

Culture 2000 under Eastern Eyes

CULTURAL CO-OPERATION BETWEEN OLD,
NEW AND FUTURE EU MEMBERS – A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS
2000–2005



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by the Budapest Observatory

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The Budapest Observatory – short for Regional Observatory on Financing Culture in East-Central Europe – is a non-profit organisation, whose mission is to collect and provide information about the ways cultural life – cultural activities and products – are being financed in east-central European countries. The nations of the region, due to common historical and cultural legacy, share similar prospects and challenges, and of course represent important differences. The Budapest Observatory facilitates research, collects and provides information, establishes contacts in areas that include the financing of culture, cultural policy, legislation and statistics. www.budobs.org has more.

Abbreviations:

Austria	AT	Greece	GR	Netherlands	NL
Belgium	BE	Hungary	HU	Norway	NO
Bulgaria	BG	Iceland	IS	Poland	PL
Croatia	HR	Ireland	IE	Portugal	PT
Czech Republic	CZ	Italy	IT	Romania	RO
Denmark	DK	Japan	JP	Slovakia	SK
Estonia	EE	Lithuania	LT	Slovenia	SI
Finland	FI	Liban	LB	Spain	ES
France	FR	Latvia	LV	Sweden	SE
Germany	DE	Luxembourg	LU	United Kingdom	UK

Cultural heritage	Heritage
Multidisciplined creativity	Multidisc.
Literature, books and reading	Book
Performing arts	Performing
Visual arts	Visual



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Culture 2000 under Eastern Eyes

The Budapest Cultural Observatory “observes” conditions of culture in east and central Europe¹, the geographical belt between the Baltic and Adriatic seas, composed of some 20 countries or so that share similar Cold War experiences. European integration has been the main agenda for the past fifteen years in these societies. Integration became a political and administrative reality for 10 of these countries, exemplified, among others, by their gradual integration into Culture 2000, the cultural co-operation programme of the European Commission.² In 2000, eastern countries were eligible as partners; from 2001 they could apply in their own right.³

Based on the lists of winning projects in the six years between 2000–2005, as displayed on the Culture 2000 pages of the Europa website, we examined how this integration of eastern countries into this form of cultural co-operation progressed. This is the updated and expanded version of a similar analysis that covered the first four years.⁴

8566

The first general observation is technical – with of course deeper implications. Our sources have been the files on display at the web site of the Commission.⁵ Besides errors and contradictions that we ourselves discovered, we received a number of messages that pointed at mistakes in what we had published about our analyses. We were advised that our data showed differences with regards to a certain country or organisation which factually did (or did not) participate in Culture 2000. We were at

1 “Eastern” are used in the language of political convenience, instead of the more pedantic or sensitive usage of “east and central”.

2 This 10 is not the same as the 10 that entered the Union in 2004. Our observations do not cover Cyprus and Malta: we have, however, included Bulgaria and Romania, fully participating in Culture 2000.

3 Except for Slovenia, that joined one year later.

4 <http://www.budobs.org/C2000easteyes.pdf>

5 http://ec.europa.eu/culture/eac/culture2000/cult_2000_en.html

a loss. Most of the remarks of this kind could not be verified from the available sources. The staff of the Budapest Observatory spent entire weeks trying to reconstruct a relatively reliable data base from the tables whose structures differ each year and whose data do not fully correspond to one another. Obvious errors remain uncorrected. The whole system seems to serve for immediate release and not for reliable documentation.⁶

We finally decided that since we are unable to check the reliability of all the 8566 lines of our data base, we are forced to disregard occasional corrections from the field and declare that the object of our analysis is what one can read (or could read in May 2006) on the website of the European Commission.

We combined all scores of all six years and we got an aggregate table with 8566 lines: each line representing an organisation that took part in a Culture 2000 project. (Some organisations appear several times because they participated in several projects.)

945

In the six years between 2000 and 2005, Culture 2000 granted support to 945 cultural co-operation projects, ones that by definition involve operators from three countries or more.

In addition, there were 338 grants given to publishers in support of literary translations. Translation projects, however, do not involve a co-operating partner and should not therefore be compared to the remaining cases, where cultural organisations from various countries engage in trans-national co-operation. The 338 translation projects are analysed at the end of this document. This does not mean that we are neglecting them. On the contrary, we believe that translation grants deserve more than being an appendix of the cultural co-operation programme. They should be treated as part of a complex programme that affects the entire scope of publishing on minor languages, concentrating on translation but involving production, distribution and marketing as well – in many ways similar to the way in which the Union promotes the European cinema. On the whole, we believe that besides the political approach that focuses on the translation of bureaucratic materials to the (now 20, with Irish soon 21) official languages of the European Union, greater emphasis should be laid on the cultural approach to all languages that are spoken and/or read in Europe.

⁶ We have received occasional polite help from the Commission, but we were made to feel that tinkering on past records is not their job. It would be worth employing an intern who could do this cleaning in a couple of weeks.

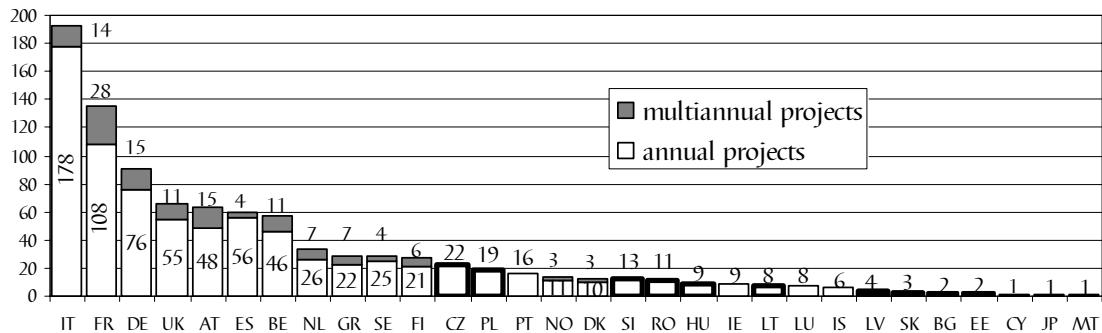


Diagram 1
The 945 projects by country of the leader

The 945 cultural co-operation projects are composed of 809 annual and 136 multiannual ones. This is the basic dividing line – the very structure of the relevant web pages of the European Commission implies the same. The fact that annual projects received an average of 116 thousand euros against 675 thousand of the multi-annual programmes, sufficiently justifies this division. However, it would take a more sophisticated apparatus to take this distinction into account all along our analysis.

The 945 projects were led by organisations from 30 countries – see **Diagram 1**. Italy has given by far the greatest number of leaders – 192 which is 20.3% of all. France and Germany follow with 14,4% and 9,6% respectively; behind them the UK has caught up and Spain lagged behind in the past two years. The spectacular Italian dominance – which has further increased slightly in the past two years – has elicited a number of explanations, which remains outside of the scope of this analysis; some of the reasoning is favourable to the cultural community of that country, some not particularly.

It is also worth noting that there are five far-sighted (western) countries where 20% or more of the projects won (but at least 5) are multi-annual: France, Austria, Netherlands, Greece and Finland.

186 556

According to **Tables 1** and **2**, during the six years € 186.5 million was spent on the 945 cultural co-operation projects. If you think those columns in Diagram 1 correspond to money received, you are wrong. They more or less do, but not exactly. All along this statistical analysis you will read about projects, cases, occasions etc. Our

Table 1
Number of supported projects

Type of project	2000		2001		2002		2003		2004		2005		2000-2005	
	a	m	a	m	a	m	a	m	a	m	a	m	a	m
CO-OPERATION PROJECTS														
Cultural heritage	60	13	47	12	19	2	12	2	89	17	43	7	270	53
Literary translation co-operation	5												5	0
Multidisciplined creativity	11		16	3									27	3
Literature, books and reading	15	1	9	2	8	2	11	1	9	2	7	4	59	12
Performing arts	46	7	39	11	20	3	83	13	23	3	45	7	256	44
Cultural co-operation in 3rd countries	1		2		2		1		6		10		22	0
Visual arts	4		4		100	17	15	2	13	2	15	3	151	24
Heritage laboratory projects	2		3		3		4		1		6		19	0
Total number of co-operation projects	144	21	120	28	152	24	126	18	141	24	126	21	809	136
	165		148		176		144		165		147		945	
OTHER PROJECTS														
Literary translations	52		42		48		55		71		70		338	
European capitals of culture for actual year	9		2		2		1		2		1		17	
European capitals of culture for next year	2		2		1		2		0		1		8	
European contemporary architecture prize (Mies van der Rohe)			1				1				1		3	
TOTAL	229		195		227		209		238		220		1312	

a - annual
m - multiannual

Table 2

Amounts of grants provided for supported projects (in thousand €)

Type of project	2000		2001		2002		2003		2004		2005		2000-2005	
	a	m	a	m	a	m	a	m	a	m	a	m	a	m
CO-OPERATION PROJECT														
Cultural heritage	7 256	7 221	5 194	7 742	2 027	1 360	1 486	1 793	9 948	11 001	4 528	5 540	30 439	34 658
Literary translation co-operation	620												620	
Multidisciplined creativity	1 203		1 566	2 174									2 769	2 174
Literature, books and reading	1 351	883	991	470	849	711	1 204	351	1 209	609	823	1 898	6 427	4 922
Performing arts	5 603	5 797	4 400	7 577	2 178	2 376	10 010	11 026	2 870	1 559	5 750	5 456	30 811	33 792
Cultural co-operation in 3rd countries	150		206		289		150		807		1 215		2 817	
Visual arts	422		424		10 045	11 195	1 398	1 111	1 627	1 679	1 881	2 308	15 796	16 293
Heritage laboratory projects	600		630		855		701		300		1 202		4 289	
Total budget of co-operation projects	17 204	13 901	13 411	17 963	16 244	15 642	14 949	14 281	16 762	14 848	15 399	15 202	93 969	91 838
	31 105		31 374		31 886		29 230		31 610		30 601		185 806	
OTHER PROJECTS														
Literary translations	837		1 048		1 211		1 353		2 038		2 089		8 576	
European capitals of culture for actual year	980		700		700		375		750		375		3 880	
European capitals of culture for next year	250		250		125		250		0		125		1 000	
European contemporary architecture prize (Mies van der Rohe) - new special project?	150				150				150				450	
Verdi			545										545	
300th anniversary of St Petersburg							350						350	
European cultural month in St. Petersburg							100						100	
EU enlargement celebration							506						506	
Cooperation with Council of Europe							95		150				245	
EU Japan (13 projects)											1 170		1 170	
TOTAL	33 321		33 918		34 072		32 259		34 697		34 360		202 628	

a - annual

m - multiannual

sources do not tell about the proportions by which the respective grants were divided between the winning coalitions, leader and co-operating operations. The five countries mentioned in the previous paragraph, have taken home a higher proportion, due to the higher budgets of the multiannual projects. (This is a rough approximation. These five “delegated” quite a few multiannual project leaders. There may be, on the other hand, many co-operating partners in multiannual projects from some other countries and thus may be granted equally high amounts.)

93

To focus now on our chosen theme, the score of the eastern countries, we find 93 projects led by organisations from this region. Czechs and Slovenes have lately been particularly successful, Czech organisations clearly becoming the best in winning grants as (eastern) leaders of a project. The last position goes to Bulgaria and Estonia, each leading only two programmes.

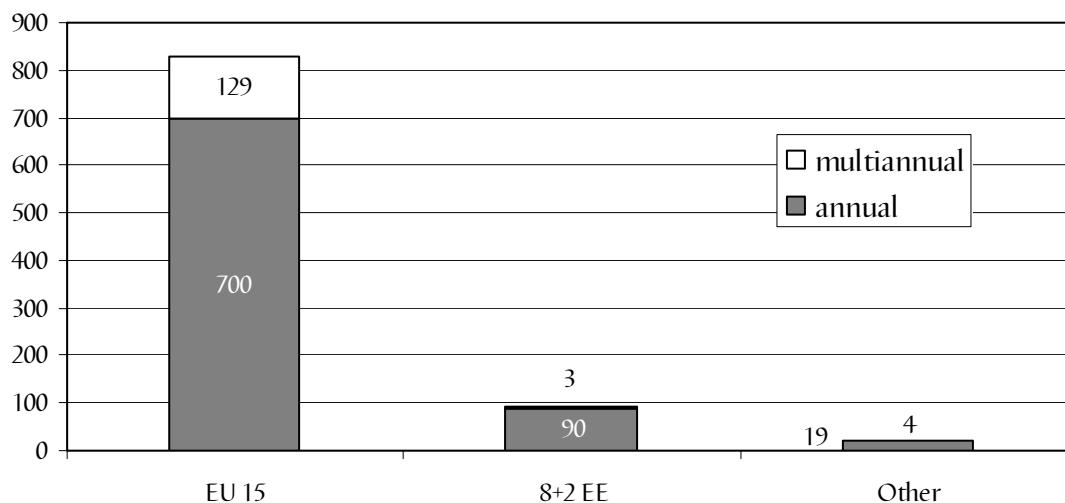


Diagram 2
The 945 project leaders by group of countries

Diagram 2 might imply a very low level of involvement, nearly a failure of integrating the new democracies into Culture 2000. Indeed, the ten eastern countries came up with less than half of what Italy has produced, and the ten together slightly more than Germany alone. One should remember, however, that in the first year eastern

countries were excluded from leadership. From 2001 the number of eastern leads showed a steady rise of 9 – 16 – 23; since then it has seemed to reach saturation, with 24 and 21 in 2004–2005.

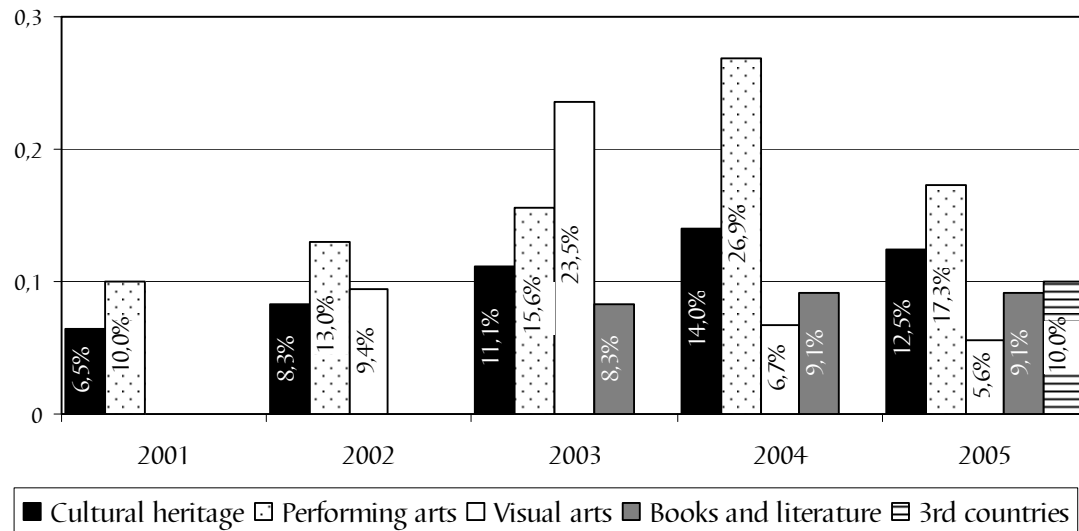


Diagram 3
The 93 eastern-led projects as percentage of all winners by field and year

Besides, **Diagram 3** shows that in all three great fields (heritage,⁷ visual and performing arts), project leaders from the eastern ten have at least in one year and one field surpassed the rate that is proportionate to the rough population size of 24%.⁸ On country and sector level the 13 Polish leadership cases in performing arts are respectable by any standard, similarly the 9 Czech-led heritage projects.

448

In the next sections the degree and distribution of western openness towards the east is examined. Out of the 945 winning projects, less than half had one form of eastern involvement: leader, co-organiser or associate organisation. **Diagram 4**

⁷ For sake of simplification the “cultural heritage laboratories” have been included into the heritage projects.

⁸ 103 million inhabitants in the eastern ten out of a population of 463 million in the EU 27.

shows that there was very little eastern presence in the early years. By 2004, however, it had reached almost 70% – and remained at almost 70% in 2005! When this booklet comes out of press, the Budapest Observatory team has learned whether in the concluding seventh year eastern involvement has broken through the 70% limit.

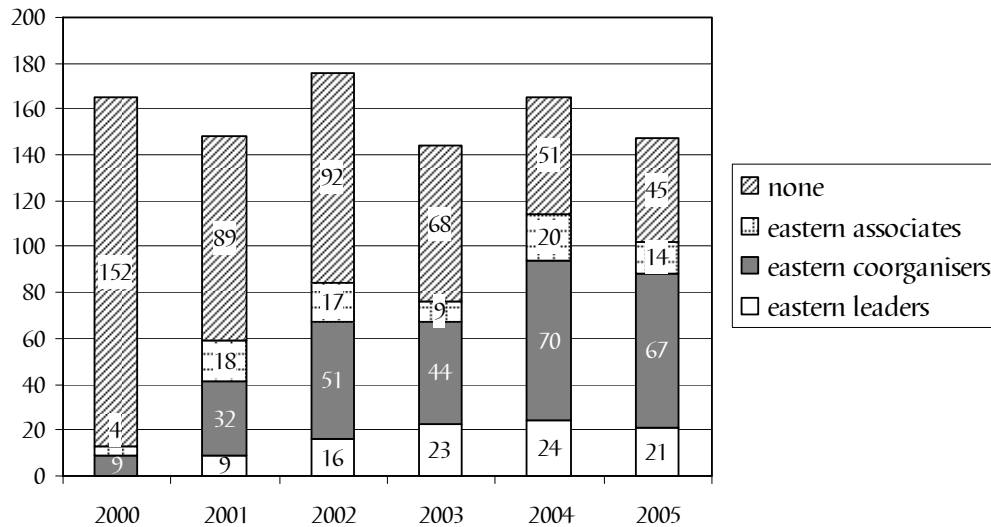


Diagram 4
The 448 projects with eastern involvement by year and highest level of participation

353

Out of the 945 winning projects, eastern co-organisers were selected in every third case, that is in 353 projects.⁹ These were voluntary decisions: Culture 2000 announcements did not oblige or visibly prioritise applicants to include partners from the new member countries.

On **Diagram 5** Italy appears to be the champion of west-east collaboration in every field of culture. Germany comes in second in general and in two of the major sectors, except for the performing arts where the silver medal goes to France. Not surprisingly, the most distant members Ireland and Portugal close the list with one case each.

In 2002 the visual arts were declared the priority theme. That produced a high concentration of cases when one or another organisation in an old member state

⁹ More accurately, there were 358 west-led projects. However, the non-EU-run 3 projects (Iceland and Norway) have been disregarded in our analysis.

brought in eastern co-organisers into a Culture 2000 visual arts project. **Diagram 6** shows that such frequency could not be repeated a year later by performing artists when their field was the priority. For this and similar findings, study **Table 3**.

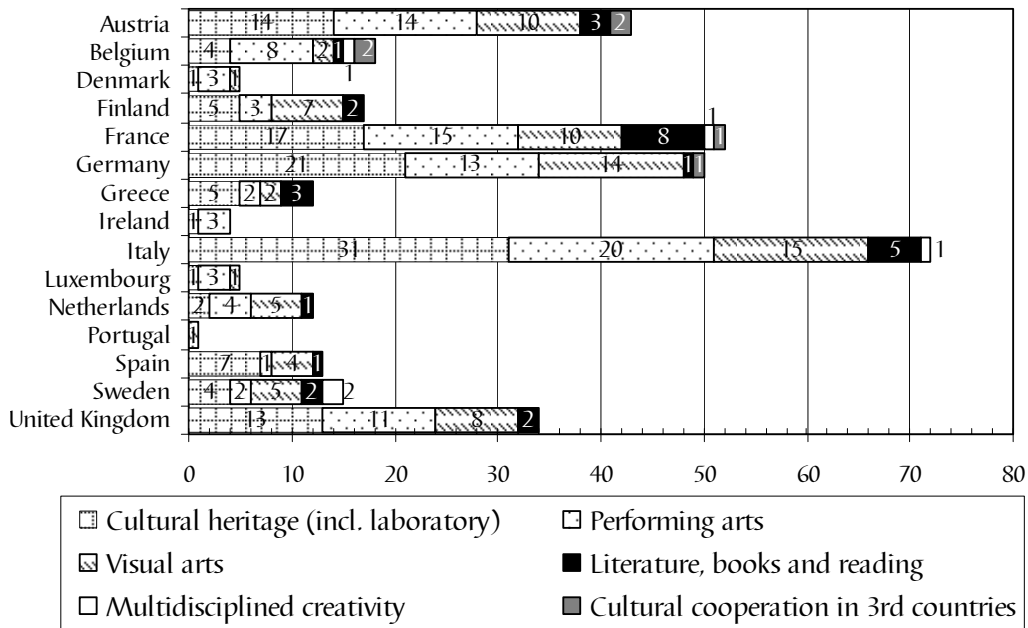


Diagram 5

The 353 projects where western leaders chose eastern co-organisers, by western country and field

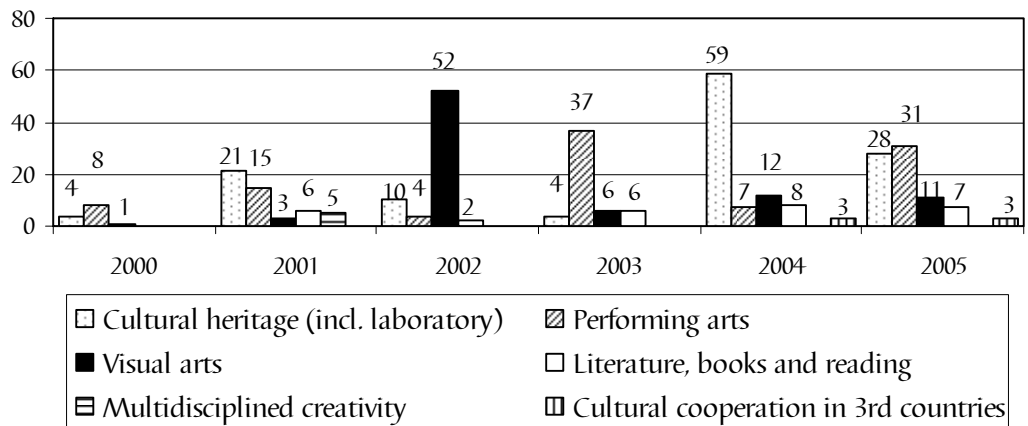


Diagram 6

The 353 projects where western leaders chose eastern co-organisers, by western country and field

Table 3
The 353 projects where western leaders
chose eastern co-organisers

	AT	BE	DE	DK	ES	FI	FR	GR	IE	IT	LU	NL	PT	SE	UK	All
Heritage	14 (2)	4 (2)	21 (6)	1	7 (2)	5 (2)	17 (5)	5 (3)	1	31 (3)	1	2 (1)		4	13 (3)	0
Performing	14 (4)	8 (1)	13 (2)	3 (2)	1	3	15 (6)	2	3	20 (1)	3 (1)	4 (1)		2	11 (2)	102
Visual	10 (4)	2	14 (1)	1	4	7 (2)	10 (2)	2 (1)		15 (1)	1 (1)	5 (1)	1	5 (2)	8 (2)	85
Book	3 (1)	1	1		1	2	8 (3)	3 (1)		5 (1)		1 (1)		2	2 (2)	29
Multidisciplinary		1					1 (1)			1				2 (2)		5
3rd countries	2	2	1				1									6
All	43	18	50	5	13	17	52	12	4	72	5	12	1	15	34	227
From this (mul- tiannual)	(11)	(3)	(9)	(2)	(2)	(4)	(17)	(5)	(0)	(6)	(2)	(4)	(0)	(4)	(9)	(78)

549

We identified 549 cases when an eastern country was represented by a leader or one or more co-organisers¹⁰ – see **Diagram 7**.

Poland and Hungary top the list with 106 and 88 occurrences respectively of leading or co-organising a winning project. Latvia and Bulgaria are at the other end with 28 and 29 such cases respectively.

In detecting national strengths, the Czech case attracts attention: nearly half of the occurrences affect the cultural heritage, on the other hand involvement into projects of heritage is rather low from Latvia and Lithuania. Eastern participation level is strikingly low in the field of books and reading as well as in cooperation with 3rd countries. Slovakia's main bias, too, is towards heritage, with 19 from 42 cases.

In the realm of cultural heritage, organisations from the Visegrad countries¹¹ came close to half of their Culture 2000 occurrences and no other eastern country went higher. In absolute terms the Polish do best in the heritage sector, where Lithuania and Latvia demonstrate low figures in relation to their overall scores.

10 When in the same project there was more than one co-organiser from the same country, this was counted as one occurrence only. Furthermore, since a project contained partners by definition from at least three countries, the number of such occurrences is higher than the amount of projects.

11 Czechia, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia.

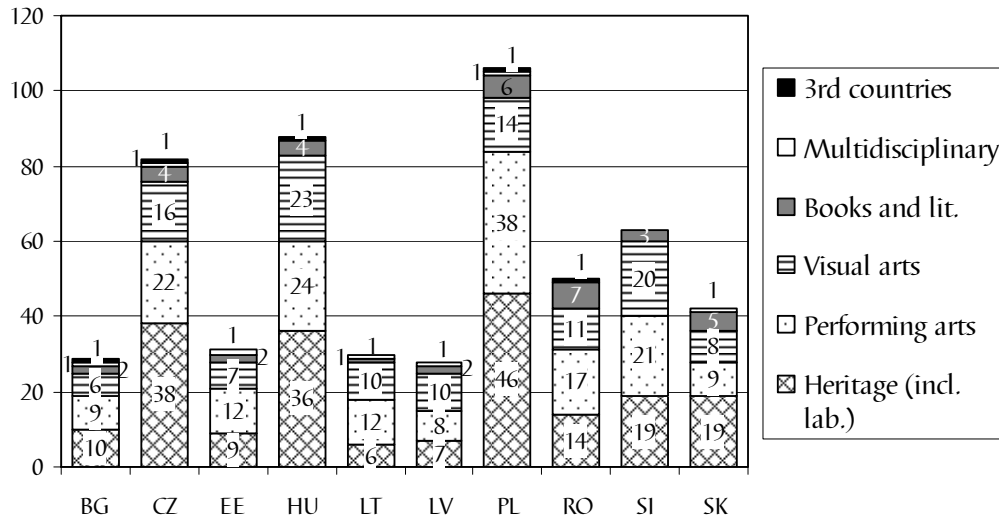


Diagram 7
The 549 occurrences of eastern involvement
by eastern country and field

The relative scarcity in eastern project leaders at the visual arts has been counterbalanced by an abundance of co-organisers in this field, museums in most cases. This is particularly apparent with a few individual countries: Poland – no lead, 14 co-organisers; Slovenia – no lead, 7 co-organisers; Bulgaria – no lead, 6 co-organisers; Hungary, Romania and Latvia – 2 against 23–11–10; Slovakia – 1 against 8.

400

We shall focus next on co-operation between old members and eastern candidates. The units of research are the *bilateral co-operation bonds* embedded into Culture 2000 projects. Dissecting the 353 western-led projects with eastern cooperation involvement, we encounter 400 instances of west-east inter-country co-operation.

Diagrams 8 shows that western project leaders co-opted Polish and Hungarian organisations most frequently, with 75 and 69 projects respectively; Slovenia is third, with 52 instances of co-operation. Lithuania and Latvia with 15 and 18 respectively, graciously share the red-lantern of the series.

Gazing on the other side of the fence, one finds on **Diagram 9** that Italian-generated co-operation instances represented 20% of the 400 total with 80 couplings. This is nearly the same proportion as the 20.3% that Italians won of all Cul-

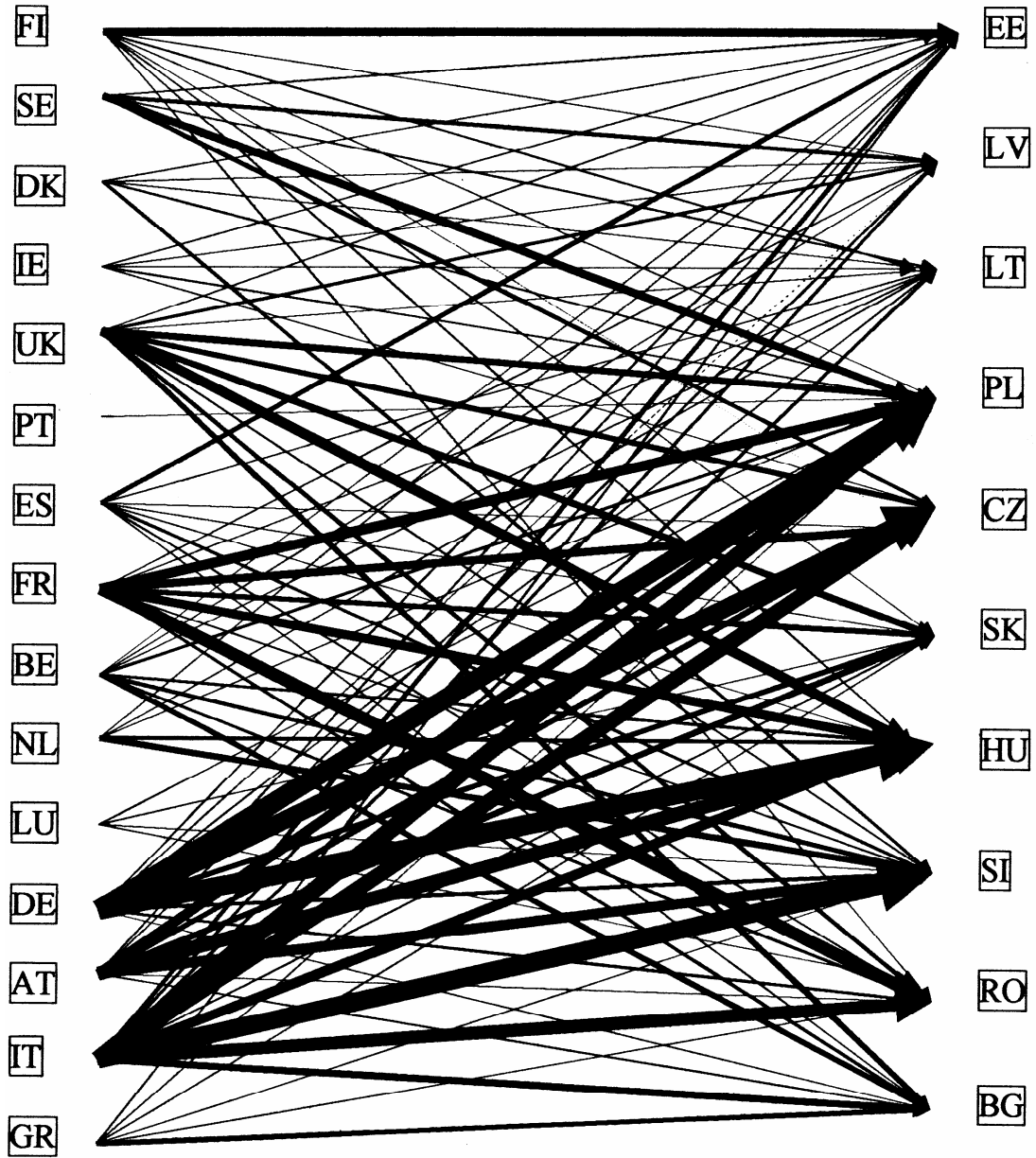


Figure 1
West looks east – an illustration of partnerships

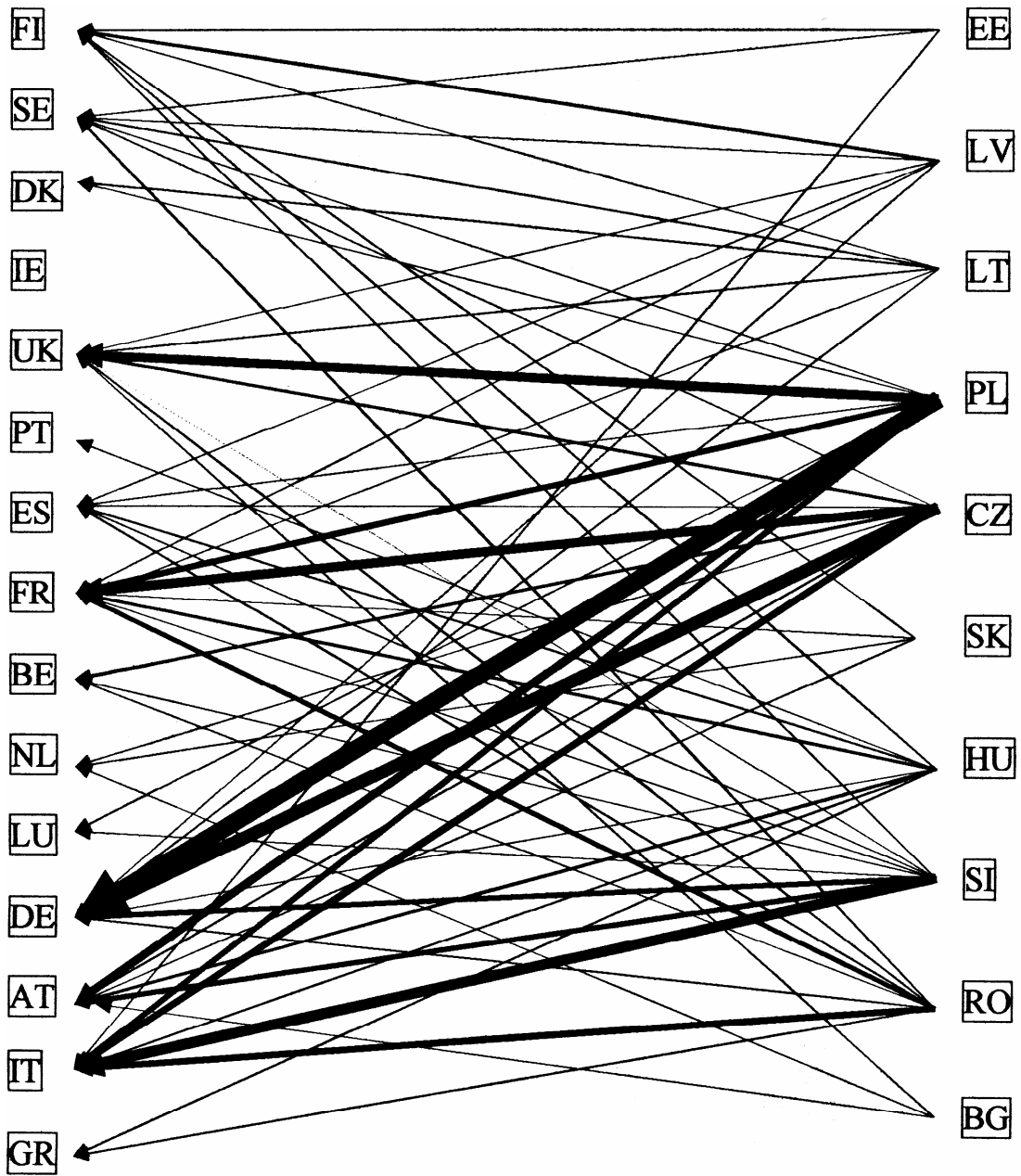


Figure 2
East looks west - an illustration of partnerships

ture 2000 projects. However, a closer look at the other variables under scrutiny shows Germany in a better light than the rest. The 69 instances of co-operation reached by Germany have been established within the framework of 50 projects, which represent an impressive 54.9% out of the total 91 Culture 2000 projects the country initiated over the six years.

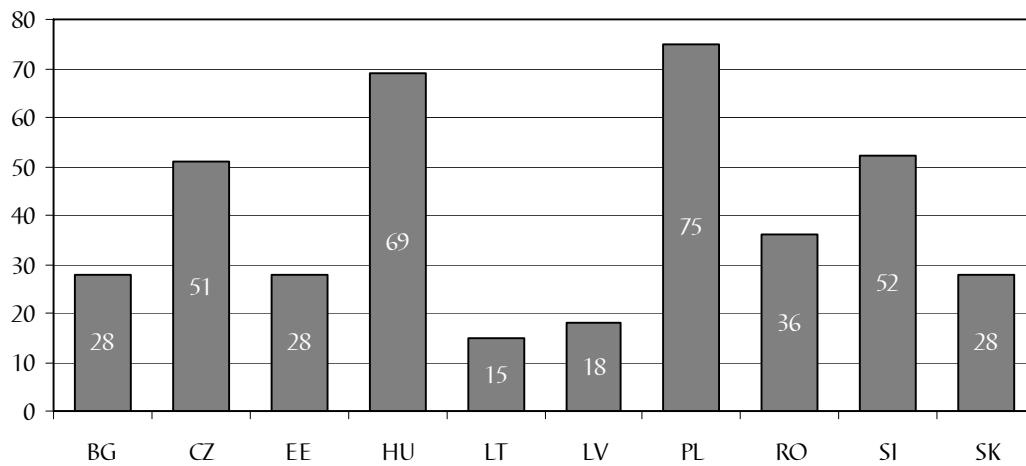


Diagram 8
The 400 instances of eastern involvement in western-led projects, by target country

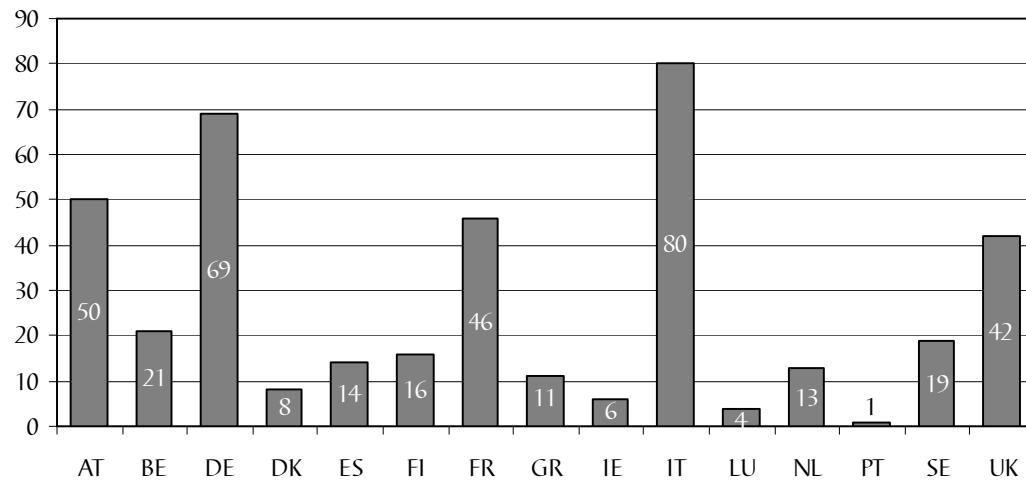


Diagram 9
The 400 instances of eastern involvement in western-led projects, by country of the leader

Table 4

The 400 instances of eastern co-operation in western projects

	BG	CZ	EE	HU	LT	LV	PL	RO	SI	SK	Couplings	Projects	Lines
AT	2	5	2	14		2	9	1	9	6	50	43	9
BE	5		1	3	1	1	3	3	4		21	18	8
DE	1	15	2	19	1	1	18	3	4	5	69	50	10
DK			1		1	1	2		3		8	5	5
ES	1	1	4	1	1			2	3	1	14	13	8
FI		1	7	2	2	1	1	1		1	16	17	8
FR	3	7		8	1	1	9	10	2	5	46	52	9
GR	5		2				1	1	1	1	11	12	6
IE		1	1		1	1	2				6	4	5
IT	6	12	4	9	3	3	14	10	17	2	80	72	10
LU							1	1	1	1	4	5	4
NL			1	4	1		1		6		13	12	5
PT							1				1	1	1
SE		4	2		2	4	7				19	15	5
UK	5	5	1	9	1	3	6	4	2	6	42	34	10
All	28	51	28	69	15	18	75	36	52	28	400	353	103

Further down the list, we encounter Denmark, Luxembourg and Ireland with 8–6–4 cases, and far below, Portugal with a single project experience with eastern partners.

Table 4 presents all the details. It takes some attention to read. Here is an example: Austrians, who won 63 projects in six years, co-operated with the east in 43 projects. This included 2 instances of involving a Bulgarian organisation as co-organising partner; 5 cases with neighbouring Czechs, etc. Co-operation between the leading country and the participating country was reckoned as one coupling only, even if more than one operator from a given country participated in the same project. (Since we are focusing on the west-east relationship, the figures are not indicative of partners assembled from fellow old members or countries outside the EU.)

Italian operators chose partners from all ten countries in the east, and fairly evenly at that; they favoured Slovenes, Poles and Czechs most, enjoying 17–14–12 bonds each. Other countries were more selective. Germans, for example, expressed considerable bias towards Hungarians and Poles (19 – 17 cases), and France demonstrated leaning for Romanian and Polish co-operation (10 – 9 cases).

103

Figure 1 attempts to present the geographical array of transnational co-operation in the frames of Culture 2000. Instead of alphabetical order, here countries have been arranged roughly from north to south. The width of lines corresponds to the num-

ber of inclusions of a given eastern country into projects of a specific western state. The 400 inclusion instances form 103 bilateral lines, the fattest of which is the one that stands for the 19 German invites extended to Hungarian co-organisers (as discussed above).

A look at the picture tells that Germany and Austria line up to the dominant couple of Culture 2000, namely Italy and France, as far as the intensity of eastern inclusion is concerned. What was said about the selectivity of Germans is nicely demonstrated by the few thick and many thin lines departing from 'DE', compared to the more balanced radiation from most other countries.

The scarcity of lines on top implies that the lively Nordic-Baltic cultural co-operation apparently largely takes place outside EU structures.

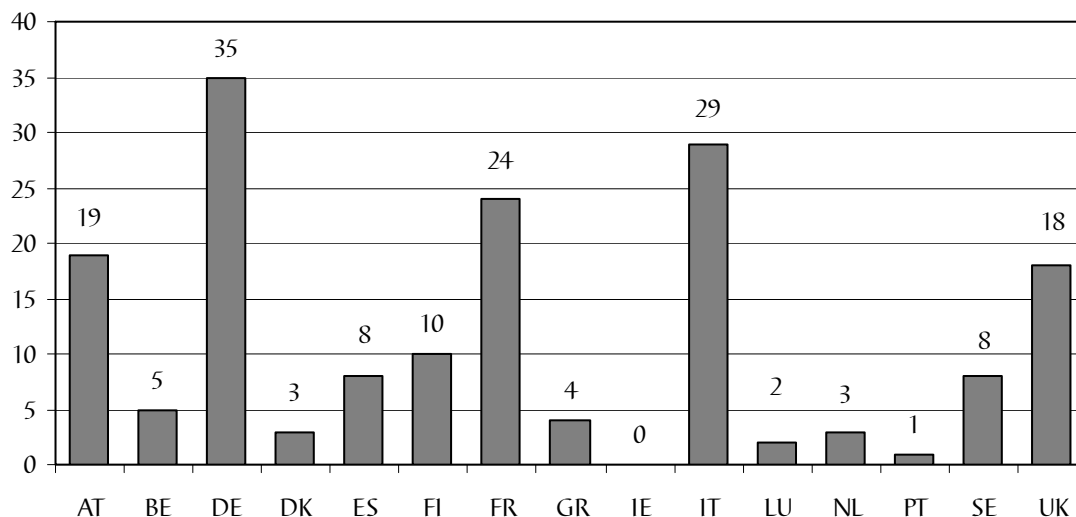


Diagram 10
The 169 instances of western involvement in eastern-led projects by target country

169

The next two entries are reciprocal to the previous two. In the earlier entries, 400 east-bound links of 103 destinations were found in 353 western projects; here 169 west-bound links of 64 destinations will be analysed in 93 eastern projects.

While the east-bound links were recommended but not obligatory, each eastern project leader was by definition obliged to co-opt partners from the old member countries (at least during the accession phase). This may be the main reason why the eastern countries scored a higher average number of instances of co-operation than the western countries: 1.8 western partners per project, as opposed to 1.1 eastern partners in the west-led projects.

Diagrams 10 confirms the eminent position of German organisations in the east-west co-operation (especially as compared to their position on Diagrams 1 and 10.) The 24 cases of French involvement prove that France is an attractive target country, while on Diagram 10 France was behind Austria as the initiator of co-operation. **Diagram 11** displays the three eastern countries that choose the highest number of western partners: Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovenia. Here Bulgaria and Hungary follow the French patterns: choosing less often than being chosen. The favourite target of western project leaders, Poland, appears to be also enthusiastic in choosing partners from the old member states.

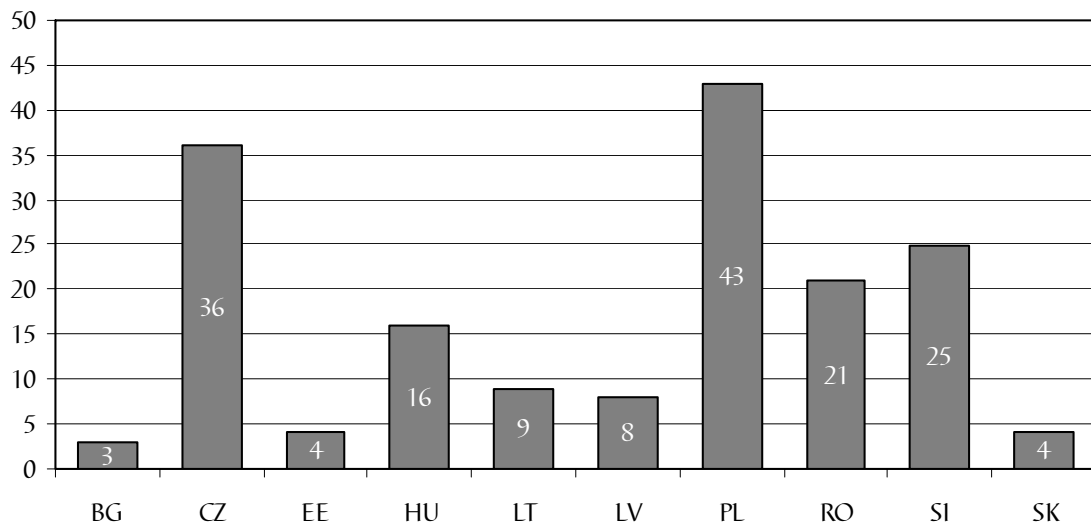


Diagram 11
The 169 instances of western involvement
in eastern-led projects by country of the leader

64

The 64 cells in **Table 5** reveal the internal dynamics of east-west partnerships. Czechs and Poles opened the scope the widest, having both engaged in projects with 9 out of the 15 EU countries.

The 14 Polish–German partnerships top the list of single bilateral bonds. The one more outstanding case is Czechs involving Germans 11 times. Still significant are the Slovenian–Italian, Czech–French and Polish–British couplings.

Figure 2 was done at the same scale as Figure 1 and the difference is perceptible. It displays a smaller number of lines pointing to the west than the east-bound ones; links are more confined to geographical vicinity. The German eminence in east-west co-operation is highlighted more, than in the opposite direction.

Table 5

The 169 instances of western co-operation in eastern-led projects

	AT	BE	DE	DK	ES	FI	FR	GR	IE	IT	LU	NL	PT	SE	UK	Couplings	Projects	Lines
BG	1											1			1	3	2	3
CZ	2	3	11		1		8			6		1		1	3	36	22	9
EE						2				1				1		4	2	3
HU	3		1		2	2	3	2		2			1			16	9	8
LT			1	2		1	1							2	2	9	8	6
LV			1		1	3	1							1	1	8	4	6
PL	7		14	1	1		5			5	1			1	8	43	19	9
RO		1	2		2		4	2		6				2	2	21	11	8
SI	5	1	5		1	1	1			9	1				1	25	13	8
SK	1					1	1					1				4	3	4
All	19	5	35	3	8	10	24	4	0	29	2	3	1	8	18	169	93	64

72

In the 93 projects that eastern operators had the privilege to lead between 2000–2005, there were 72 links with the remaining nine countries from the east.

East-east bonds are a neglected dimension of European cultural co-operation. Accession does not stand exclusively for some eastern countries joining the west. Understandably, when circumstances permitted, both official cultural diplomacy and the private ambitions of cultural workers in eastern countries were directed toward the western nucleus of the continent. The Culture 2000 programme built upon these aspirations, enhancing east-west collaboration. We very much hope for increasing

intensity of east-east cultural co-operation. At least in the EU members visa problems do not exist and low fare flights have been rapidly expanding.

We shall take the highest single digit in a cell of **Table 6** for illustrative example: Out of the 22 projects run by Czech organisations, they co-opted partners from Poland in 6 instances.

Table 6

The 72 instances of eastern co-ordinators selected by eastern leaders

	BG	CZ	EE	HU	LT	LV	PL	RO	SI	SK	Couplings	Projects	Lines
BG		1		1				1			3	2	3
CZ			1	2			6		3	5	17	22	5
EE					1	1					2	2	2
HU		1					2	5	1	3	12	9	5
LT			1			3	2				6	8	3
LV		2	3		3						8	4	3
PL		2	1	2	3	2			1		11	19	6
RO		1		3			2				6	11	3
SI					1		1				2	13	2
SK		3		1					1		5	3	3
All	0	10	6	9	8	6	13	6	6	8	72	93	35

For graphic display go to **Figure 3** on back cover.

55

Cultural organisations from *non-member, non-accession countries* in Eastern Europe have had the opportunity to be included as co-organisers or – more typically – associates in Culture 2000 projects. There were 55 such cases during the six years: see **Table 7**. Three cells have been highlighted: those, where a co-organiser operation from these countries was identified, all dating before 2002. The remaining 52 instances relate to organisations that received associate status in a Culture 2000 project. The 6 Russian cases in 2003 stand out, apparently connected to the special project on the jubilee year of Saint Petersburg. Second-third positioned Croatian and Serbian operations seem to step at the same pace.

Most of those, that advocate increased European cultural co-operation, and find Culture 2000 a proven instrument for this goal, mean *all-European* co-operation. For them, these figures are disappointing. Especially the 3 co-organisers, that stand against the 400+72 co-organising positions that the luckier eastern operators have been given (these two figures are explained in the previous sections).

Aspirations for broader co-operation do not contradict those functions of the programme that aim at establishing, strengthening and multiplying professional rela-

tionships between members and at increasing cohesion inside the Union. The task of fully integrating new members has not yet expired.

Table 7
The 55 organisations included from outside the EU 27

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Albania	0	0	1	0	2	0
Bosnia	1	0	0	0	0	2
Croatia	1	0	1	3	4	2
Macedonia	0	0	0	1	0	2
Russia	2	1	3	6	2	3
Serbia	0	0	1	3	4	2
Ukraine	0	0	0	0	1	2
Belarus	0	0	0	0	1	0
China	0	0	0	0	1	1
Georgia	0	0	0	0	1	1
All	4	1	6	13	16	15

123

How typical is it for eastern organisations to act jointly? We found 123 projects where there were 3 or more eastern countries represented as leaders or co-organisers. (Out of the 549 projects with eastern involvement.)

Table 8 shows this aspect of the dynamics of the cultural co-operation of the eastern countries in the frames of Culture 2000. Here is the explanation to the table: Bulgarian operations played a role in 29 projects. In five of these there were at least two more eastern countries involved. Five is 17.2% of 29. This percentage is the most indicative figure.

Table 8
The 123 occurrences of 3 or more eastern countries as leaders or co-organisers in the same projects

	BG	CZ	EE	HU	LV	LT	PL	RO	SK	SI	All
549 projects with lead or co-org	29	82	31	88	28	30	106	50	42	63	549
Occurrences in 3+ clusters	5	22	9	16	9	8	18	9	17	10	123
3+ occurrences as % of all projects	17,2	26,8	29,0	18,2	32,1	26,7	17,0	18,0	40,5	15,9	22,4

It is most typical of Slovak organisations to join projects together with fellow operations from two more eastern countries (in over 40% of cases). Slovenes, at the other end with 16%, show weaker inclination to act in eastern companionship.

The 123 projects presented a great variety of combinations as to the 3 or more eastern countries' composition. Predictably, operators from the three Baltic countries moved jointly at the greatest frequency, in 6 projects. Almost as often, we find Czechs, Slovaks and Hungarians together 5 times.

39

Narrowing the focus, inside the 123 there were 39 projects where operations from at least 4 eastern countries were present. Strangely, **Table 9** that shows these 39 cases, differs considerably from Table 8. Slovaks, who appeared to feel comfortable when they could act jointly with at least 2 fellow eastern operators, were less eager to join larger flocks; not so Bulgarians, who lead this list with over 10% of all projects that they were involved into. Conversely, Hungarians and Poles are the absentees when it is about massive eastern presence.

Table 9

The 39 occurrences of 4 or more eastern countries as leaders or co-organisers in the same projects

	BG	CZ	EE	HU	LV	LT	PL	RO	SK	SI	All
Occurrences in 4+ clusters	3	8	3	4	2	2	5	4	3	5	39
4+ occurrences as % of all projects	10,3	9,8	9,7	4,5	7,1	6,7	4,7	8,0	7,1	7,9	7,1

1

Only one eastern quartet appeared more than once. Operators from the three Baltic republics and Poland appeared in the same project on two occasions.

- *Lux Europae*, 2002, annual, visual arts; leader from Denmark, co-organisers from **Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland** and Slovenia (as well as Germany and the Netherlands).
- *Cultural Alchemy*, 2005, annual, performing arts; leader from Ireland, co-organisers from Czechia, **Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland** (and no western co-organiser).

3

As was seen above, the two occasions hosting the eastern quartets were provided by two projects that both included co-organisers from 5 eastern countries. Altogether there were 3 such cases, each one led by organisations from the west. Here is the third one:

- *European Literature Heritage in Context*, 2002, annual, cultural heritage; leader from Austria; co-organisers from Czechia, Hungary, Poland, Slovenia and Slovakia (and no western co-organiser).

338

As promised, we turn to the 338 *translation grants*. Before plunging in deep, it is worth noting that there were 5 translation projects in 2000 that required the involvement of several partners. As such, they were considered as co-operation projects and were treated on previous pages.

Applicants from 23 countries (including 19 EU members) received Culture 2000 grant for translation projects, but there was no single successful applicant from Luxembourg, Cyprus, Malta, Belgium and Portugal.

It was pointed out earlier that we could not examine the division of granted money between the participating organisations in Culture 2000 projects, consequently between countries, represented by these organisations. In case of translation grants, however, there is only one winner, which enables us to analyse amounts as well.

8 576 671

Table 10 reveals that during the six years the Commission spent altogether € 8.6 million on literary translation in the frames of Culture 2000. **Diagram 12** shows the division of this amount between the 23 countries. This graph shows little similarity to Diagram 1: the only common feature is that here, too, Italy is the most successful EU member (behind non-member Norway). Everything else is very different: the second and third in co-operation projects (France and Germany) get tiny shares here, while second and third in the list of translation grants (Greece and Lithuania) played no great role on Diagram 1.

Table 10
Number and grants (in thousand €)
of supported translation projects

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	Total
Number of projects	52	42	48	55	71	70	338
Annual budget	837	1 048	1 211	1 353	2 038	2 089	8 576
Average project grant	16,1	25,0	25,2	24,6	28,7	29,8	24,9
Publishers (entering the programme)	52	22	23	26	38	26	187

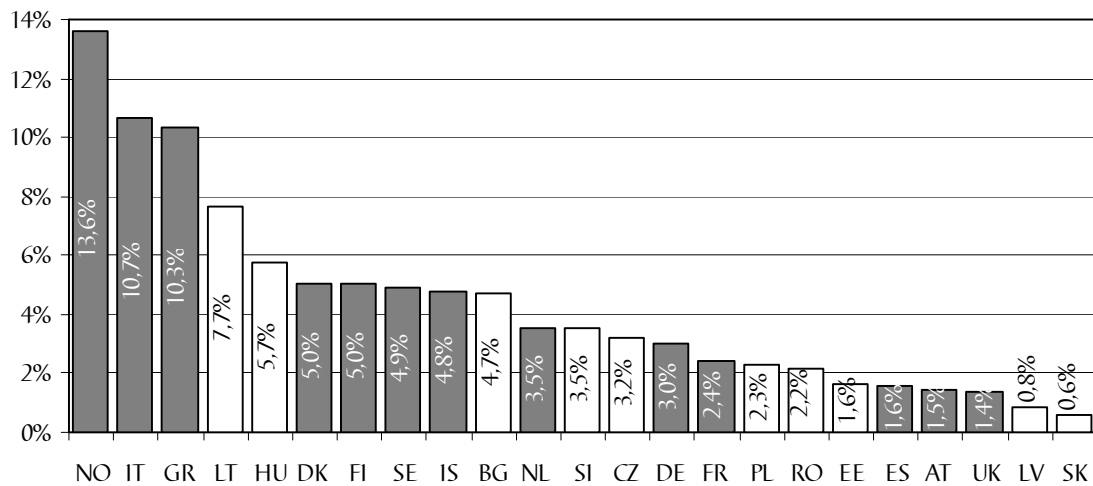


Diagram 12
Share of the 23 countries from the translation grants

Diagram 13 shows yet another picture. It displays the division of the 8.6 million between citizens of the winning countries. The figures indicate euro cents per year per inhabitant. The column that stands for the average¹² is of course close to the columns of the most populous countries. What is the worth of 0.31 cents? It barely covers the fee for the quality translation of one character. Thus, what an average citizen received from the EU between 2000 and 2005 was enough to translate a six letter word.

¹² This is the average of the successfully participating 23 countries. The EU average, the money won by publishers of the 19 EU member divided by the entire population of the Union produces a different average of 0.25 cents – practically the same size.

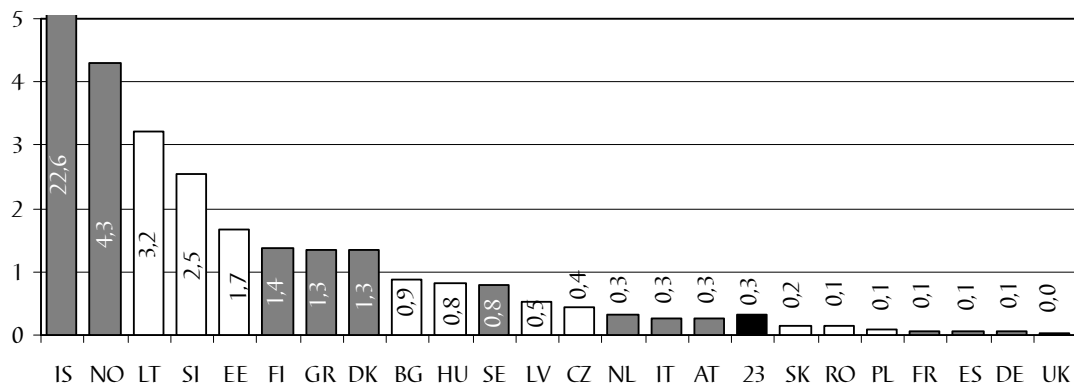


Diagram 13
Translation grants in cent per citizen per year

We should be fair. Citizens in the east received more, sometimes much more. Lithuanians, undisputed champions of translation projects, won ten times the EU average, which enables them to translate a sixty-character sentence per each citizen from the grants accumulated during the six years – and the typically lower translation fees in the east allow for an even longer sentence (that could be translated from Culture 2000 subsidy per Lithuanian inhabitant in six years).

It is tempting to compare the miserable European average figures to the cents per EU citizen per year spent on the translation of bureaucratic materials – an exercise that is beyond the scope of our analysis, which is Culture 2000 under eastern eyes. And from this original view point we have arrived at the most significant finding. Table 10 presents an inflection point after 2003, with a considerable increase of the amounts spent on translation grants. This development is by itself precious for eastern countries, which suffer from the linguistic handicap they all share because of their “less spoken” vernaculars.¹³ The money that publishers win at Culture 2000 is spent on translation *into* and not *from* their languages; but clear preference is given to bids that translate from minor languages.

The real reason for eastern joy is shown at **Diagram 14**. It pleases eastern eyes more than Diagram 4, where we could discern stagnation in the involvement of eastern operations after 2003. In the translation programmes the contrary happened: a marked eastbound growth took place to 2004, further reinforced in 2005, resulting in slight absolute majority in spending for the east.

¹³ Even Polish is sometimes referred to as a “psychologically minor language”.

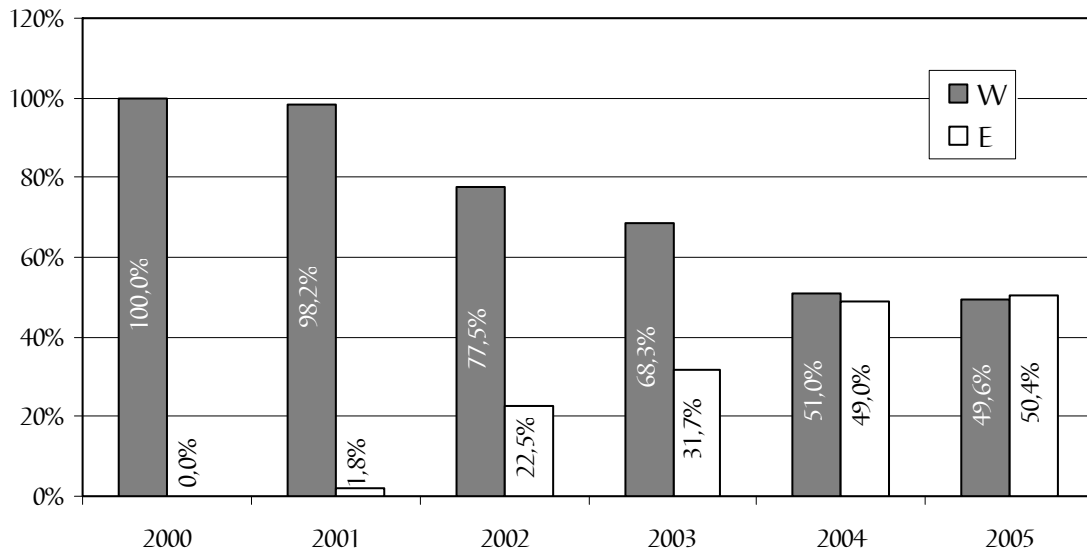


Diagram 14

Division of translation grants between west and east

This joy is more than eastern selfishness or chauvinism. Those who decided over translation grants must have acknowledged that the Culture 2000 programme, too, needs to exert some of the functions that the big community funds do. Enhancing cultural co-operation should be combined with assistance to less developed areas in Europe.

187

In translation projects the 'cultural organisations' are publishers. From the last line of Table 10 one sees that during the six years 187 publishers have won at least one grant. Their distribution by country follows the pattern in Diagram 13.

Similarly to operations in the cultural co-operation projects, the status of the winners is very diverse. Many of them appear to be mainstream (quality) presses, well established in the book market. In these cases grants like those of Culture 2000 are indispensable for the naissance of the type of (translated) titles they compete with. In other cases the grants are essential for the sustainable operation of small publishers, specialised on niches like literature translated from lesser read languages.

35

Most of the applicant publishers were successful at one occasion only, but 35 presses won grants at least 3 times – see **Table 11**. The cream of the crop are the five publishing houses that have figured on the list of winners in every single year! They had acquired the skills of winning already in the Ariane programme, which preceded Culture 2000 in the field of literary translation grants. Table 11 also explains why Diagram 13 is dominated by Norway, Italy and Greece: these countries are represented by 7 – 5 – 8 publishers respectively among the frequent winners.

Table 11

The 18 publishers that received grants more than three times

3 times out of 6 years	4 times out of 6 years	5 times out of 6 years	6 times out of 6 years
Alexandria (GR)	Det Norske Samlaget (NO)	Agra (GR)	Crocetti (IT)
Alfabeta (SE)	Fazi Editore (IT)	Aschehoug (NO)	Gyldendal (NO)
Apgads Atena (GR)	Kastaniotis (GR)	Fischer & Co (SE)	Iperborea (IT)
Bjartur (IS)	Kronta (LT)	J.W. Cappelens (NO)	Like (FI)
Diaphanes Verlag (DE)	L'Harmattan (HU)	Modtryk (DK)	Pax (NO)
J.M. Meulenhoff (NL)	Libri Scheiwiller (IT)	Polis (GR)	
Nordsteds (SE)	Metaixmio Ekdotiky (GR)	Solum Forlag AS (NO)	
Oktober (NO)	Psichogios (GR)	Tiderne Skifter (DK)	
Patakis (GR)	Studentska Založba (SI)	Tyto Alba (LT)	
	Travlos (GR)		
	Trei (RO)		
	Voland (IT)		
9	12	9	5

Final note

This analysis had no preconception or a priori hypothesis to be confirmed or rejected. Whenever we felt like making a statement or judgment, we did so during the presentation of the data. The surveying was driven by curiosity and by the intention to share information with others. We are confident that our data will serve those who have views, illusions, interests, dreams, convictions or misconceptions, goals or just strong feelings about cultural co-operation in Europe, and particularly about the role of the eastern countries in it.

Our survey started years ago as a one time exercise by detecting the scores of the then fledgling eastern appearances in the 2002 round of Culture 2000. That attempt has grown into a habit that will stay with us: work has already started on the conclusive analysis of the seven years of Culture 2000 – under eastern eyes.

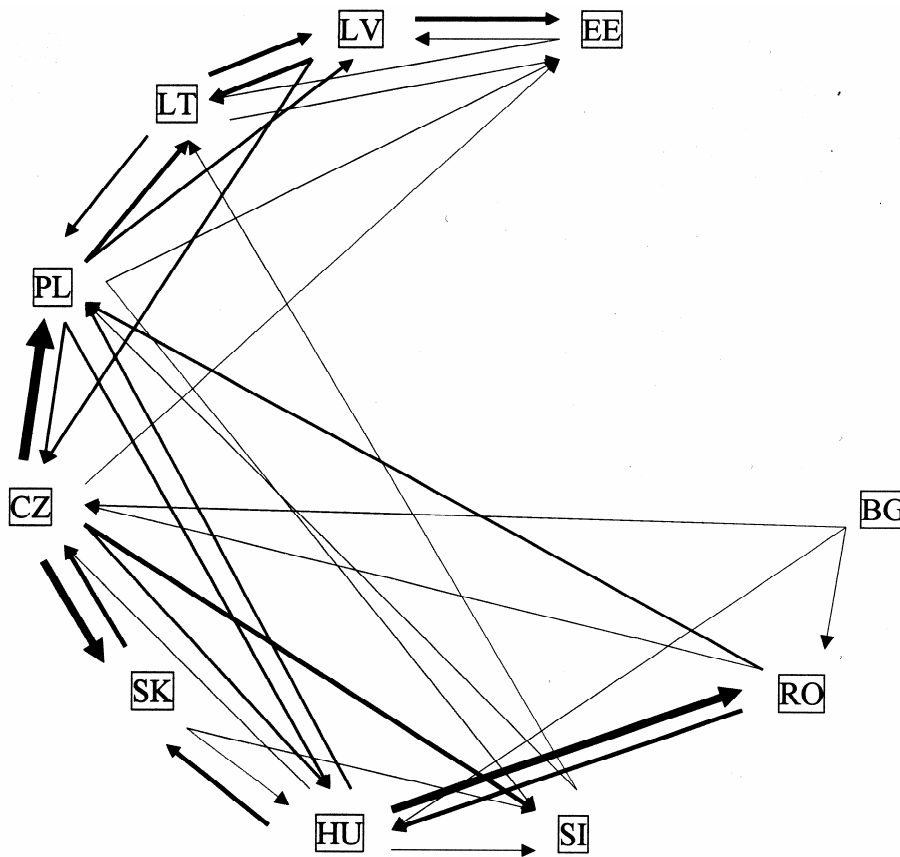


Figure 3
East looks east – the internal dynamics
of cultural co-operation between eastern countries

35

In the 93 projects that eastern operators led in the six years of Culture 2000 up to 2005, there were 72 links with the remaining nine countries from the east. That is: 72 times were organisations from another eastern country invited to act as co-organisers in a Culture 2000 project.

The 72 couplings have formed 35 lines (see Table 6 inside). 16 lines – the thinnest in **Figure 3** – represented one single bond each between two countries (in one direction). The more links there were between operations of two countries, the thicker the line is. The six Polish co-organisers selected by Czech project leaders stand for the thickest arrow.