a lot of people who say 'It's really amazing how I get out four days a year and really can talk about things, about issues that are maybe a little bit further from my daily work, but that are so important to be discussed through our working groups and it also gives you the chance... you don't have to visit ten countries, you just go to one country and can see all the people you need to see. So, it's also in that way very economical to touch base with some people, to learn new people, to keep feedback on a lot of things, to put them together, to exchange. It doesn't always have to be with a very clear goal in mind like 'I'm going there to meet two partners and I want a project to be started next year', that's not happening necessarily. Part of this network... also we tell them always 'That's not the way it works'. IETM is not a market. We are not a commercial organisation. People should not come with an end in mind. The end in mind is to learn to know people and it's not to come out with you've sold a production or you've found a venue, that's not how it works. A lot of the new members might be kind of surprised after the first meeting and say 'It's kind of overwhelming, you meet so many people and I didn't sell anything...' but we tell them 'This is not the objective of these meetings'. The objective is really to know people, to discuss things about performer rights, contemporary performing arts, you see a lot of performances, this is another way of getting in touch with each other and that makes it quite informal and that's why it's actually called *Informal European Theatre Meeting*, that came from the basis in the 80s when it was founded at the end of the 80s, in the beginning actually '81, but it was really formalised in '89 with a not-for-profit organisation status. So you can imagine the eight years of very informality we didn't even have actually an association that people came together. So of course we became far more formal. We have four days of meetings, people expect things, they expect working groups, they expect good performances, they expect an interesting opening panel, people's expectations are rising, of course, because I think in general in the cultural sector the professionalism has been going up a lot. People think also far more economical like 'Okay, I want to get sth. out of that in terms of new ideas or...' so, as a secretariat you have to perform.

LM: Could I ask you about the organisation like e.g. now you met in March in Belgrade. Did IETM members from Belgrade organise the performance programme and you searched for grants for people to travel or what is the working share?

KV: It's completely a collaborative project in the sense that we have here Michel Quéré who is working full-time on that, on the big meetings, like the two big meetings and then Milica, who is the administrator, works with him on it and I do the communication for it. We work in terms of content also so what we do is we agree with the local organisation what is the general theme, because the theme always has to be related to the environments, to the contexts. We define that, e.g. in Belgrade it was quite politically oriented, the Balkans being at the side of Europe, not into the EU. So there was a lot of working groups that were related to political things like dissidents, structure of theatre, subjects that are just of interest to the members and also to the local people. And then we decide on different working groups. There are working groups that they are pushing, locally, they say 'We really want to talk about that' and we say 'Fine, you can go and look for speakers for this' and then there are working groups that we found out during the last meeting that people are really interested in that we want to push forward. And then we basically work together and then we look at very balanced speakers' panels, speakers can be from outside, *outside* meaning not even in performing arts, could be. Most of the speakers are actually coming from the network itself because that's where you have the transfer of knowledge, of course.

We also see this as an opportunity to invite potential members because we think that - because it was one of your questions also how do we get new members - we don't go actively looking for new members, but we do it in such way that we think 'Okay, this organisation is doing really interesting work, that person can really talk very good about it, let's invite this person.' And then that person of that organisation might be interested in becoming a member and it often happens like that, that we look what is alive, who is doing what and then we invite those people. So in that sense we're improving also the membership of the network because in general people ask, they have this letter that they write to us, we ask them actually for their motivation, how they got to know us, why they want to become a member, we tell them that it is not a market, 'Don't come with this kind of expectation', so we know what their expectations are. But in the sense of artistic content we might say for some of them 'Okay...'. Well, it's okay that they want to become member, but they're not necessarily the avant-garde of their country. But then again you have to see things in the context that we're not here to kind of be the decision makers on what is good and what is bad. So in that sense we are an open network and we do want to ask more to other members who we think are good, who are quite representative for contemporary performing arts in our network to introduce members, so that it's not the secretariat doing it, but they say that... we ask them like 'who is good in your country, don't you think they should be member, maybe you could talk to them', it happens more like that, in a rather, I wouldn't say a very structured way, because it's not like in a commercial sector membership organisation that you try to get as many members as possible. We do have a very stable membership, if you think that it started from zero to more than 400. I think it tells sth. about the organisation. And it is quite stable, I think it is always between 390 and 410 sth. like that, people change, people go away, new people come in, it really depends.

And of course the local organiser is also very important, the local organiser of the meeting, in terms of warming up people for an IETM meeting and we've seen now for the Birmingham meeting that we had a lot of English people joining in. Sometimes there is also stimulus from the local governments to like push them to be a member of IETM, to become more international, like in England, in the UK, they got I think membership of ...half of the membership was paid by the Arts Council, so that also happens.

LM: Did the Arts Council see their membership as a means to bring forward the internationalisation of the sector?

KV: Yes, exactly. That's being pushed quite a lot because we don't only have theatres and production houses as members, but also what we call *associate members*. They are the institutions, we have the British Council as a member, the Irish Arts Council as a member, the French, the Dutch, the Flemish, the Finnish, so we do have those people, those institutes who want to become a member. They have to pay far more, I think it's 2200 € or sth. Because we're a network for the sector and not really for institutes, but these institutes also want to know what's happening in the sector so we're of course a good platform to know it, that's why they want to become a member. And for us it is also important because first of all they pay more money which is not bad for us in terms of sustainability of the network, they give additional opportunities maybe for projects they're funding, small projects they're funding, so it is important, I think.

LM: So you don't yourself approach people or organisations and invite them directly? Is it normally in connection with the seminars and conferences that you invite them as an observer and then they can make up their minds themselves?

KV: Yes, as observer or speaker.

LM: Now I'd like to address three more things.

First, you have mentioned that so far you don't have so many members from the new EU countries. There is quite some imbalance. Do you do sth. to attract members from there especially? Is there a problem that they don't have the money or the information?

KV: We do have a small travel fund that we use. What is interesting is that from those countries people do not necessarily use it. Or like, when we had the meeting in Budapest, at that time I sent out a lot of information to a lot of organisations in Hungary, outside Hungary, to make them come and to tell 'Okay, there is a travel fund, apply for it' and so on, but there is not necessarily be coming a lot of reaction and that's sth. that is quite...it's not just our network who has that problem. I think probably quite a lot of other networks, too, who see that there is another spirit in terms of networking in the East of Europe than there is in the West. That's quite interesting actually to see that in the end, I mean networks in Western Europe are also a thing that only started in the 80s. And it started in the pre-internet times when there was a real need for people who felt 'We want sth. against the big institutions, the national institutions, we want to be able like in civil society to directly connect with each other' and maybe that's also a reason that now as such with internet also in Eastern Europe maybe they think it's not necessary to be part of it. Or they might think that our network is too western. So there might be lots of different reasons why people don't want to become a network member, but what would be interesting, this could be a topic of a study even, is to see...I don't think it's just an IETM phenomenon, I think it's just in general, it's not so easy to engage those people in becoming part.

LM: So do you think it's more an attitude problem or is it also connected to structural opportunities or possibilities for them?

KV: Well, there is, I remember in our Belgrade meeting, a lot of people who came to that meeting actually applied, I believe, maybe that's not true, but for the *Step Beyond*-fund, yes, actually yes, some people came. The *Step Beyond* is a mobility fund from ECF which is especially working on mobility in the East of Europe and in the Balkans, so some people applied for this funding. There is a possibility. There is not so much, but there is, absolutely. I think it also has to do of course with the structure itself of the organisation that they might not necessarily have the possibilities to become international. Because as I said before even a lot of small companies here, they don't necessarily have the money to do it. Even if you only pay 125 € because that's what I think, I'm not having it out of my head, but let's say the contribution for Eastern European countries is not so high comparatively, it's only 125 €. So that might not be the steps against it, but it means that you have to pay your travel to go to whatever, to go to Paris for a meeting, to Birmingham and that's quite expensive, of course. It's an investment of another 400/500 € a way. And that's just to get connected. What does it mean then later on? To get connected is also to use those connections that you have. And to use those connections probably involves even more travel. So definitely economic reasons are also involved in this, absolutely. But at the same time those people we have as members are very active people.

LM: The ones from the new EU member countries?

KV: Yes, absolutely.

LM: I've read in your papers that you've got special membership schemes for weaker organisations.

- KV: Kind of exchange possibilities. There is a possibility as in members from... let's say they are really people who don't have money, but we think that they should become member to kind of deliver things in more, *in natura*, they could provide us with information or with a study that they've done or anything like that. I must say that's a proposal and it exists, but that very few people have actually made use of that. I believe we discussed this with people in South America, I don't know what happens with that, but again, then you can become a member, but we cannot go and support everything by on-taps so I guess that's the problem and that's actually why more mobility funds are necessary because the only way to cooperate is to see each other. I mean there's many European projects where people never met each other even before signing the project and that's absolutely hilarious and I mean it happens, absolutely.
- LM: So you still trust this face-to-face contact. But in between the meetings, what is your means, is it e-mail mainly?
- KV: Yes, we've got our own letters, our newsletters that we send out and then we have satellite meetings also, smaller meetings, like now we've a meeting in Singapore where at least 30 of our members will come to which is quite a lot. Those meetings are more responding to specific questions in the network or specific issues. We have a meeting in Nantes which is then bringing these three worlds, which I was talking about, together and discuss this, the worlds of information, online and culture. Part of our members will also be going to that one. Then we have a meeting in Dušanbe where maybe very few will come, but...also that members find it very important that those meetings are taking place even though they can't take part in it. I think it's also in that sense a psychological thing you feel that you're part of a network that is very active and that's a good thing. You don't want to be in a network that is just there to give addresses or whatever. I mean there is a lot of thought of what we do in the secretariat also as a value and they really appreciate that even though they might one day really want to make use of it, but not necessarily which is quite interesting of course. But if you would say 'okay, we only do two meetings a year for the rest we don't do anything' like it was maybe six or seven years ago. That might make the network less interesting. Like the whole On-The-Move project which is taking a lot of time of me and Mary Ann because we work on it a lot and in some ways we're not paid to do that, but the members find it really important and they use that website also to look for touring opportunities and so on. So there's a lot of services we offer that are tangible, like the portals, but also intangible and they feel it important to be part of a network.
- LM: And do you think you've got enough, like in the office, you've got enough capacity to have this close and frequent contact to the members?
- KV: The person who has most of the contact is probably Milica, the administrator, because she has to chase the people to pay the membership fees, but of course she doesn't talk only about money. And then for me it's more by e-mail and then for Michel also when there is a big meeting coming. We're always looking for our members to contribute so we're calling a lot of members, we're asking their opinions and so on. And people are just calling us for any kind of information and that might be as many people from non-IETM members as members. There is a lot of people just calling us like that and that was one of the reasons why we set up On-The-Move because we felt that we started to be kind of a general consultancy organisation which is, we don't really have time to do that. On-The-Move also gives an answer, so a lot of things, when people ask us 'How could I find a possibility to tour around in France?' and we say 'Why don't you go and look at On-The-Move?'

- LM: So you are also open to questions from the general public or the general cultural sector, not only for the members?
- KV: As I say, people do it like that. Of course we're answering to that. 'Sorry, you are not a member. We can't answer your call.' You know, we give interviews to students and so on. We've been talking about this internally because we do get a lot of this kind of calls, too and for us, it's also quite a lot. So with EFAH we were thinking about setting up a Frequently-Asked-Questions, FAQ on networks.
- LM: Yes, but it's true, I'm so glad that you give me with all this information.
- KV: Yes, but it is information and I tell you there's a lot of students who want to make research on networks. Funny enough, they all do the same type of research. I think your dimension with bringing in the cultural dimension is quite interesting I mean the rest of information you could find on the website also, but there is a lot of people who do that. I don't know what your interest specifically came to, why you want to talk about networks.
- LM: Last summer, I've had a good search on all kinds of cultural and arts training institutions, that was just for general interest because I hadn't been studying cultural policy for too long so I wanted to see what kind of actors there are in this field, especially when it comes to EU cultural policy. So, that's where my idea came from.
- KV: Yes, I think it's interesting, I think that perspective is interesting. As I've said in the beginning there is a lot of things happening I think especially in the last two years on this, but Ilona will give you – if she has time to do it – a lot of information on that and there is a lot of information on their website, really before you call her just really go through their website, there is really a lot of information on that.
- LM: Okay. And could I ask you two more things now? The first would be about the Board: Is it always at the autumn Plenary Meeting that a third of the Board members is exchanged? In which Plenary Meeting do you elect them?
- KV: That depends. We did it in March this year, actually. We did it in the spring meeting and before that I haven't been part of a Board election actually in the last two years and a bit. That's probably in the statutes that it's written like that, but it's not...yes, I guess it is...I'm not so sure about it.
- LM: Do the present member of the Board mainly come from the management side of cultural organisations or are there also artists?
- KV: The members of the board, let me think, who are the members now, let me just go through their e-mails to see. Axel Tangerding...yes, he's setting up artistic projects and he's also a manager of his theatre; Catherine Boothman is a Cultural Contact Point Person, so she's coming more from the institutional side; Chrissie is absolutely, is both, I think, artistic and business; Jan Zoet is from Rotterdam Theatre, is business; Jean-Christophe Bonneau is from ONDA, is from an institute, from the French ONDA; Jörg Scharpff is an independent organiser; José..., I think both of them have...if they have small organisations, they have double functions, if it's big organisations they have business functions like our president Laurent Dréano is now head of the culture of Lille in France, the city of Lille; Massimo has his own organisation, setting up festivals; Mette is both; Mojca is part of an organisation, she's not necessarily directly in charge of the business side; Murielle is at the business side, I believe; Nan is the business side; Nicky is the business side; Pavel is the business side; Zoltan...yes, I think, it is really mixed.

LM: And is it also internally mixed, like the participants of the seminars, is it a good mixture of artists and management people?

KV: I believe so, yes, because the people who represent their organisations are either artistic managers, both or only business managers and it depends on the topics we create because within our meetings we have topics that are -you could see that in our past meeting information- topics that are more business related or more management related and topics that are more artistic related. And then of course depending on what they say, we kind of select them.

LM: And now the last question, about the grants: Since when have you got financial support from the EU? Is it only since the A-Line has been established or had you already got support before that?

KV: I don't believe so, I'm not sure about that. I think it's since the A-Lines.

LM: So how has IETM financed itself from the beginning?

KV: Membership fees. Right now, also right now, I think 40% is membership fees, 40% or 39% is EU and then the Flemish Community and then the Dutch OCW, Education and Culture, so we have like four funders.

LM: And the ministry has been giving funds from the beginning, also or has IETM mainly been built up from membership contributions?

KV: Not from the beginning, no. At the beginning it was only membership fees.

LM: And then...you said that all of you had got training in fund-raising. Who is most active in that field?

KV: Most active is Mary Ann because since we all came, we have changed the organisation about two years ago. Before that we were only two people, one administrator and Mary Ann and we had always like one or two stagiaires. But now we're four full-time people which have very distinctive roles, of course. So, Michel is working on the big meetings and South America and Central Asia, I'm working on communication, on training, on On-The-Move and on Asia and then Milica is working on the Balkan Express project and on administration and also on the big meetings in terms of administration and content. So we do split in terms of fund-raising, if I look at it for our defined projects like Asia e.g., I've been working hard on Asia fund-raising for specific meetings, Michel also for his meetings in Central Asia. It's basically still working in a team, but towards the future fund-raising and the vision for fund-raising is Mary Ann.

LM: Which kind of bodies will she address?

KV: Foundations. A lot of foundations, a lot of cultural ministries from other countries.

LM: Are you counting on the EU grant to stay at the same level in the coming years?

KV: We hope it's more. For the coming year, it will probably be less, it will be 20% less.

LM: Because of the phasing out of the A-Line support?

KV: Yes.

LM: I ask that because I was thinking about the competition now that the ...if the funding for networks is integrated into the new *Culture*-programme there might be more organisations applying for grants.

KV: Exactly. There will be.

- LM: Have you been engaged in setting up these criteria? Because I have also found some documents about setting up selection criteria for networks. Or is it also mainly EFAH who is working on that?
- KV: Setting up of criteria...where did you read that? Mary Ann might have worked on that. I mean she's been I think the most active network coordinator for a lot of networks. She was probably very heavily involved in that. Don't quote me on it, but, that's why it would be interesting, if you write out your things that we read it because I want Mary Ann also to read it because she's in the end been here for over 10 years, I mean she's pushed so many evolutions and changed and so on, so she's really the memory of our network.
- LM: Yes, I will write out this interview and send it to you and then...what do you mean when you say you would like to read, would you also like to read my other text before I hand it in, like the whole thesis? I will send you the whole thesis in the end.
- KV: Yes, in the end. No, I would say specifically the interview, what you write about IETM because it is quite important that the things I've said in the right way. That's why it's important, also for you.
- LM: Yes, of course, I don't want to mix things up.
- KV: So, how many networks are you interviewing?
- LM: I hope to get into contact with Ilona and then also with GiannaLia from ENCATC.
- KV: Ah, GiannaLia. She's next door here.
- LM: Ah. So then I hope to have the three networks which are most active. I've heard from Ritva Mitchell that it's you and then EFAH and ENCATC.
- KV: ELIA also. That could be also interesting. Carla Delfos, I think she's very good, too.
- LM: Yes, I will try to contact her. I just think she's really busy.
- KV: Yes, I know.
- LM: So, I will see.
- KV: Yes, because we work a lot with them, too, with Carla Delfos, absolutely.
- LM: And then...would you mind if I contacted you again via e-mail in case I need to be clear about some numbers I take from the budget, for example?
- KV: Yes, that's no problem.
- LM: So I can confirm those numbers.
- KV: Okay.
- LM: And...so far I've got two budgets from you and I'm not even sure whether I'm going to quote a great deal from them, but would you mind sending me the one for the last year also?
- KV: The budgets? From the last year. Where did you get the budgets?
- LM: I got from you the budgets of 2002 and 2003.
- KV: Okay. I would have to check with Milica. Because she's the person doing that.
- LM: Okay. But I will send you an e-mail and ask specifically for it.
- KV: Okay.

LM: So, for now I thank you a lot for making time to tell me all these things about your network.

KV: That's fine. And I wish you success with your thesis.

LM: Thank you very much. Bye, bye.

KV: Bye.



### 3 Tables: Membership Composition of the Networks

The tables contain full-members, associate members and individual members.

|                       |           |               |          |
|-----------------------|-----------|---------------|----------|
| <b>EU 15</b>          |           | <b>Non-EU</b> |          |
| Austria               | 5         | Bulgaria      | 2        |
| Belgium               | 13        | Romania       | 1        |
| Denmark               | 1         | Russia        | 1        |
| Finland               | 1         |               | <b>4</b> |
| France                | 12        |               |          |
| Germany               | 10        |               |          |
| Greece                | 1         |               |          |
| Ireland               | 1         |               |          |
| Italy                 | 6         |               |          |
| Luxembourg            | 1         |               |          |
| Netherlands           | 14        |               |          |
| Portugal              | 1         |               |          |
| Spain                 | 1         |               |          |
| Sweden                | 3         |               |          |
| UK                    | 13        |               |          |
|                       | <b>83</b> |               |          |
| <b>EU 25</b>          |           |               |          |
| Czech Rep.            | 1         |               |          |
| Estonia               | -         |               |          |
| Hungary               | 2         |               |          |
| Latvia                | -         |               |          |
| Lithuania             | -         |               |          |
| Poland                | 1         |               |          |
| Slovakia              | -         |               |          |
| Slovenia              | -         |               |          |
| Kreta                 | -         |               |          |
| Zypern                | -         |               |          |
|                       | <b>4</b>  |               |          |
| <b>Total</b>          | <b>87</b> |               |          |
| <b>Total EFAH: 91</b> |           |               |          |

Table A: Membership Composition of EFAH (source: EFAH www 2005b)

|                          |           |                     |           |
|--------------------------|-----------|---------------------|-----------|
| <b>EU 15</b>             |           | <b>Non-EU</b>       |           |
| Austria                  | 5         | Armenia             | 1         |
| Belgium                  | 3         | Australia           | 1         |
| Denmark                  | 2         | Bulgaria            | 2         |
| Finland                  | 7         | Georgia             | 1         |
| France                   | 13        | Macedonia           | 1         |
| Germany                  | 9         | Moldova             | 1         |
| Greece                   | -         | Mongolia            | 1         |
| Ireland                  | 1         | Norway              | 1         |
| Italy                    | 6         | Romania             | 1         |
| Luxembourg               | -         | Russia              | 7         |
| Netherlands              | 2         | Serbia & Montenegro | 1         |
| Portugal                 | 2         | Switzerland         | 2         |
| Spain                    | 5         | Ukraine             | 2         |
| Sweden                   | 4         | USA                 | 5         |
| UK                       | 16        | Taiwan              | 1         |
|                          | <b>75</b> |                     | <b>28</b> |
| <b>EU 25</b>             |           |                     |           |
| Cyprus                   | -         |                     |           |
| Czech Rep.               | 2         |                     |           |
| Estonia                  | 2         |                     |           |
| Hungary                  | 2         |                     |           |
| Latvia                   | 2         |                     |           |
| Lithuania                | 1         |                     |           |
| Malta                    | -         |                     |           |
| Poland                   | 4         |                     |           |
| Slovakia                 | 2         |                     |           |
| Slovenia                 | -         |                     |           |
|                          | <b>15</b> |                     |           |
| <b>Total</b>             | <b>90</b> |                     |           |
| <b>Total ENCATC: 118</b> |           |                     |           |

Table B: Membership Composition of ENCATC (source: ENCATC 2005)

|                        |            |                     |           |
|------------------------|------------|---------------------|-----------|
| Austria                | 12         | Albania             | 1         |
| Belgium                | 38         | Armenia             | 1         |
| Denmark                | 23         | Brazil              | 1         |
| Finland                | 10         | Bulgaria            | 1         |
| France                 | 33         | Canada              | 17        |
| Germany                | 21         | Croatia             | 4         |
| Greece                 | 2          | Iceland             | 4         |
| Ireland                | 5          | Jordan              | 1         |
| Italy                  | 14         | Macedonia           | 1         |
| Luxembourg             | 1          | Norway              | 8         |
| Netherlands            | 46         | Palestine           | 1         |
| Portugal               | 12         | Romania             | 6         |
| Spain                  | 17         | Russia              | 2         |
| Sweden                 | 12         | Serbia & Montenegro | 4         |
| UK                     | 50         | Switzerland         | 8         |
|                        | <b>296</b> | Tunesia             | 3         |
| <b>EU 25</b>           |            | USA                 | 3         |
| Cyprus                 | -          | <b>Total</b>        | <b>66</b> |
| Czech Rep.             | 6          |                     |           |
| Estonia                | 2          |                     |           |
| Hungary                | 9          |                     |           |
| Latvia                 | 1          |                     |           |
| Lithuania              | 1          |                     |           |
| Malta                  | -          |                     |           |
| Poland                 | 4          |                     |           |
| Slovakia               | 2          |                     |           |
| Slovenia               | 9          |                     |           |
|                        | <b>34</b>  |                     |           |
| <b>Total</b>           | <b>330</b> |                     |           |
| <b>Total IETM: 396</b> |            |                     |           |

Table C: Membership Composition of IETM (source: IETM membership list of 10.01.2005)