

# Culture 2000 under Eastern Eyes

CULTURAL CO-OPERATION BETWEEN OLD,  
NEW AND FUTURE EU MEMBERS – A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS  
2000–2006



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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](http://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  
Multidisciplined creativity  
Literature, books and reading  
Performing arts  
Visual arts

Heritage  
Multidisc.  
Book  
Performing  
Visual



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# Culture 2000 under Eastern Eyes

The Budapest Cultural Observatory “observes” conditions of culture in east and central Europe<sup>1</sup>, the geographical belt between the Baltic and Adriatic seas, composed of 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.<sup>2</sup> In 2000, eastern countries were eligible as partners; from 2001 they could apply in their own right.<sup>3</sup>

Based on the lists of winning projects in the seven years between 2000-2006, 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, expanded and corrected version of two similar analyses that covered the first five/six years.<sup>4</sup>

## 1078

The object of our analysis is what one can read (or could read in the summer of 2007) on the website of the European Commission.<sup>5</sup> We combined all scores of all seven years and we got an aggregate table with 1078 lines: between 2000 and 2006, Culture 2000 granted support to 1078 cultural co-operation projects, ones that by definition involve operators from three countries or more.

1 All over this text “eastern” is used in the language of political convenience, instead of the more pedantic or sensitive “east and central”.

2 Our observations do not cover Cyprus and Malta: we have, however, included Bulgaria and Romania, fully participating in Culture 2000. We would be more than happy to report about the rest of the region, however, countries like Croatia, Serbia or Ukraine were allowed to play marginal roles in this septennium.

3 Except for Slovenia, that joined one year later.

4 The earlier versions are available at the Culture 2000 section of <http://www.budobs.org>.

5 [http://ec.europa.eu/culture/eac/culture2000/cult\\_2000\\_en.html](http://ec.europa.eu/culture/eac/culture2000/cult_2000_en.html).

In addition, there were 406 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 406 translation projects are analysed at the end of this document.

The 1078 cultural co-operation projects are composed of 921 annual and 157 multi-annual 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 117 thousand euros against 681 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.

Before we continue, a general observation must be made. In contrast with the minutious reporting and recording obligation expected from applicants and winners, the Commission itself makes little effort to inform the public about the results. The Europa web site displays the raw lists of winners, with the short and often enigmatic abstracts of the projects. Upon completion, not even this brief piece of information is updated: obvious errors have remained without correction over the years. What is obvious for the human eye – a mistyped word for example – leaves the computer at a loss, which is why often the composition of the simplest list took us long hours. The whole system seems to serve for immediate release and not for reliable documentation.<sup>6</sup> This neglect of proper records is a disgrace for the Commission.

Besides, when we analyse the seven years of Culture 2000, we do so without knowing which of the 1078 projects were really and fully realised; what of the originally prospected objectives was fulfilled and to what degree. (Noting, however, that several of the latest grants are still on-going.)

## 31

The 1078 projects were led by organisations from 31 countries – see **Diagram 1**.<sup>7</sup> Italy has given by far the greatest number of leaders – 224 which is 20.8% of all.

<sup>6</sup> We have received occasional polite help from the Commission, but it was clear that tinkering on past records is not considered to be their job. An intern or two could nevertheless do this cleaning in a couple of weeks.

<sup>7</sup> “3rd” stands for four “third countries.”

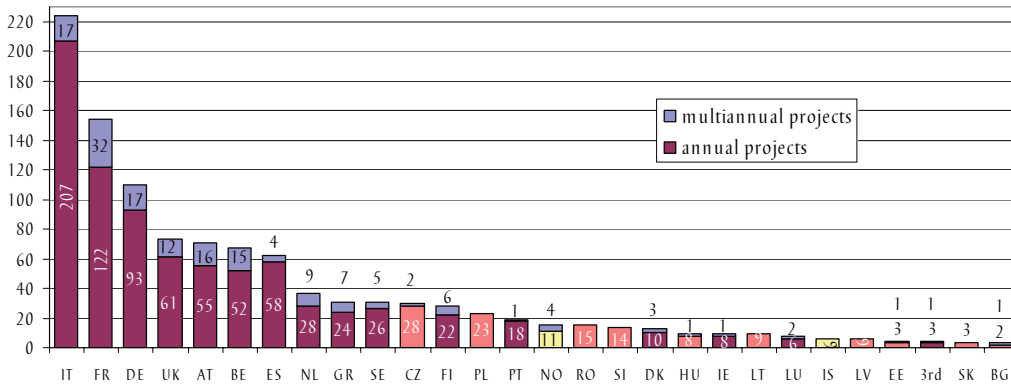


Diagram 1

The 1078 projects by country of the leader

France and Germany follow with 14.3% and 10.2% respectively. Behind them there were two remarkable overtakes in the last year of 2006: Belgium got before Spain and – especially important for our subject – Czechia stepped before Finland! The spectacular Italian dominance – which has further increased slightly in the closing year – 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, Belgium, Netherlands, Greece and Finland.

## 9628

The real units of our analysis are participating cultural organisations. The 1078-line table of 1078 projects further breaks down to 9628 lines: each line representing an organisation taking part in a Culture 2000 project. (The actual number of organisations involved is smaller: several of them appear repeatedly because they took part in a number of projects.)

## 213 327

According to **Tables 1** and **2**, during the six years €213.3 million was spent on the 1078 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

**Table 1**  
Number of supported projects

Type of supported projects	2000		2001		2002		2003		2004		2005		2006		2000-2006	
	a	m	a	m	a	m	a	m	a	m	a	m	a	m	a	m
<b>CO-OPERATION PROJECTS</b>																
Cultural heritage	60	13	47	12	19	2	12	2	89	17	43	7	40	9	310	62
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	20	2	79	14
Performing arts	46	7	39	11	20	3	83	13	23	3	45	7	27	7	283	51
Cultural co-operation in 3rd countries	1		2		2		1		6		10		10		32	0
Visual arts	4		4		100	17	15	2	13	2	15	3	15	3	166	27
Heritage laboratory projects	2		3		3		4		1		6				19	
<b>Total number of co-operation projects</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>152</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>141</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>921</b>	<b>157</b>
	<b>165</b>		<b>148</b>		<b>176</b>		<b>144</b>		<b>165</b>		<b>147</b>		<b>133</b>		<b>1078</b>	
<b>OTHER PROJECTS</b>																
Literary translations - 408	52		42		48		55		71		70		68		406	
European capitals of culture for actual year	9		2		2		1		2		1		1		18	
European capitals of culture for next year	2		2		1		2		0		1		1		9	
European contemporary architecture prize (Mies van der Rohe)			1				1				1				3	
<b>Total</b>	<b>228</b>		<b>195</b>		<b>227</b>		<b>203</b>		<b>238</b>		<b>220</b>		<b>203</b>		<b>1514</b>	

a - annual

m - multiannual

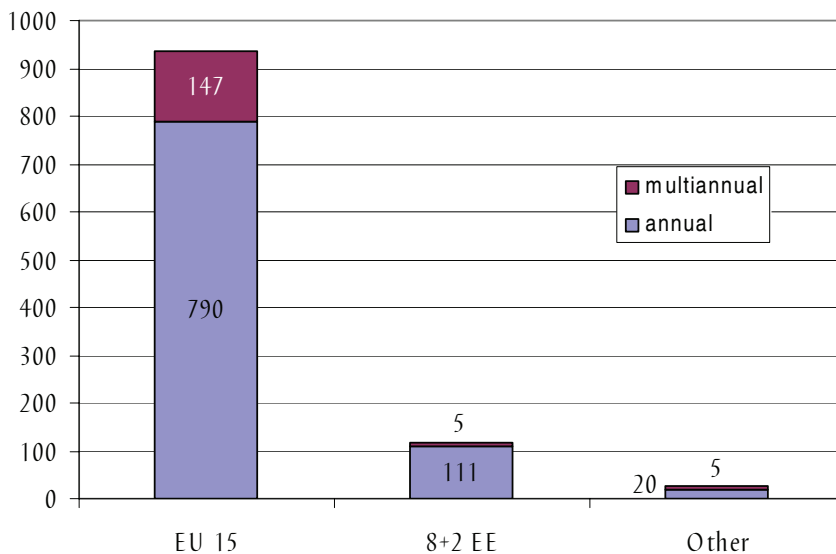
**Table 2**  
Amounts of grants provided for supported projects (in thousand €)

Type of supported projects	2000		2001		2002		2003		2004		2005		2006		2000-2006	
	a	m	a	m	a	m	a	m	a	m	a	m	a	m	a	m
<b>CO-OPERATION PROJECTS</b>																
Cultural heritage	7 256	7 821	5 194	7 742	2 027	1 360	1 486	1 793	9 948	11 001	4 528	5 540	4 603	5 162	35 042	40 420
Literary translation co-operation	620														620	0
Multidisciplinary 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	840	744	7 267	5 666
Performing arts	5 753	5 797	4 400	7 577	2 178	2 376	10 010	11 026	2 870	1 559	5 750	5 456	4 697	5 462	35 657	39 254
Cultural co-operation in 3rd countries	150		206		289		150		807		1 215		1 270		4 087	0
Visual arts	422		424		10 045	11 195	1 398	1 111	1 627	1 679	1 881	2 308	1 795	2 198	17 591	18 491
Heritage laboratory projects	600		630		855		701		300		1 202		0		4 289	0
<b>Total budget of co-operation projects</b>	<b>17 354</b>	<b>14 501</b>	<b>13 411</b>	<b>17 963</b>	<b>16 244</b>	<b>15 642</b>	<b>14 949</b>	<b>14 281</b>	<b>16 762</b>	<b>14 848</b>	<b>15 399</b>	<b>15 202</b>	<b>13 205</b>	<b>13 566</b>	<b>107 323</b>	<b>106 004</b>
	<b>31 855</b>		<b>31 374</b>		<b>31 886</b>		<b>29 230</b>		<b>31 610</b>		<b>30 601</b>		<b>26 771</b>		<b>213 327</b>	
<b>OTHER PROJECTS</b>																
Literary translations - 8 576 actual year	837		1 048		1 211		1 353		2 038		2 089		1 956		10 532	
European capitals of culture for next year	980		700		700		375		750		375		375		4 255	
European contemporary architecture prize (Mies van der Rohe)	250		250		125		250		0		125		125		1 125	
	150		0		150		0		150		0		150		600	
<b>Total</b>	<b>34 071</b>		<b>33 373</b>		<b>34 072</b>		<b>31 208</b>		<b>34 547</b>		<b>33 190</b>		<b>29 377</b>		<b>229 839</b>	

a - annual  
m - multiannual



along this statistical analysis you will read about projects, cases, occasions etc. Our sources do not tell about the proportions by which the respective grants were divided between the winning coalitions, leader and co-operating operations. The six western countries mentioned above, have taken home a higher proportion, due to the higher budgets of the multiannual projects. (This is a rough approximation. These six “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.)



**Diagram 2**

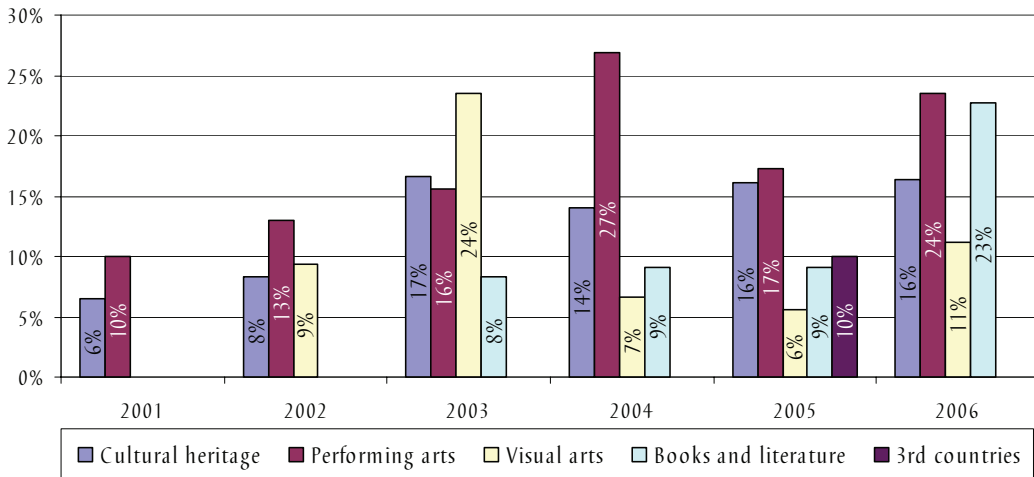
The 1078 project leaders by group of countries

## 116

To focus now on our chosen theme, the score of the eastern countries, we find 116 projects led by organisations from this region. Czechs and Poles 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 Slovakia, managing only three programmes each.

**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 not much more 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 24–21–23 in 2004–2006.



**Diagram 3**

The 116 eastern-led projects as percentage of all winners by field and year

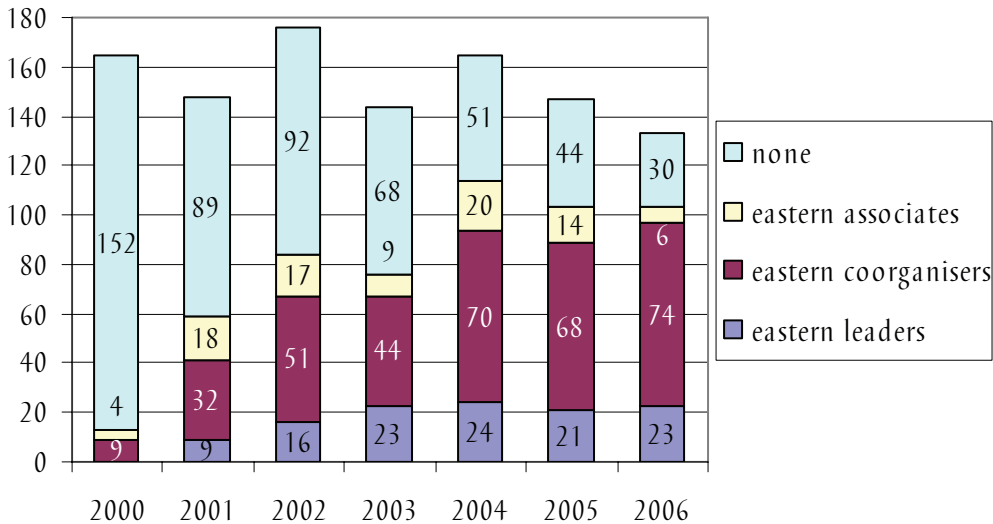
Besides, **Diagram 3** shows that in all three great fields (heritage<sup>8</sup>, visual and performing arts), project leaders from the eastern ten have at least in two years and two fields surpassed the rate that is proportionate to the rough population size of 22.2%!<sup>9</sup> On country and sector level the 15 Polish leadership cases in performing arts are respectable by any standard, similarly the 13 Czech-led heritage and 12 performing arts projects.

## 552

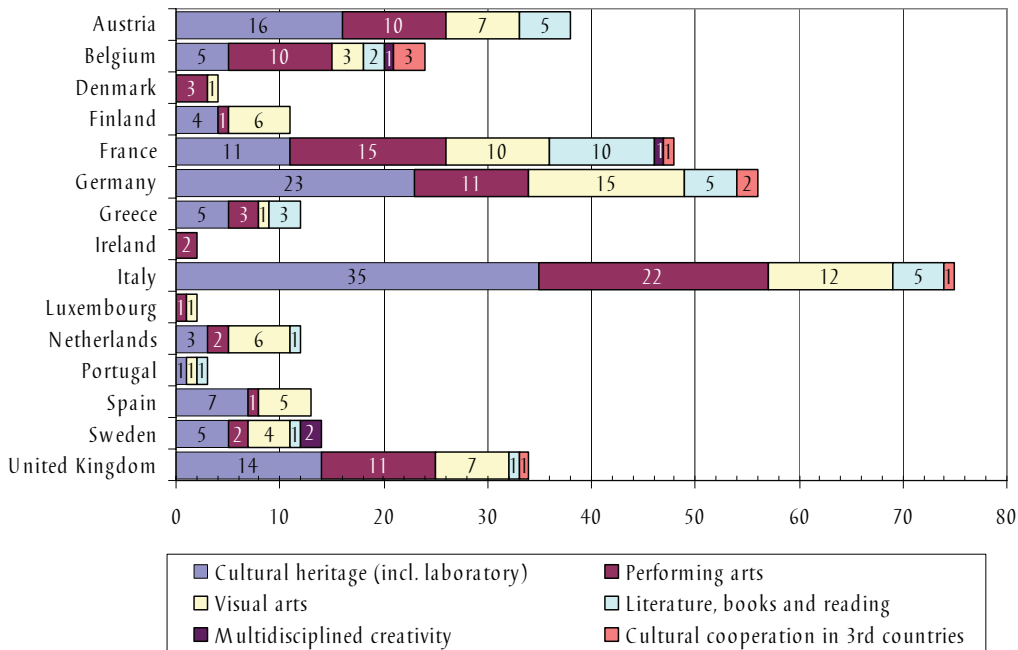
Out of the 1078 winning projects, slightly more than the half had one form of eastern involvement: leader, co-organiser or associate organisation. There was very little eastern presence in the early years, by 2004, however, it had reached almost 70%,

<sup>8</sup> For sake of simplification the “cultural heritage laboratories” have been included into the heritage projects.

<sup>9</sup> 103 million inhabitants in the eastern ten out of a population of 463 million in the EU 27.



**Diagram 4**  
The 552 projects with eastern involvement by year and highest level of participation



**Diagram 5**  
The 348 projects where western leaders chose eastern co-organisers by western country and field

with 114 projects. **Diagram 4** shows that the absolute number of consortia including eastern operations dropped to 103 both in 2005 and 2006; nevertheless because of the decrease in the total number of Culture 2000 grants, the ratio of all-western, eastern-free projects went down to 23% in 2006.

## 348

Let us now see the degree and distribution of western openness towards the east. Among the 1078 there were 937 projects whose leader came from one of the 15 old members. They picked eastern co-organisers in every third case, that is in 348 projects.<sup>10</sup> (Associate organisations were not included in this examination.) Choosing eastern partners was voluntary: Culture 2000 announcements did not oblige or visibly prioritise applicants to include operations from the new member countries.

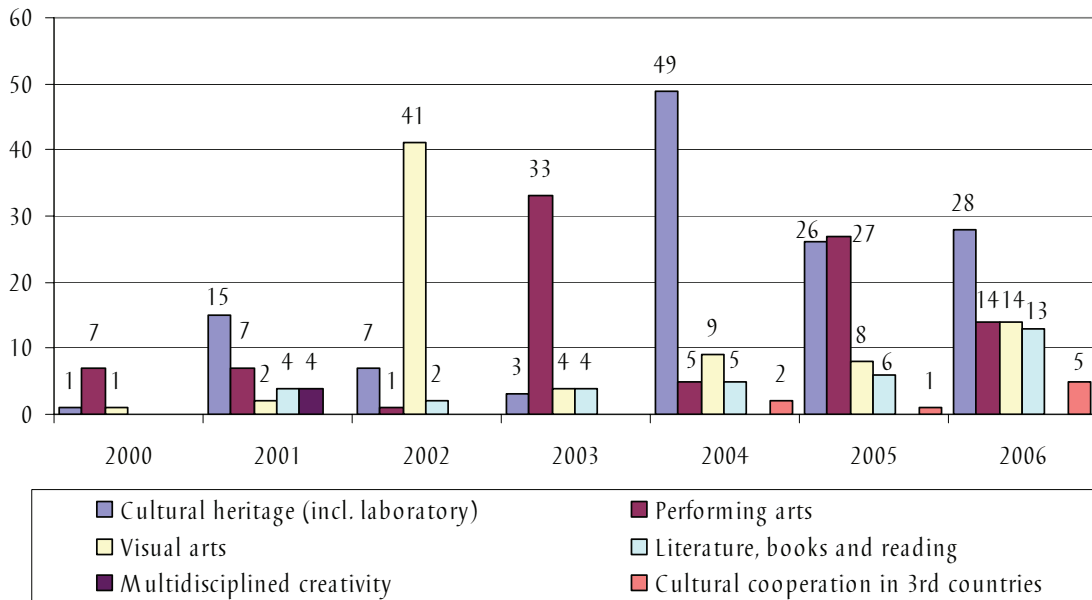
On **Diagram 5** Italy appears to be the champion of west-east collaboration in almost every field of culture. The exception is literature, books and reading, where French operations proved to be the most eager to co-operate with eastern colleagues. Besides, France was second in performing arts also, while in heritage and visual arts the silver medal goes to Germany. Not surprisingly, the most distant member Ireland and Luxembourg close the list with two cases 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 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**.

## 493

Focusing closer on co-operation between old members and eastern countries, the units of research are the *bilateral co-operation bonds* embedded into Culture 2000 projects. Dissecting the 348 western-led projects with eastern involvement, we encounter 493 instances of west-east inter-country co-operation. (Since we are focusing on the west-east relationship within the EU, the figures and drawings are not indicative of partners assembled from fellow old members or countries outside the Union.)

<sup>10</sup> More accurately, there were 352 west-led projects with eastern co-organisers. However, the non-EU-run 4 projects (Iceland and Norway) have been disregarded in our analysis.



**Diagram 6**  
The 348 projects where western leaders chose eastern co-organisers by year and field

**Table 3**  
The 348 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	16 (2)	5 (1)	23 (4)		7 (2)	4 (1)	11 (3)	5 (2)		35 (4)		3 (3)	1	5 (1)	14 (4)	<b>129</b>
Performing	10 (2)	10 (2)	11 (2)	3 (2)	1	1	15 (6)	3	2	22 (2)	1	2 (1)		2	11 (1)	<b>94</b>
Visual	8 (3)	3 (1)	15 (1)	1	5	6 (2)	10 (3)	1 (1)		12(1)	1 (1)	6 (1)	1	4 (1)	7 (2)	<b>79</b>
Book	5 (2)	2	5 (1)				10 (3)	3 (1)		5 (1)		1 (1)	1	1	1 (1)	<b>34</b>
Multidisc.		1					1 (1)							2 (2)		<b>4</b>
3rd countries		3	2				1			1					1	<b>8</b>
<b>All</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>348</b>
From this multiannual	9	4	8	2	2	3	16	4	0	8	1	6	0	4	8	75

**Table 4**

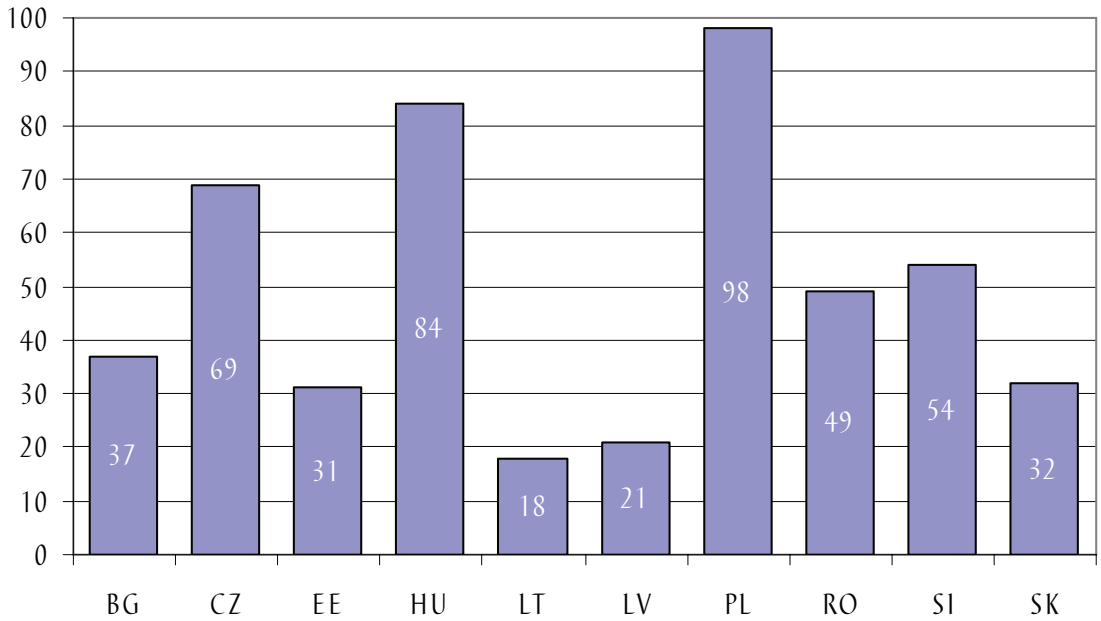
The 493 instances of eastern co-operation in western projects

	BG	CZ	EE	HU	LT	LV	PL	RO	SI	SK	Couplings	Projects	Lines
AT	2	8	3	16		2	10	2	6	9	58	38	9
BE	5		1	5	1	1	5	4	6		28	24	8
DE	1	19	4	22	1	2	24	4	7	5	89	56	10
DK			1		1	1	2		3		8	4	5
ES	1	1	4	2	1		1	2	3	1	16	13	9
FI		1	6	2	2	1	1	1		1	15	11	8
FR	5	9		10	3	1	14	13	3	5	63	48	9
GR	6	1	2				2	1	1	1	14	12	7
IE		1	1		1	1	2				6	2	5
IT	9	17	4	10	4	3	17	16	18	3	101	75	10
LU							1	1	1	1	4	2	4
NL	1		1	5	1	1	2		3		14	12	7
PT				1			2		1		4	3	3
SE	1	4	2	1	2	4	8				22	14	7
UK	6	8	2	10	1	4	7	5	2	6	51	34	10
All	37	69	31	84	18	21	98	49	54	32	493	348	111

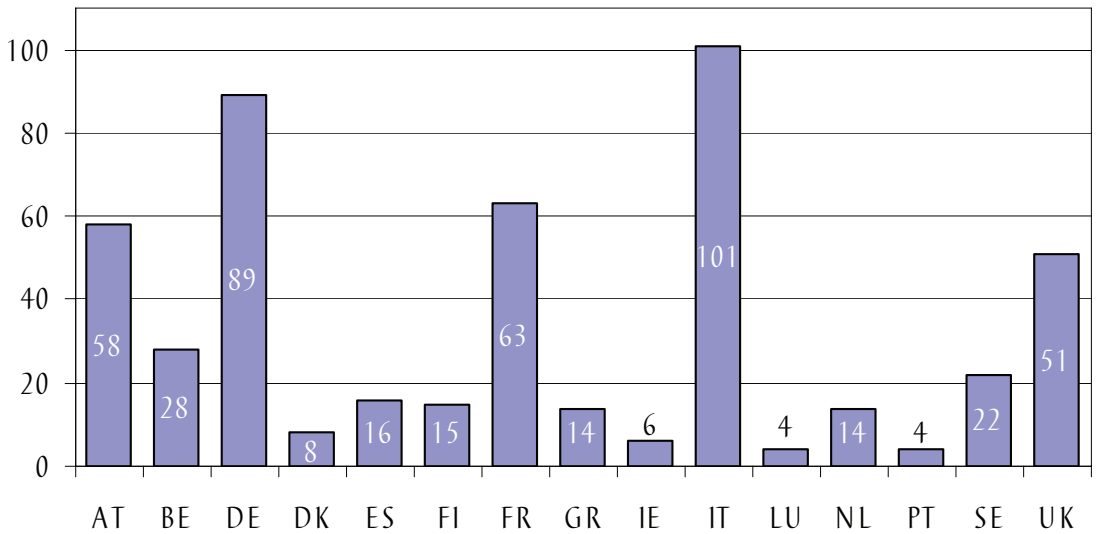
**Table 4** presents all the details. It takes some attention to read. Here is an example: Austrians, who won 71 projects in seven years, co-operated with the east in 38 projects. This included 2 instances of involving a Bulgarian organisation as co-organising partner; 8 cases with neighbouring Czechs, 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. Austrians coupled with everyone except Latvians (which makes nine “destinations” or lines), making up altogether 58 couplings.

**Diagram 7** shows that western project leaders co-opted Polish and Hungarian organisations most frequently, with 98 and 84 projects respectively; Czechs are third, with 69 instances of co-operation. Lithuania and Latvia with 18 and 21 respectively, graciously share the red-lantern of the series.

Gazing on the other side of the fence, one finds on **Diagram 8** that Italian-generated co-operation instances represented 20.5% of the 493 total with 101 couplings. This is nearly the same proportion as the 20.8% that Italians won of all Culture 2000 projects. However, a closer look at the other variables under scrutiny shows Austria in a better light than the rest. The 58 instances of co-operation reached by Austrian organisations have been established within the framework of 38 projects, which represent an impressive 53.5% out of the total 71 Culture 2000 projects that the country initiated over the seven years. (Italians engaged eastern co-organisers in 33.5% of their projects.).



**Diagram 7**  
The 493 instances of eastern involvement in western-led projects by target country



**Diagram 8**  
The 493 instances of eastern involvement in western-led projects by country of the leader

Further down the list, we encounter Denmark and Ireland with 8-6 cases, and far below Luxembourg and Portugal with 4-4 project experiences with eastern partners.

Italian operators chose partners from all ten countries in the east, and fairly evenly at that; they favoured Slovenes, Poles, Czechs and Romanians most, enjoying 18-17-17-16 bonds each. Other countries were more selective. Germans, for example, expressed considerable bias towards Poles and Hungarians (24-22 cases), and France demonstrated leaning for Polish and Romanian co-operation (14-13 cases).

## 111

**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 number of projects into which a given eastern country was included. The 493 inclusion instances form 111 bilateral lines, the fattest of which is the one that stands for the 24 German invites extended to Polish co-organisers. (The 111 lines appear in the last column of Table 4.)

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.

## 705

Turning to more active eastern presence, we identified 705 cases when our region was represented by a leader or one or more co-organisers<sup>11</sup> – see **Diagram 9**.

<sup>11</sup> 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.



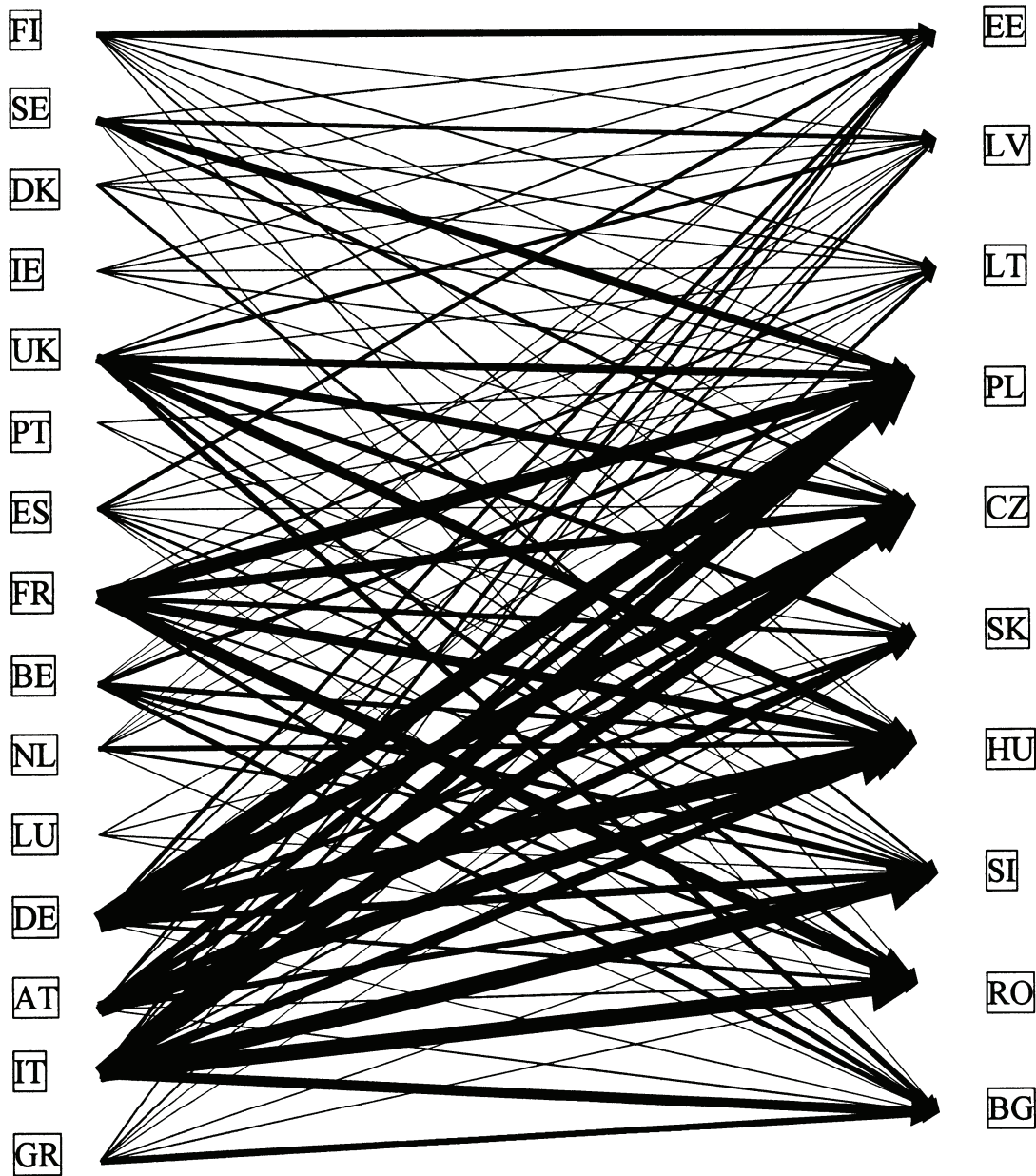


Figure 1  
West looks east - an illustration of partnerships

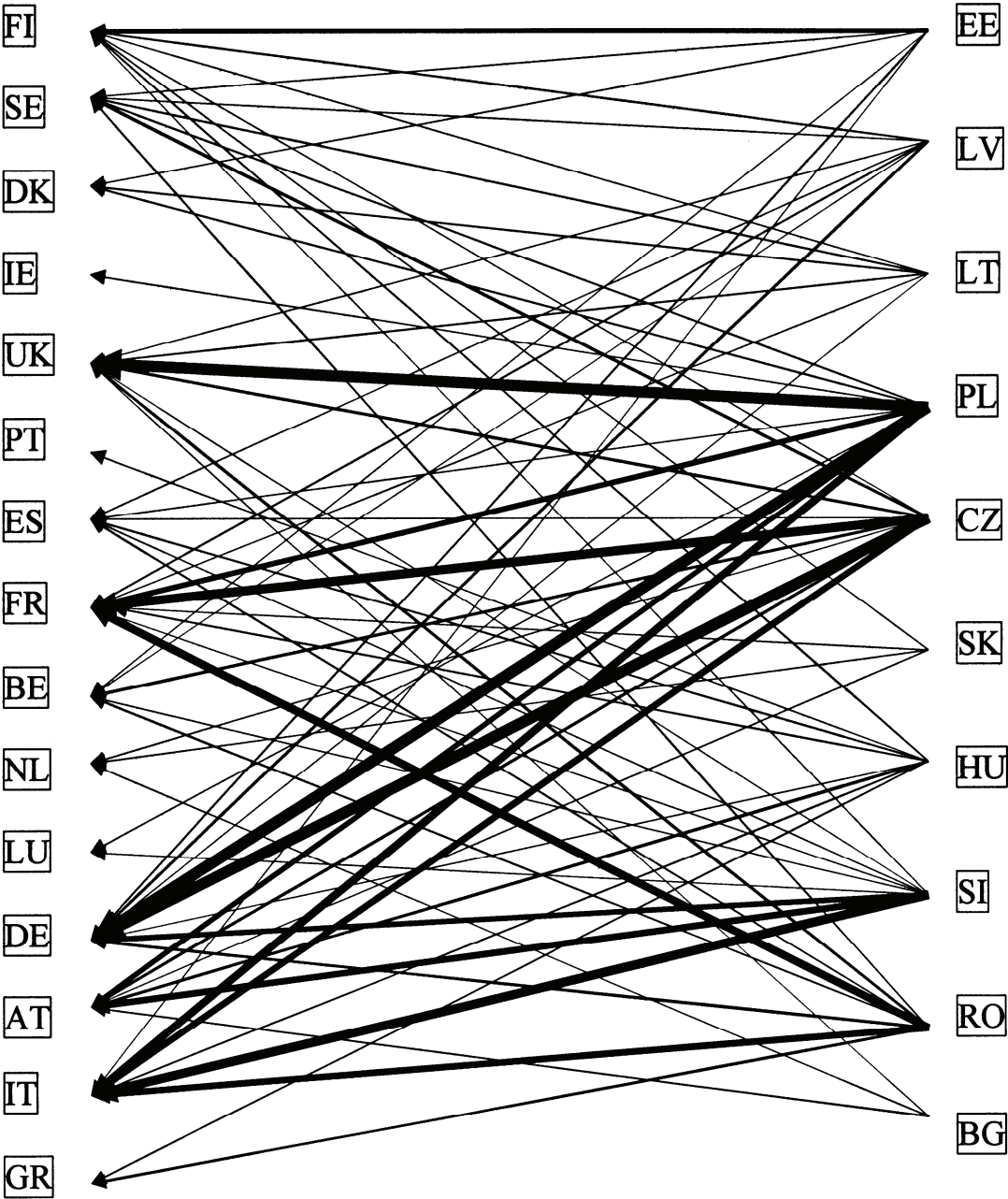
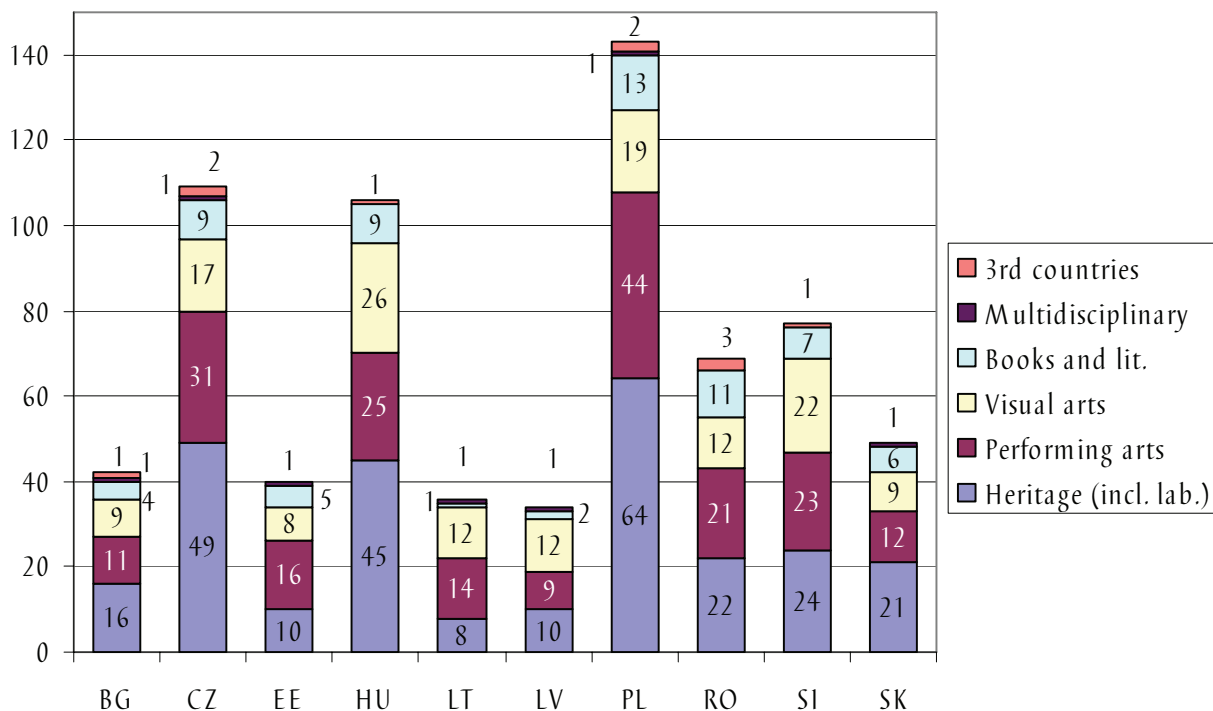


Figure 2  
East looks west - an illustration of partnerships



**Diagram 9**  
The 705 occurrences of eastern involvement  
by eastern country and field

Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary top the list with 143, 109 and 106 occurrences respectively of leading or co-organising a winning project. Latvia is at the other end with 34 such cases.

In detecting national strengths, the main bias of the four Visegrad countries<sup>12</sup> is towards heritage: in all four over 40% of the occurrences affect the cultural heritage, while involvement into such projects is less than 30% from Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Estonians, on the other hand, have concentrated on performing arts, with 40% of their cases belonging to that sphere. 16% of Romanian involvement was in the realm of literature and reading, the highest of all.

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

<sup>12</sup> Czechia, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia.

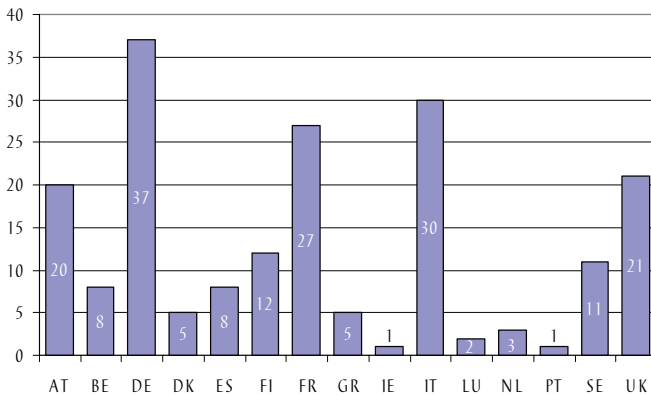
particularly apparent with a few individual countries: Poland – 1 lead, 19 co-organisers; Bulgaria – no lead, 9 co-organisers; Estonia – no lead, 8 co-organisers; Slovakia – 1 against 9; and Hungary – 2 against 26.

## 191

In Table 4, 493 east-bound links of 111 destinations were found in 348 western projects. Now we shall see the reciprocal dynamics: the 191 west-bound links of 71 destinations are examined in 116 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: 1.6 western partners per project, as opposed to 1.1 eastern partners in the west-led projects.

**Diagram 10** confirms the eminent position of German organisations in the east-west co-operation (especially as compared to their position on Diagram 1). The 27 cases of French involvement prove that France is an attractive target country (coming close to Italy). **Diagram 11** displays the four eastern countries that choose the highest number of western partners: Poland, the Czech Republic, Romania 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 at choosing partners from the old member states.



**Diagram 10**  
The 191 instances of western involvement  
in eastern-led projects by target country

**Table 5**  
The 191 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	2											1			1	4	3	3
CZ	3	3	11		1	1	8			6		1		3	3	40	30	10
EE		1	2	1		4				1				1		10	4	6
HU	3		1		2	2	2	2		2			1			15	9	8
LT			1	2		1	1							2	2	9	9	6
LV		1	3		1	2	2							1	1	11	6	7
PL	5		11	2	1		5		1	7	1			2	10	45	23	10
RO		2	3		2		7	3		6				2	3	28	15	8
SI	6	1	5		1	1	1			8	1				1	25	14	9
SK	1					1	1					1				4	3	4
<b>All</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>191</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>71</b>

## 71

The 71 cells of **Table 5** reveal the internal dynamics of east-west partnerships. Czechs and Poles opened the scope the widest, having both engaged in projects with 10 out of the 15 EU countries.

The 11 Polish-German and the 11 Czech-German partnerships top the list of single bilateral bonds; another outstanding case is Poles involving Brits 10 times. Still remarkable are the Slovenian-Italian and Czech-French couplings (8-8).

**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.

## 100

In the 116 projects that eastern operators had the privilege to lead between 2000-2006, there were 100 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: we have

also accessed to one another. 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 for illustrative example in **Table 6**: out of the 30 projects run by Czech organisations, they co-opted partners from Poland in 11 instances. The graphic display in **Figure 3** had to solve the challenge of reciprocal links.

## 63

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 63 such cases during the seven years: see **Table 7**. Four cells have been highlighted: those, where a co-organiser operation from these countries was identified, all dating before 2004. The remaining 59 instances relate to organisations that received associate status in a Culture 2000 project. The 6 Russian cases in 2003 stand out (one of them a co-organiser), apparently

**Table 6**  
The 100 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	1			4	3	4
CZ	1		2	3			<b>11</b>		5	<b>10</b>	32	30	6
EE					2	1					3	4	2
HU		1					2	5	1	3	12	9	5
LT			2			4	3				9	9	3
LV		1	2		3				1		7	6	4
PL		3	1	2	3	2		1	1		13	23	7
RO	1	1		5			3				10	15	4
SI				1	1		2			1	5	14	4
SK		3		1					1		5	3	3
<b>All</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>42</b>

**Table 7**

The 63 organisations included from outside the EU 27

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	
Albania	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	3
Bosnia	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	3
Croatia	1	0	1	3	4	2	4	15
Macedonia	0	0	0	1	0	2	2	5
Russia	2	1	3	6	2	3	0	17
Serbia	0	0	1	3	4	2	1	11
Ukraine	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	4
Belarus	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
China	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2
Georgia	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2
<b>All</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>63</b>

connected to the special project on the jubilee year of Saint Petersburg. Second-third positioned Croatian and Serbian operations were progressing at a similar pace, with Croatia leaping forward in 2006.

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 4 co-organisers, that stand against the 493 + 100 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 relationships between members and at increasing cohesion inside the Union. The task of fully integrating new members has not yet expired.

## 39

How typical is it for eastern organisations to act jointly? We found 39 projects where there were 3 or more eastern countries represented as leaders or co-organisers. (Out of the 464 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: Bulgar-

ian operations played a role in 42 projects altogether. In five of these there were at least two more eastern countries involved. Five is 11.9% of 42: this percentage is a particularly indicative figure: Bulgarians joined groups of eastern organisation rather infrequently. However, three of the five projects included clusters of four eastern operations: this produced 12 setups as Bulgarians co-operated with two more eastern partners. It is for the same reason that the total number of projects is more than 39. (For those trained in combinatorics it will cause less of a headache to grasp it than it did for us.) To quote an example:

• *Apollonia*, 2002, annual, visual arts; leader from France, co-organisers from Bulgaria, Czechia, Romania and Poland (as well as Belgium, Germany and Greece)

It is most typical of Slovak organisations to join projects together with fellow operations from two more eastern countries (in over 36.7% of projects).

**Table 8**

The 212 occurrences of 3 or more eastern countries  
in 39 projects

	BG	CZ	EE	HU	LV	LT	PL	RO	SK	SI	All
705 cases of lead or co-org	42	109	40	106	34	36	143	69	49	77	<b>705</b>
Occurrences in projects with 3+ clusters	5	21	8	17	9	9	20	9	18	11	<b>127</b>
3+ occurrences as % of all projects	11,9	19,3	20,0	16,0	26,5	25,0	14,0	13,0	36,7	14,3	<b>18,0</b>
Occurrences in 3+ clusters	12	36	16	26	13	15	32	16	24	22	<b>212</b>

The 39 projects presented a great variety of combinations as to the 3 or more eastern countries' clusters. Predictably, operators from the three Baltic countries moved jointly at the greatest frequency; but almost as often we find together Czechs, Slovaks and Hungarians:

Six times together: EE, LT, LV  
 Five times together: CZ, HU, SK  
 Three times together: CZ, HU, RO  
 CZ, HU, SI  
 CZ, PL, RO  
 CZ, PL, SK  
 CZ, SI, SK  
 LT, LV, PL



## 12

Narrowing the focus, inside the 39 there were 12 projects where operations from at least four eastern countries were present. Slovaks, who appeared to feel comfortable when they could act jointly with at least 2 fellow eastern operators, were also ready to join larger flocks. Slovenes were almost as reluctant to join triads as Bulgarians, yet when they did, they did not mind acting in greater eastern teams (in other words: 14% of projects with Slovenes had at least two more organisations from the region, while almost as often, in 9% of cases they had at least three more eastern colleagues).

Three times together: HU, PL, SI, SK

This most frequent configuration is different from the Visegrad four, where the Czech Republic would stand instead of Slovenia. Not that Czechs would stay aloof from regional teams:

Twice together: CZ, HU, PL, RO  
 CZ, HU, PL, SI  
 CZ, HU, PL, SK  
 CZ, HU, SI, SK  
 CZ, PL, SI, SK  
 EE, LT, LV, PL

The majority of those bunches of organisations from countries that partly or entirely used to belong to the Austro-Hungarian empire came about in the last year of 2006.

**Table 9**

The 108 occurrences of 4 or more eastern countries in 12 projects

	BG	CZ	EE	HU	LV	LT	PL	RO	SK	SI	All
705 cases of lead or co-org	42	109	40	106	34	36	143	69	49	77	<b>705</b>
Occurrences in projects with 4+ clusters	3	10	3	7	2	2	8	5	5	7	<b>52</b>
4+ occurrences as % of all projects	7,1	9,2	7,5	6,6	5,9	5,6	5,6	7,2	10,2	9,1	<b>15,3</b>
Occurrences in 4+ clusters	3	19	8	13	8	7	19	5	11	15	<b>108</b>

## 4

The 12 projects involving at least four eastern countries included four cases with operations from five eastern countries.

- *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).
- *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).
- *Cultural Alchemy*, 2005, annual, performing arts; leader from Ireland, co-organisers from Czechia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland (and no western co-organiser).
- *Theatre Architecture in Central Europe (TACE)*, 2006, multiannual, cultural heritage; leader from Poland; co-organisers from Slovakia, Poland, Hungary and Slovenia (and no western co-organiser).

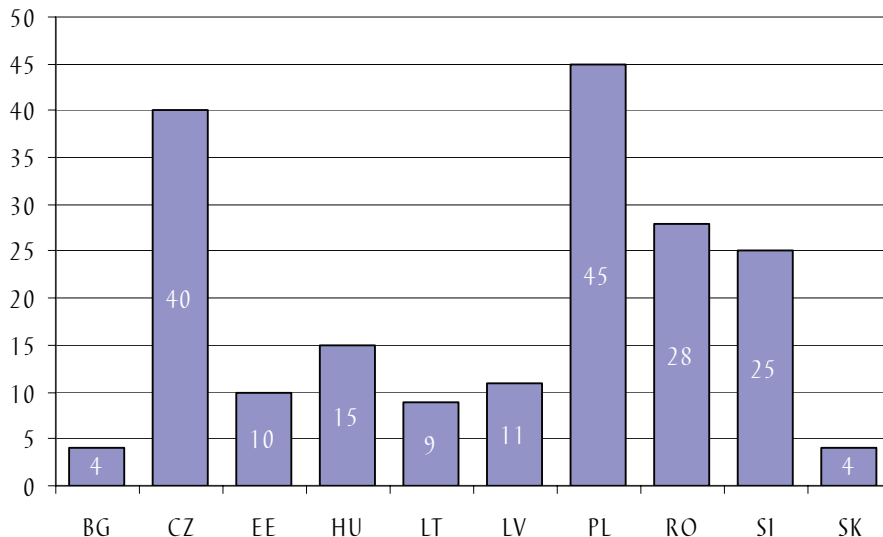
## 406

As promised, we turn to the 406 *translation grants*.<sup>13</sup> We pointed out that we could not examine these projects together with the 1078 co-operation project because in

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

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	Total
Number of projects	52	42	48	55	71	70	68	<b>406</b>
Yearly budget	837	1 048	1 211	1 353	2 038	2 089	1 898	<b>10 474</b>
Average project budget	16,1	25,0	25,2	24,6	28,7	29,8	27,9	<b>25,3</b>
Publishers (entering the programme)	52	20	24	25	40	25	24	<b>210</b>

<sup>13</sup> 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.

**Diagram 11**

The 191 instances of western involvement in eastern-led projects by country of the leader

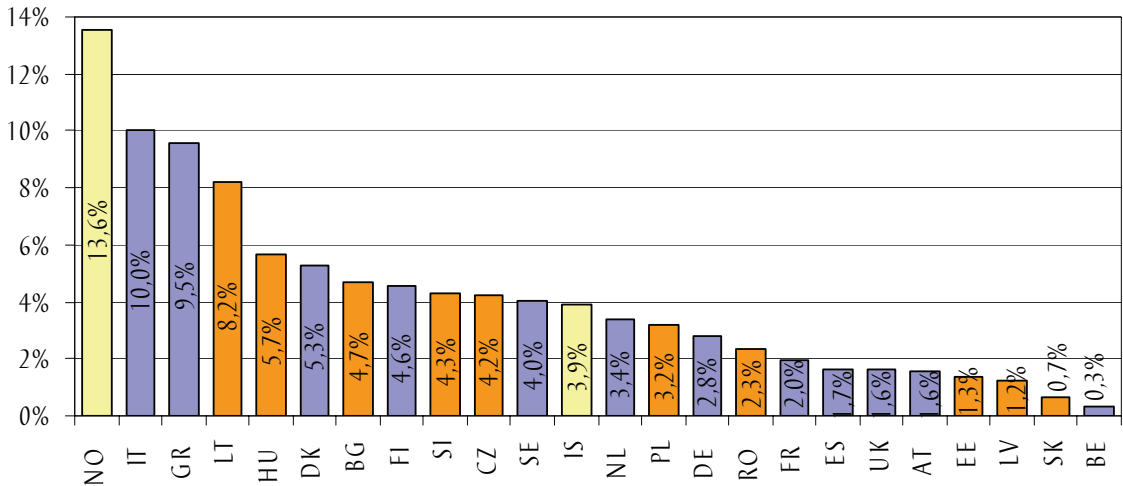
case of translation grants there is only one winner. This does not mean that we neglect translation grants. On the contrary, we believe that they deserve more than being an appendix of the cultural co-operation programme. They should be treated as part of a complex programme that affects the entire scope 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; as well as on the creative cultural industries connected to languages.

Applicants from 24 countries (including 20 EU members) received Culture 2000 grant for translation projects, but there was no single successful applicant from Luxembourg, Cyprus, Malta and Portugal.

**10 473 809**

**Table 10** reveals that between 2000-2006 the Commission spent altogether nearly €10.5 million on literary translation in the frames of Culture 2000.

**Diagram 12** shows the division of this amount between the 24 countries. This graph shows little similarity to Diagram 1: the only common feature is that behind non-member Norway, here, too, Italy is the most successful EU member. 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.



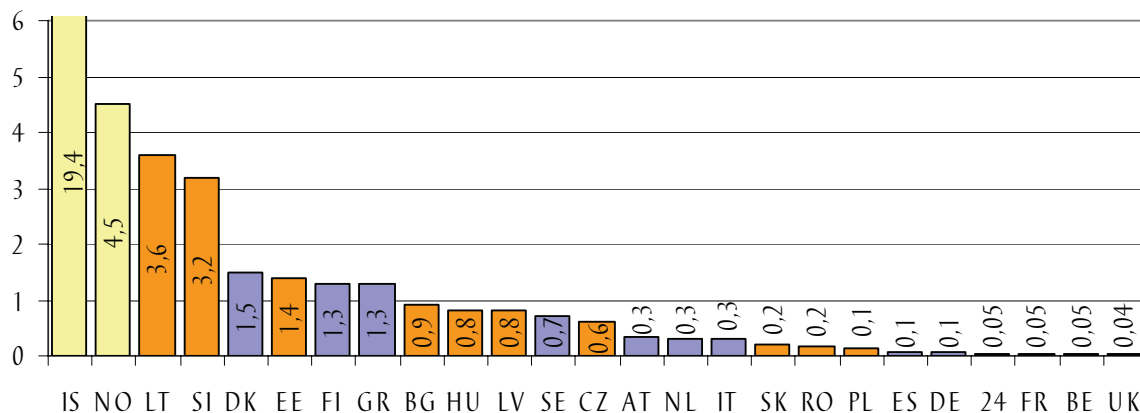
**Diagram 12**

Share of the 24 countries from the translation grants

**Diagram 13** shows yet another picture. It displays the division of the 10.5 million between citizens of the winning countries. The figures indicate euro cents per year per inhabitant. The column that stands for the average<sup>14</sup> is of course close to the columns of the most populous countries. What is the worth of 0.35 cents in 7 years ( $0.05 \times 7 = 0.35$ )? It barely covers the fee for the quality translation of one single character. Thus, what an average citizen received from the EU between 2000 and 2006 was enough to translate a one letter word.

<sup>14</sup> This is the average of the successfully participating 24 countries. The EU average, the money won by publishers of the 20 EU member divided by the entire population of the Union produces a different average of 0.04 cents – practically the same size.

We should be fair. Citizens in the east received more, sometimes much more. Lithuanians, undisputed champions of translation projects, won seventy times the EU average, which enables them to translate a seventy-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 seven years).

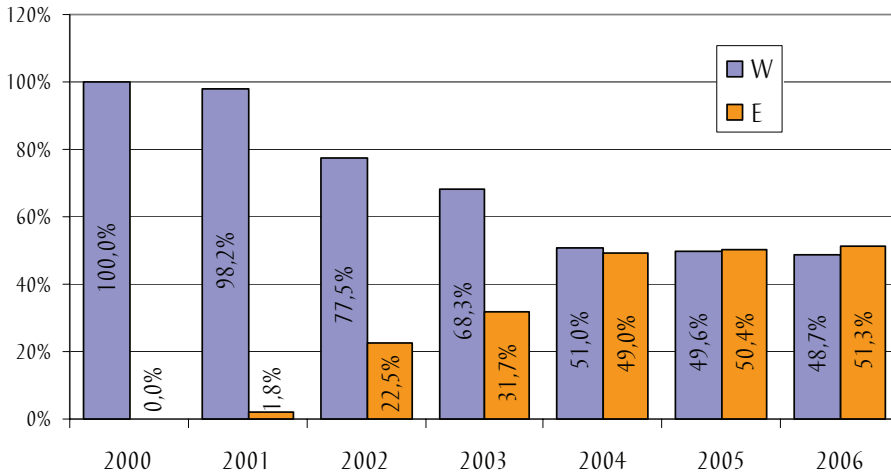


**Diagram 13**

Average translation grant in Eurocent per citizen per year

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. From the view point of Culture 2000 under eastern eyes 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.

The real reason for eastern joy is shown at **Diagram 14**. It pleases eastern eyes more than Diagram 4, where we could discern certain 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 2005/06, resulting in slight absolute majority in spending for the east.



**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.<sup>15</sup>

## 210

In translation projects the ‘cultural organisations’ are publishers. From the last line of Table 10 one sees that during the six years 210 publishers have won at least one grant. Their distribution by country follows the pattern in Diagram 12.

<sup>15</sup> In addition to other aspects of „development“, eastern countries suffer from the linguistic handicap they all share because of their “less spoken” vernaculars (even Polish can be considered as a “psychologically minor language”). The money that publishers win at Culture 2000 is spent on translation *into* and not *from* their languages. The survival and success of the literary production of the eastern countries is served indirectly only: the juries give preference to bids that translate from minor (including east European) languages. Unfortunately this practice remains the same in Culture 2007. Seeing the continued reduction of the presence of lesser used source languages in the main cultural markets of the world, these works deserve more systematic community support in the future. The Commission should join the efforts of affected member states aimed at endorsing the publishing of their works in the main book markets. Which means, that translating *from* European works written in less spoken languages should matter more than *into* those languages.

Either the Greek book market is the most eager for translated literature, or Greek publishers are the best application writers; or possibly both: anyhow, with 51 translation grants Greece leads the list, followed by 45 Italian and 41 Norwegian projects.

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. For them without Culture 2000 grants most of those translated titles had little chance of getting into their offer (and thus reaching the mainstream book market). In other cases the grants are essential for the sustainable operation of small publishers, specialised on niches like literature translated from lesser read languages.

**Table 11**

The 48 publishers that received grants more than twice

<b>3 times out of 7 years</b>	<b>4 times out of 7 years</b>	<b>5 times out of 7 years</b>	<b>6 times out of 7 years</b>	<b>7 times out of 7 years</b>
Aidai Echoes (LT)	Alexandria (GR)	Apgads Atena (GR)	Agra (GR)	Crocetti (IT)
Alfabeta (SE)	Det Norske Samlaget (NO)	Voland (IT)	Aschehoug (NO)	Gyldendal Norsk (NO)
Bjartur (IS)	Fazi Editore (IT)	Fischer & Co (SE)	J. W. Cappelens (NO)	Pax (NO)
Colibri (BG)	Kastaniotis (GR)	Travlos (GR)	Tiderne Skifter (DK)	Iperborea (IT)
Dauphen (CZ)	Psichogios (GR)	Libri Scheiwiller (IT)	Like (FI)	
Diaphanes Verlag (DE)	Trei (RO)	Solum Forlag AS (NO)		
Oktober (NO)	Tyto Alba (LT)	Modtryk (DK)		
Udinese (IT)	Dionysia (UK)	Polis (GR)		
GB Forlagene (DK)	L'Harmattan (HU)			
Igela Argitaletxea (ES)	Metaixmio Ekdotiky (GR)			
J. M. Meilenhoff (NL)				
Tammi (FI)				
Mintis (LT)				
Norstedts (SE)				
Patakis (GR)				
Prozoretz (BG)				
De Geus (NL)				
W. A. B. (PL)				
Argo (CZ)				
Kronta (LT)				
Studentska Založba (SI)				
<b>21</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>

## 48

Most of the applicant publishers were successful at one occasion only, but **Table 11** shows that 48 presses won grants at least 3 times. The list includes 12 houses from the east, and three of them have made it four times! The cream of the crop are the four 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.

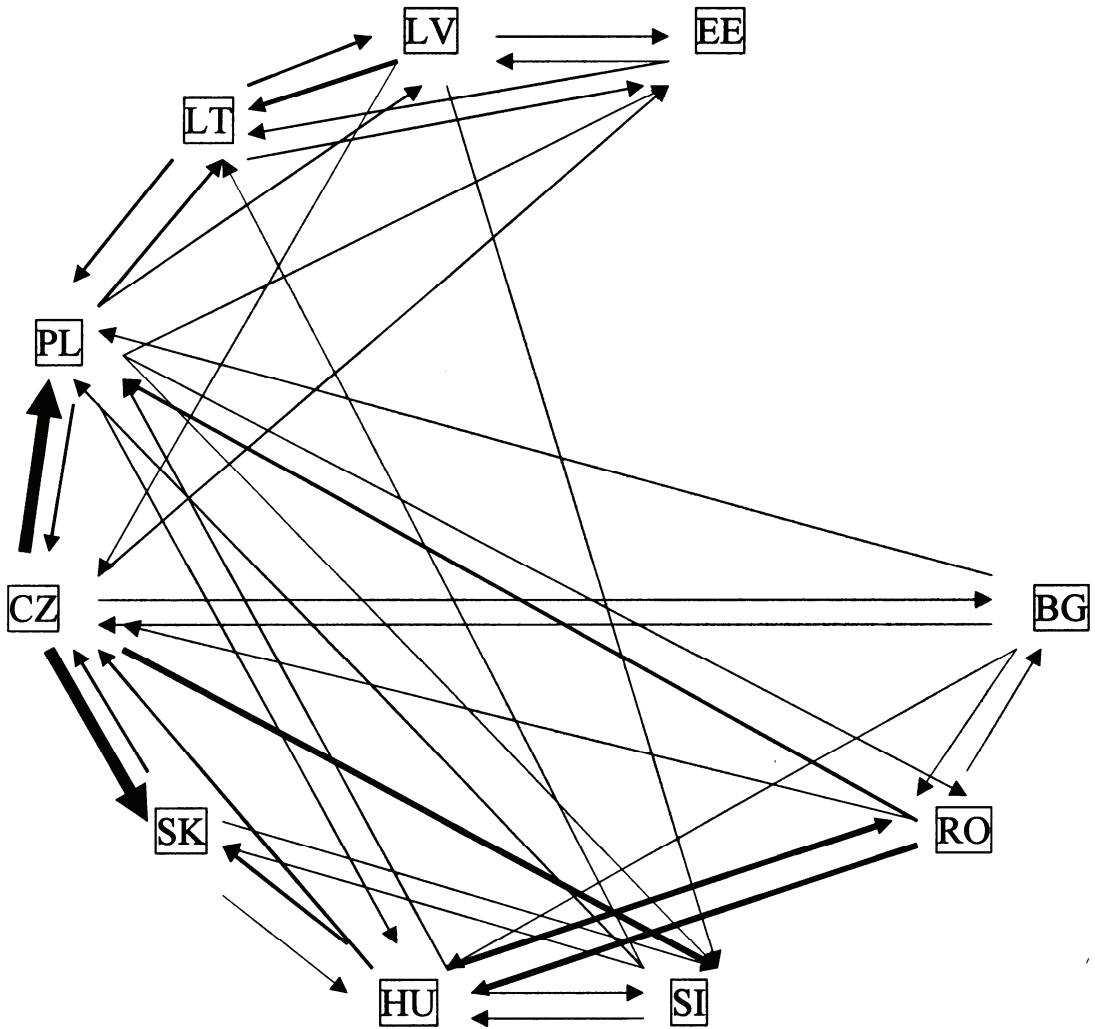
Table 11 also explains why Diagram 12 is dominated by Norway, Italy and Greece: these countries are represented by 7-5-9 publishers respectively among the frequent winners.

### 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 has reached its end. It depends on readers' (and sponsors') reactions whether and in which form the exercise should be continued as Culture 2007 – under eastern eyes.





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